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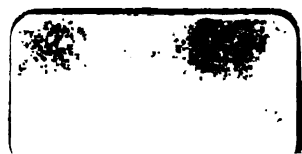
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# THE CHURCHMAN

*A Monthly Magazine*

*CONDUCTED BY CLERGYMEN AND LAYMEN  
OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND*

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ART. I.—THE THAMES CHURCH MISSION.

“The success of a Mission must, under God, depend greatly upon the earnest, faithful co-operation of praying and believing people.”

HAVING been asked, as one of the oldest members of the Thames Church Mission, to make a few remarks on its origin and progress, I have much pleasure in doing so; though, on comparing its small beginning in 1844 with its present extensive operations, I feel it will be difficult to do justice to the subject within the limits of a short article.

My first acquaintance with Mission work on the Thames was in the year 1835, when, for some years, I had the privilege of being associated with my late excellent friend, Capt. R. J. Elliot, R.N., as an Honorary Secretary of “The Episcopal Floating Church Society,” whose vessel, the *Brazen*, a sloop of war kindly lent by the Admiralty, was moored not far from the Tower, and was known as the “Floating Church for Seamen.”

After fifteen years of indefatigable persistence,<sup>1</sup> Captain Elliot found it impossible to persuade seamen to attend the services, for if on leave they preferred remaining on shore, and if afloat many of them were ship-keeping and unable to leave their duty; and so in this respect the *Brazen* proved a failure. In a higher sense, however, she was successful, as an anecdote will prove.

After the last Annual Meeting of the Thames Church Mission an aged sea captain introduced himself to the Secretary, stating that forty-one years ago he attended the *Brazen* service one Sunday night on his return from the West Indies. God met with him there; the gospel preached by the officiating clergyman

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<sup>1</sup> On one occasion, when going to a vessel at night, he fell overboard, and narrowly escaped drowning.

reached his conscience and heart, and he left England a changed man, "to live no longer to himself, but to Him who died for him and rose again." Here is a practical commentary on the text, which has been the Society's motto—"Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days."

In the year 1844, several members of the *Brazen Committee*—viz., the present Marquess of (then Lord Henry) Cholmondeley, and the late Admiral the Earl of Waldegrave, Admiral Sir Henry Hope (then Capt. Hope, of *Endymion* celebrity), and Capt. Elliot (founder of the Sailors' Home), deeply impressed with the spiritual destitution of the immense seafaring population on the Thames, met for prayer, and to consider what further steps could be taken to meet the desperate need of sailors entering the Port. They determined that *if the sailors would not come to the floating church, the Gospel should be carried to them by a cruising church*. Their prayers were shortly answered by the Admiralty placing at their disposal a cutter named the *Swan*, which had seen service in the Baltic. She was forthwith specially fitted, and with a resident chaplain, licensed by the Bishop of London, and a crew of five pious men, she sailed forth—as the old Report expresses it—"to do battle for the Lord of Hosts against the powers of darkness for the soul of the sailor." For many years the *Swan* was a familiar object as she cruised between London and Gravesend, or lay alongside the tiers of collier brigs waiting to be unloaded in Bugsby's Reach.

The work increased and extended greatly, and the services of the staff being required in various directions, it was found necessary to supplement the *Swan* by two smaller vessels, in which a Chaplain or Lay-Missionary cruised up or down the river to visit the large emigrant or convict ships, while the "Church" remained at her moorings.

Ultimately the construction of vast docks, with twenty miles of wharves, furnishing accommodation for 1,200 vessels, totally changed the conditions of river traffic; and in 1874, the *Swan* being no longer seaworthy, was gratefully returned to H.M. dockyard, and since that time the visitation has been conducted in boats from the shore. The *Swan* cannot, however, be dismissed without a tribute to the long and faithful services of her master, William Hancock. In 1844 he was coxswain to the late Capt. Charles Rowley, R.N., on board H.M.S. *St. Vincent*, and was on his strong recommendation appointed to the command of the "Thames Church." He is now pensioned, but continues to attend the monthly prayer meetings, and manifest a keen interest in the work in which he was at one time so much blessed.<sup>1</sup> Capt. Rowley himself, when residing near Greenwich,

<sup>1</sup> Hancock was a quarter-master on board the *Dreadnought* between the time he served under Capt. Rowley and his taking command of the

frequently visited the hospital ship *Dreadnought*, and was the means of several conversions among the quartermasters and patients. But especially should be mentioned the valuable work of our late esteemed Honorary Secretary, Capt. E. Littlehales, R.N., whose retirement two years ago, in consequence of ill health, was the more regretted because it was undoubtedly attributable to his unceasing and excessive devotion to the cause, for upwards of twenty years.

The work is being zealously prosecuted under the present Secretary (Mr. E. J. Mather), by a Chaplain (resident at Gravesend), an Assistant Chaplain, six Lay-Missionaries, and eight Seamen Colporteurs, not merely from the "Pool" to Gravesend, as formerly, but from Putney Bridge to the North Sea fisheries—indeed to the *world's end*—for who can calculate the influence of the blessing carried forth from these shores by truly Christian sailors or emigrants? A former chaplain, when questioned by a brother clergyman as to the extent of his parish, very truly replied, "the whole world!"

Services are held by the chaplains on the Lord's-day, and Bible and confirmation classes during the week on board the cadet ship *Worcester*, and the training frigates *Arethusa*, *Chichester*, and *Cornwall*, whose captains speak in the highest terms of the spiritual results upon their youthful crews. In a recent letter one of the captains remarked: "Never has there been such marked and decided spiritual work on board this ship as during the past two and a half years." And let us hope the eighty *Worcester* cadets, and the 170 boys from the other ships, who annually enter the merchant service, carry away in their hearts the precious seed which has been sown, to bring forth fruit for God in their after lives.

The senior chaplain's sphere of visitation has been considerably extended east and west of Gravesend Reach, through the placing of a steam launch on that station, the liberality of friends having enabled the committee to purchase a fine suitable vessel (40 feet long). She has been named the *Swan*, by way of perpetuating the memory of the old "Thames Church," and in several instances her appearance has attracted the attention of officers and men who, years ago, attended the services conducted on board her larger namesake. For example, the mate of a steamer exclaimed: "Oh! the old *Swan*! Ah! I used to go on board many years ago to the service when I was apprentice in a collier brig. I shall never forget the old *Swan*. But I am not converted yet, sir. But my mother, eighty years old, is praying for it every day. I hope I shall

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*Swan*, and he was the means of conversion of those mentioned in the text, aided, no doubt, by Capt. Rowley's frequent visits.



before long." Another incident is more gratifying, and illustrative of the truth of that text already quoted, which so many years ago filled the hearts of the founders of the Thames Church Mission with faith and hope, and which has been the Society's motto in all its subsequent operations. The missionary stationed at Northfleet boarded a ship for Melbourne and held a meeting with twenty-five passengers, after which one of them, an old Colonist, said: "Twenty years ago I served my apprenticeship in the coal trade, and was often present at the services on board the *Swan* Thames Church. Of course you remember the old *Britannia*, and her two apprentices Harry and Billy, with whom you took so much pains? You fetched them to the *Swan* each time they came up the river, and often spent half the night talking and praying with them after you had taken them back to their own ship. Harry is now one of our best preachers in Melbourne, and Billy is preaching to the blacks in the West Indies."

It is not for us to know the full result of all this holy work and warfare until the sea shall "give up the dead which are in it;" but God in His mercy, and for our encouragement, allows us to see *some* of its good effects even now. Many are the pleasing incidents related by various members of the staff at our monthly prayer and committee meetings, some proving, like the one just cited, that the good seed had been sown in the heart by the kind yet forcible preaching of a chaplain, lay-missionary, or colporteur. I furnish a few instances from the Journals:—

Last Lord's day evening Mr. ——— accompanied me on board the ——— (the captain of which is a Christian) and gave an address in the cabin to about twenty-eight hearers. Most had listened with considerable attention to the old, yet ever new, story of Jesus and His love, when the attention of the speaker was drawn to two men who were evidently there only to mock. One especially showed plainly that he cared for none of these things, and that apparently all the seed had been sown in vain as far as he was concerned. Seeing this, he said, "during my address to-night I have observed with pain some here appearing quite careless about their souls, and I ask you (turning to myself) to spend one hour to-night in prayer to God for these men." Then, turning to the captain, he made the same request, which was heartily granted, promising to do the same himself.

On returning home, he shut himself up for one hour, crying to God for the scoffers on that ship, and feeling assured that God would, in His own way, hear and answer the prayers. The captain and I did the same. On the following Tuesday we met again. "I have something good to tell you," said I. "I prayed as you asked me, and felt very happy in doing so, and this morning being near the ship, I was hailed when passing in the boat by one of the crew. I went on board and there found one of the men in an agony of soul. He had seen me

passing, and had called me to speak to him about Christ. I need hardly tell you how gladly I did it, and before I left the man was a rejoicing believer." The ship has just sailed for the north, but she has on board of her at least one witness that God hears prayer.

It is deeply interesting to find nine months later the following entry:—

Boarded the ——. Was warmly greeted by one of the men, but was obliged to confess that I didn't remember his face. "Oh, but I know *you*," said he, "and what's better, I know the Lord Jesus as my Saviour." "Thank God for that," I exclaimed; "but tell me how it came about." "Simply thus," he replied. "It has all resulted from the service held on board the —— last summer, when the preacher asked you and our skipper to spend an hour praying for us. When I heard him say that, I thought it was quite time I should begin to pray for myself."

Thus it pleased God to answer the prayers of His servants in the case of two poor fellows who previously had been living "without hope and without God in the world."

The labours of the colporteurs are important, and have furnished abundant cause for thankfulness, many cases having occurred of conversion to God from the simple reading of His holy Word. For example:—

Fourteen months ago I went on board a Norwegian vessel, and persuaded one of the men to buy a Bible. During the voyage the Holy Spirit applied the Word to his heart, and on my visiting her a few days ago the poor sailor caught hold of me and almost kissed me, saying, "I am happy, I am happy; Christ is in my heart; Oh, I am a happy man." The mate also testified of the great change in this man. "Oh, it was that Bible that you sold me that did it, you said it was a sure guide. I did not read it at first, but threw it into my chest, and it would have been there till now, only when we were becalmed out at sea I read it for want of anything else. Oh, it is my compass now and my chart, and if I had a pound I would give it to your Society; you shall take all the money I have. I will give it, for God has saved my soul." He then gave me two Mexican dollars in proof of his gratitude.

A second case:—

In visiting the s.s. —— a few days ago, I had occasion to speak to the chief officer with reference to the time of sailing, in order that I might get a supply of books for crew and emigrants.

After a little conversation he said, "I have some recollection of your face." Then thinking for a moment he said, "Oh, it was on board the —— I saw you. Don't you remember bringing sixteen Bibles on board from your Mission?" I replied I did. "Well," he said, "those Bibles were made a great blessing on that ship. Mr. ——, the chief officer, formed a Bible-class with those books, also held service regularly. And I am glad to tell you that it was the means of my con-

version; it turned me right about. I am a happy man now, Sir, and belong to a church at Hackney." I replied, "You feel then that godliness is profitable unto all things?" "Oh, yes, I do," he said; "but I have great difficulties to contend with on board, yet the Lord sustains me. Another great blessing has resulted. My wife also has given her heart to the Saviour, and is a member of the same church. I do bless God that ever you came on board with those Bibles, also that I ever had the company and advice of the then chief officer, Mr. —; he has another ship now and is captain. I know he would like to see you again. If all is well he will be in London in a short time; try and see him. Tell him that his old mate is a happy man serving the Lord, also that he was the chief instrument in God's hands of my conversion."

Again:—

Got our boat out early, and went up the river before the wind rose too heavy. Spent many hours among the windbound craft. The first I boarded was a barge. The master came out of his cabin *with his Testament in his hand*. I remarked, "You have begun early with the good book then." He replied, "Yes, I was just going to see what the Master had provided for me to-day. I cannot read much. I have only learned to read a little this last three months since I was converted. You see this is one of your fourpenny Testaments. I can just spell down a chapter." This man seemed very much troubled because his mate would not join him in prayer. I had a few encouraging words with the young fellow, and got him below and had a nice little meeting, for which the master was very thankful.

Once more:—

Held a service in the cabin of the —, barge. After which the master remarked he went from school into a barge, and could read very well when he went, but never troubled about books for a long time, and lost all his reading. He could scarcely spell a word until he bought a Testament out of our boat, and that Testament had been his school-master ever since. He was thankful to say he could read anything now. He said it was over twenty years since he bought his Testament. He showed it to me. It was well worn, and one of the covers off, but he seemed to value it more than a new one.

From a recent paragraph in the British and Foreign Bible Society's *Monthly Reporter* it will be seen how warmly the Committee of that great Institution appreciate what has been effected. The *Reporter* says:—"The Thames Church Mission has grown into a vigorous and important agency for practically obeying the text which it takes as its motto: 'Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days.' It is, in fact, one of those valuable Home Societies which enable the British and Foreign Bible Society to put the Scriptures into wide circulation, just as the great Missionary Societies do abroad."

I should be occupying too much space were I to multiply these interesting extracts, and would beg the readers of THE CHURCHMAN to peruse for themselves the Society's Report<sup>1</sup> for the present year; it shows very clearly how the work is permeating all classes, from the humblest boatman, or bargeman, to the officers in command of our stately ocean steamers, plying to all parts of the world.

The war in Egypt, too, has given occasion for special activity, the Mission Staff having been authorized by the Admiralty to visit every transport conveying troops from the Thames, and to proceed in the vessels from the docks to Gravesend. By this means these devoted workers have had ample opportunity for conversation with the men, besides presenting each soldier with a copy of the New Testament, and books or tracts. In this way upwards of 18,000 Testaments and 25,000 tracts have been distributed, additional provision being made on board the hospital ships.

In conclusion, I would refer to the most recent addition to the sphere of the Society's operations—the North Sea fisheries. Comparatively few persons know even the *locality* from which many thousands of tons are annually drawn to supply both the metropolitan and provincial fish markets, or realize what a multitude of persons are engaged from year's end to year's end in the terribly hazardous deep-sea trawling. The writer of a very excellent article in the *Daily Telegraph* remarks:—

I once wrote in this journal an account of a voyage in a smack to the North Sea. One such journey is enough for a lifetime, and the recollection of it makes me here declare—and I am sure there is not a sailor living who will contradict me—that of all the several forms of seafaring life there is absolutely none comparable in severity, exposure, hardship, and stern peril to that of the smacksmen. His vessel is a small one; his cabin a little darksome hole; his working hours are full of harsh toil; he has to give battle to the wildest weather, to struggle on for bread through storm and snow and frost, through the long blackness of the howling winter's night, through the grey wilderness of a foaming ocean swept by winds as pitiless as the hand of death. No legislation can alter these conditions of his life. Philanthropy will have its cod and sole and turbot. The fish must be caught, but caught in such a manner that those who shoot their trawls for them catch other things besides—a wild roughness of bearing, a defiance of civilized instincts, a sense of outlawed and neglected life that brings with it a fixed conviction of social immunity.

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<sup>1</sup> *Thirty-seventh Report of the Thames Church Mission Society, 31, New Bridge Street, Ludgate Circus, E.C., 1882.* May I venture to suggest to the clerical readers of the CHURCHMAN that congregational collections on behalf of the Mission would be most gratefully acknowledged? At present we receive offertories from only a few churches.

"I'm a fisherman myself, Sir," a man once said to me; "and I'll allow that there are many well-mannered, sober, steady men among us; but, taking us all round, you'll not find a coarser set of human beings in the world; and, if you want to know the reason, you've only got to look at yonder smack, heading away into the North Sea, where, maybe, she'll be heaving and tossing about for weeks, with ne'er a proper influence in the shape of books or company for the men to come at."

To these poor fellows, then, the Thames Church Mission are now sending out "the Word of Life," and most gratefully have the missionaries been received. The "Short Blue" fleet, the largest fishing fleet in the North Sea, belonging to Messrs. Hewett & Co., had over twenty years ago its rendezvous at Barking, and at that time the agents of the Mission laboured regularly amongst the crews. On the introduction of steam fish carriers the fleet migrated to Gorleston, as more convenient to the fishing grounds, and from that time the work of this Society ceased to reach the fishermen. Now, however, in a remarkable and clearly providential way, God has led to the resumption of this labour, and has provided a trim little smack, the *Ensign*, to be used as a Mission vessel in connection with the "Short Blue" fleet. Under the command of a godly fisherman, who is not only honorary agent of the Thames Church Mission, but also of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Church of England Temperance Society, and the Shipwrecked Mariners' Society, this smack is now cruising with the fleet, affording opportunity for regular Mission work. The *Ensign* carries a lending library (who will volunteer to increase the number of volumes?), a harmonium, kindly given by a gentleman whose sympathies had been aroused by the published accounts of this interesting effort—and, by no means least important, a medicine chest, "A Thank-offering" from a dear Christian lady, on her recovery from a very dangerous illness. Some cases of barbarous cruelty to smack apprentices, too painful for quotation, have lately appeared in the newspapers; and can anything, I need scarcely ask, be so likely to prove an efficacious remedy, or preventive, as the spiritual and philanthropic work now so happily inaugurated—prayer for the influence of the Holy Spirit, the diffusion of Scriptural knowledge through the distribution of copies of the Word of God, and the affectionate appeals of the Missionaries?

There are many ways in which the Society's work for God can be materially assisted; but beyond all other means which the readers of *THE CHURCHMAN* in their kindness may adopt, I plead for that of which this closing extract so touchingly tells:—

Amongst the many vessels boarded was the —, steamer, where I held a most interesting service; twenty hearers were present. A

the close, one of the sailors said to me, "Did you feel much of the Lord's presence on Sunday? My reason for asking is this: whilst at Hamburg on Sunday, a sailor came into this fore-castle and invited all us chaps on board of a Guernsey brig to a prayer-meeting. Two men with myself went on board, and entered into the brig's cabin, where there were about fourteen sailors collected together. The master of the brig (who was the preacher) said, 'Those of us who will, may offer up prayer. Let us earnestly beseech the Lord to abundantly bless the labours of that excellent Society the Thames Church Mission, for there are some of us here have to thank God that ever it was instituted.'"

We greatly value the help of prayer.

FRANCIS MAUDE (Capt. R.N.).

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## ART II.—LONGFELLOW.<sup>1</sup>

WE lost in the early months of the present year one of the truest, and purest, and sweetest poets of this century. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow died on the 24th of March, "the roaring moon of daffodil and crocus," and his death cast a shadow on many a home on both sides of the Atlantic, and indeed in all countries where the English language is spoken. Wherever his poems had reached—and where had they not?—a sincere sorrow was felt by all who could estimate sincerity and dignity, simplicity and goodness; and even little ones mourned for the gentle poet who had given a voice to their hopes and fears, and who showed how much he loved them in his beautiful poem of "The Children's Hour." The inhabitants of Cambridge, near Boston, which had been his home for some years, were first apprised of the poet's death by the tolling of his age—seventy-five years—upon the fire-alarm bell; and long before the sun went down the tidings of a great loss had been carried far and wide. In a sonnet which appeared in the *Spectator* since his death, he is justly styled—

The bard  
Whose sweet songs, more than aught beside,  
Have bound two worlds together;

and England, equally with America, has sorrowed over the loss

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<sup>1</sup> "Ultima Thule." By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Second Edition. London: George Routledge & Sons. 1880.

"In the Harbour." By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. London: George Routledge & Sons. 1882.

of a noble man and poet whose gracious presence has passed away from earth.

It is pleasant, when thinking on the high character and eminent gifts of Longfellow, to remember his descent from the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth, Massachusetts; five of his ancestors being among the passengers in the first memorable voyage of the *Mayflower*. The great-grandfather of the poet was Stephen Longfellow, who was born at Newbury, in 1685; and it is interesting to know, in view of the popular poem of "The Village Blacksmith," that he was the blacksmith of the village, and also an ensign in the militia of the town. On his mother's side the poet was a descendant of John Alden, who had also been a passenger in the *Mayflower*, and she was also connected with that Priscilla Mullen, whose significant answer: "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?" has been preserved in the well-known poem of "The Courtship of Miles Standish."

Longfellow entered Bowdoin College in his fourteenth year, and graduated in 1825. He early developed great literary taste, read all the great masters of song, of whatever age or nation, and had a cordial and catholic appreciation of their genius. Several of his poems were written during his college career, and among them "The Hymn of the Moravian Nuns," "The Spirit of Poetry," and "Sunrise on the Hills." From these we not only gather his love of Nature, but find that love expressed in language musical, simple and sincere. We give a few lines from "The Spirit of Poetry":—

And this is the sweet spirit, that doth fill  
The world; and in these wayward days of youth,  
My busy fancy oft embodies it,  
As a bright image of the light and beauty  
That dwells in Nature: of the heavenly forms  
We worship in our dreams, and the soft hues  
That stain the wild bird's wing, and flush the clouds  
When the sun sets.

We discover a sentiment very similar in the closing verse of "Sunrise on the Hills":—

If thou art worn and hard beset  
With sorrows, that thou wouldst forget;  
If thou wouldst read a lesson, that will keep  
Thy heart from fainting, and thy soul from sleep,  
Go to the woods and hills! no tears  
Dim the sweet look that Nature wears.

After taking his degree, Longfellow entered his father's office that he might study law; but being offered the Chair of Modern Languages in Bowdoin College, in 1828, with leave of absence for travel and study, he left America for the continent of Europe.

He visited France, Spain, Italy and Germany. Remaining some time at the University of Gottingen, and returning through England, he entered on the duties of his professorship in 1829. In 1831 he married Miss Mary Storer Potter, daughter of the Hon. Barrett Potter, of Portland, who died at Rotterdam, in 1835, during a tour with her husband in the northern countries of Europe. She was a woman of great beauty and accomplishments, lovely alike in person and character; and it is her memory that he has enshrined in the touching little poem called "The Footsteps of the Angels."

And with them the Being Beauteous,  
Who unto my youth was given,  
More than all things else to love me,  
And is now a saint in heaven.

With a slow and noiseless footstep  
Comes that messenger divine,  
Takes the vacant chair beside me,  
Lays her gentle hand in mine.

And she sits and gazes at me  
With those deep and tender eyes,  
Like the stars, so still and saint-like,  
Looking downward from the skies.

O, though oft depressed and lonely,  
All my fears are laid aside,  
If I but remember only,  
Such as these have lived and died!

This is poetry of the heart, tender and peaceful; regretful, yet hopeful; yearning, yet resigned.

Longfellow's residence in Europe was devoted to work as well as to the pleasures of foreign travel; and he so mastered all the principal modern languages as to make himself familiar with the greatest works in all. In "Outre-Mer, a Pilgrimage beyond the Sea," he has left the records of a tour in Europe, and in it the reader finds a fresh and true description of the soil and scenery, the habits and feelings and modes of life of the places he visited, and the people whom he saw. The whole is imbued with the colours of the scenes which passed under his poet eye, and is redolent of the warm and romantic atmosphere of France, and Italy, and Spain. His records of Nature and Art, as seen in those historic countries of the Old World, alike charm and instruct, as he lingers over what is most characteristic in the traditions and genius, the literature and art of the country that for a season was his home.

In 1839 he published "Hyperion," a romance full of fancy and delicate humour, and charged throughout with poetical feeling;



and containing, moreover, some fine and appreciative criticism. The hero of the book, Paul Flemming, is an American traveller, who sets out on his tour under the dark shadow of a great sorrow. His wife and her infant lie in the churchyard, and the husband and father goes forth alone, with a heart torn with anguish, and seeking some consolation in change of scene. Composure comes with time; grief chastens the traveller, and resignation forbids despair. New duties call for exertion, new achievements demand fresh energy; and with these new hopes begin to dawn over the night of his sorrow. Love once more sheds a brightness on his path; and the beauty, and virtues, and accomplishments of Mary Ashburton win upon a heart keenly sensitive to excellence and grace. "Hyperion" is in some respects a revelation of the poet's inner life. The original of Miss Ashburton was Frances Elizabeth Appleton, daughter of Nathan Appleton, a distinguished citizen of Boston, and her remarkable graces of person and of mind could not fail to charm the young poet's heart. He wooed and won the beautiful girl. The rejection of Paul Flemming's suit in the romance was, happily, not realized by Longfellow in his more fortunate courtship, and he was married to Miss Appleton in 1843, when he was in his thirty-sixth year. This noble woman, beautiful as a bride, and, it is said, more beautiful still as a matron, was burnt to death before his eyes on the 4th of July, 1861. Her light muslin dress took fire from a lighted match; and though her husband attempted to extinguish the flames, it was all in vain: she never recovered from the injuries received. The sorrow was a cruel one, the memory terrible, the loss irreparable. But the poet did not question or complain. "He was dumb, and opened not his mouth." There does not appear to be a single reference to the agony of that terrible hour in any of his published poems; the grief was hidden away from sight in the inner recesses of the heart. And yet, however he may have schooled his mind to submission, and have disciplined his will, not doubting the goodness of God, were there not times when he too could cry, in the words of his brother poet:—

But oh for the touch of a vanished hand,  
And the sound of a voice that is still.

The first volumes which Longfellow published were received with delight, became soon widely known and admired; and it was felt that a new poetic star had swam into men's ken. The "Voices of the Night" (1839) and "Ballads" (1841) at once became popular, and gave him a high place among contemporary poets. There is not one of them that is not familiar to the reader, and comment on their grace and rhythm, their sentiment and emotion, would be superfluous. "A Psalm of Life,"

"Footsteps of Angels," "The Light of Stars," "The Beleaguered City," and "Flowers," are all greatly and deservedly admired. Every one will recall the vigour and pictorial power, as well as the touching pathos, of "The Wreck of the Hesperus," the fine imaginative beauty of "The Skeleton in Armour," where every picture is a separate work of art, and where the sound of the north wind, and the roar of the rushing waves seem to form an appropriate accompaniment to the chant of the rude Viking,—

Then launched they to the blast,  
Bent like a reed each mast,  
Yet we were gaining fast,  
    When the wind failed us;  
And with a sudden flaw  
Came round the gusty Skaw,  
So that our foe we saw  
    Laugh as he hailed us.

And as to catch the gale  
Round veered the flapping sail,  
Death! was the helmsman's hail,  
    Death without quarter!  
Mid-ships with iron keel  
Struck we her ribs of steel;  
Down her black hulk did reel  
    Through the black water!

As with his wings aslant,  
Sails the fierce cormorant  
Seeking some rocky haunt,  
    With his prey laden,  
So toward the open main,  
Beating to sea again,  
Through the wild hurricane  
    Bore I the maiden.

The late Mr. James T. Fields, so well known in the world of letters on both sides the Atlantic, and whose acquaintance with Longfellow was long and intimate, contributed an interesting reminiscence of the poet to the *Boston Daily Globe* of March 25 in this year:—

"The Psalm of Life" came into existence on a bright summer morning in July, 1838, in Cambridge, as the poet sat between two windows, at a small table in the corner of his chamber. It was a voice from his inmost heart, and he kept it unpublished for a long time; it expressed his own feelings at that time, when recovering from a deep affliction, and he hid it in his own heart for many months. The poem of "The Reaper and the Flowers" came without effort, crystallized into his mind. "The Light of Stars" was composed on a serene and beautiful summer evening, exactly suggestive of the poem. "The Wreck of the Hesperus" was written the night after a violent storm

had occurred, and as the poet sat smoking his pipe the *Hesperus* came sailing into his mind: he went to bed, but could not sleep, and rose and wrote the celebrated verses. The poem hardly caused him an effort, but flowed on without let or hindrance. On a summer afternoon in 1839, as he was riding on the beach, "The Skeleton in Armour" rose as out of the deep before him, and would not be laid. One of the best known of all Longfellow's shorter poems is "Excelsior." That one word happened to catch his eye one autumn evening in 1841, on a torn piece of newspaper, and straightway his imagination took fire at it. Taking up a piece of paper, which happened to be the back of a letter received that day from Charles Sumner, he crowded it with verses. As first written down, "Excelsior" differs from the perfected and published version, but it shows a rush and glow worthy of its author.

There is nothing in the above-mentioned poems which is beyond the conventional in subject, or the commonplace in sentiment, but they are full of grace and picturesqueness, harmonious in utterance, and simple in expression. It was the graceful form of the poems, and their perfect simplicity of thought, that at once caught the public ear and made them popular.

"The Spanish Student," which appeared in 1843, is an attractive story cast in a dramatic form, containing much that is poetical in emotion and powerful in diction, but is a play more fitted for the closet than the stage.

The poems on Slavery were published in the same year, and there can be no doubt that these pieces, full of indignant feeling, and charged with an intense sympathy with the oppressed, helped much to form public sentiment on a question which was then in its moral phase, and at a time when the Pulpit and the Press were both shamefully silent on the national disgrace and curse, and some twenty years before the country was plunged in a civil war. "The Slave Singing at Midnight," "The Quadroon Girl," "The Witnesses," "The Warning," all betray an enthusiasm for liberty, a faith in justice, and a confidence in the issues of the struggle, which do honour alike to the head and the heart of the man. When we think of the final appeal that was made to arms—as though the great national wrong could only be washed away in blood—how the poet becomes the seer, and utters what proved to be a prophecy? Read the last stanza of "The Warning":—

There is a poor, blind Samson in this land,  
Shorn of his strength, and bound in bonds of steel,  
Who may, in some grim revel, raise his hand,  
And shake the pillars of this Commonweal,  
Till the vast Temple of our liberties  
A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies.

During the war the poet retired into his study, took no part in the bitter strifes and terrible controversies of that sad time; his person was seen on no platform, his voice heard at no meeting; but all men knew that his fullest sympathies were with those who were on the side of charity and right. His friends were amongst the most eminent of the abolitionists—Ralph Waldo Emerson and Charles Sumner. On Sumner's lamented death, Longfellow wrote a beautiful and touching "In Memoriam," weaving a poetic chaplet for his grave:—

His was the troubled life,  
The conflict and the pain,  
The grief, the bitterness of strife,  
The honour without stain.

Longfellow was a man of peace—gentle, simple, religious. "The fact is, I hate everything that is violent," said he to a friend who had been with him during a thunderstorm, and to whom he was apologizing for the care with which he was endeavouring to exclude from his house the tokens of the storm. And this love of peace, this longing for a time when the desolations of war should pass, and the world should be at rest for ever, comes out in a fine poem, "The Arsenal at Springfield":—

Down the dark future, through long generations  
The echoing sounds grow fainter, and then cease,  
And like a bell, with solemn sweet vibrations,  
I hear once more the voice of Christ say, "Peace."  
Peace! and no longer from its brazen portals  
The blast of War's great organ shakes the skies!  
But beautiful as songs of the immortals,  
The holy melodies of love arise.

It was no doubt a spirit naturally restful, and "hating everything that is violent," that made him shrink from harshness as from a positive sin. It is the prerogative of the poet to give pleasure; but it is the critic's province to give pain. Speaking of criticism, he said: "I look at the first few lines, and if I find that the article has been written in a pleasant spirit, I read it through; but if I find that the intention is to wound, I drop the paper into my fire, and so dismiss it. In that way one escapes much annoyance."<sup>1</sup>

"Evangeline," which was published in 1847, decided Longfellow's position among modern poets. The popularity of that beautiful idyl was great and immediate. Everybody who cared for poetry read the pathetic story of the Valley of Acadia, and followed with unceasing interest and moistened eyes, the adven-

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<sup>1</sup> *New York Tribune*, March 30, 1882.

tures of the lovely heroine and her betrothed. The story is full of sweet pictures of innocence and peace—of pasture-lands, of orchards, and cornfields; the sounds from the farmyard; the whirr of the busy wheel, and the noise of the shuttle, and the song of the maidens as they spin the golden flax for the gossiping looms. An undefinable charm and grace of description runs through the poem, and the light of a gracious piety illuminates the whole. The greater part of the poem brings back the golden age with the colour of fruits, and the odour of flowers, radiant morns, and mellow moonlights, and the gladness of the villagers, and the feast of betrothal; and then comes the sad change—His Majesty's command that all their lands and possessions should be forfeited to the Crown, and that the people should leave their happy valley, and seek a home in another province. And then there is the departure from Grand-Pré; the separation of the lovers; the weary wandering for years in a fruitless search for one another, and their meeting at last only when the angel of death had set his cold seal on Gabriel's brow. The tale is one of touching sadness, but redeemed from hopelessness by the religious feeling throughout.

All was ended now, the hope, and the fear, and the sorrow,  
All the aching of heart, the restless unsatisfied longing,  
All the dull, deep pain, and constant anguish of patience!  
And, as she pressed once more the lifeless head to her bosom,  
Meekly she bowed her own, and murmured, "Father, I thank Thee!"

The hexameter has seldom been employed so happily as in this poem. The measure, unless used with great skill, and with a nice attention to the cæsural pause, glides into a sing-song, and becomes intolerable to the ear. Longfellow uses it with a rare felicity, which reconciles us to a metre more fitted to the language of Homer and of Virgil than to that of Shakespeare and Milton; but the movement of the verse in "*Evangeline*" is as musical as it is suited to the subject. We may apply the exquisite lines of Coleridge on "the Homeric Hexameter described and exemplified," to this poem:—

Strongly it bears us along in swelling and limitless billows,  
Nothing before, and nothing behind but the sky and the ocean.

Take, for example, some of the lines in the poem.

Softly the Angelus sounded, and over the roofs of the village  
Columns of pale blue smoke, like clouds of incense ascending,  
Rose from a hundred hearths, the homes of peace and contentment.

Homeward serenely she walked with God's benediction upon her.  
When she had passed, it seemed like the ceasing of exquisite music.

Silently one by one, in the infinite meadows of heaven,  
Blossomed the lovely stars, the forget-me-nots of the angels.

Down sank the great red sun, and in golden glimmering vapours,  
Veiled the light of his face, like the prophet descending from Sinai.  
And o'er their spirits there came a feeling of wonder and sadness,—  
Strange forebodings of ill, unseen and that cannot be compassed.  
As, at the tramp of a horse's hoof on the turf of the prairies,  
Far in advance are closed the leaves of the shrinking mimosa,  
So, at the hoof-beats of fate, with sad forebodings of evil,  
Shrinks and closes the heart, ere the stroke of doom has attained it.

Other poems followed from Longfellow's fertile pen—those under the title of "The Seaside and the Fireside," comprising "The Building of the Ship," "The Ballad of Sir Humphry Gilbert," "The Fire of Drift-wood," and "The Sand of the Desert in an Hour-glass." All of these are distinguished by vigour and poetic associations; by touching tenderness, and by that purity of style and grace of sentiment in which Longfellow excelled.

In 1851 appeared the "Golden Legend," a poem which takes us back to the Middle Ages, and which is remarkable for its dramatic force and power, and for the daring manner in which the poet introduces the evil spirit on the scene,—a daring more than justified by his treatment of his theme. It is a delightful poem, striking throughout, and well maintaining the character, and colours, and thoughts of the mediæval legend of the young maiden who willed to lay down her own life in order to save the life of her prince.

The poem we should place the foremost of all the poet's writings, "Hiawatha," was given to the world in 1855. Here he is at his best. It is his master-piece,—full of artless dignity and an inimitable grace. We remember how some critics condemned it at first because of the strangeness of the Indian names which so often recur throughout the poem; but even these were found to form an attraction to the reader, and to give it a local colouring; no one could help being charmed with the exuberance of fancy, the humour and the pathos, and the childlike spirit with which it is pervaded. The description of natural scenery: the rivers and the forests, the icebergs and snowdrifts, the simple customs and religious myths of the departing race—the wild life of the children of the woods, are all told with simplicity and yet dignity in the poet's melodious verse. The legends are full of a singular interest; and if the wooing of Hiawatha, and his wedding-feast, leave an impression as of sunshine on the mind, a tender joyous feeling—"The Ghosts" and "The Famine" are fraught with the most touching pathos, and we leave Minnehaha "underneath the moaning hemlocks," with eyes

Wet with most delicious tears.

Will the reader pardon an extract, somewhat lengthy—to make it shorter were to spoil it—from "The Famine?" "The

Ghosts," with its intimations of a spiritual world as yet hidden from Hiawatha, but to be revealed to him by the coming of the pale-faced prophet, is too long for quotation :—

Wrapped in furs, and armed for hunting,  
With his mighty bow of ash-tree,  
With his quiver full of arrows,  
With his mittens, Minjekahwun,  
Into the vast and vacant forest  
On his snow-shoes strode he forward.

"Gitche Manito, the mighty!"  
Cried he with his face uplifted  
In that bitter hour of anguish,  
"Give your children food, O father!  
Give us food, or we must perish!  
Give me food for Minnehaha,  
For my dying Minnehaha!"

Through the far-resounding forest,  
Through the forest vast and vacant,  
Rang that cry of desolation,  
But there came no other answer  
Than the echo of his crying,  
Than the echo of the woodlands,  
"Minnehaha! Minnehaha!"

All day long roved Hiawatha  
In that melancholy forest,  
Through the shadow of whose thickets,  
In the pleasant days of summer,  
Of that ne'er-forgotten summer,  
He had brought his young wife homeward,  
From the land of the Dacotahs;  
When the birds sank in the thickets,  
And the streamlets laughed and glistened,  
And the air was full of fragrance,  
And the lovely Laughing Water  
Said, with voice that did not tremble,  
"I will follow you, my husband!"

In the wigwam with Nokomis,  
With those gloomy guests that watched her,  
With the Famine and the Fever,  
She was lying, the Beloved,  
She the dying Minnehaha.

"Hark!" she said, "I hear a rushing,  
Hear a roaring and a rushing,  
Hear the Falls of Minnehaha  
Calling to me from a distance!"  
"No, my child!" said old Nokomis,  
"'Tis the night-wind in the pine-trees!"  
"Look," she said, "I see my father  
Standing lonely at his doorway,  
Beckoning to me from his wigwam,

In the land of the Dacotahs !"  
 "No, my child !" said old Nokomis,  
 "'Tis the smoke that waves and beckons !"  
 "Ah," she said, "the eyes of Pauguk  
 Glare upon me in the darkness ;  
 I can feel his icy fingers  
 Clasp my mine amid the darkness !  
 Hiawatha ! Hiawatha !"

And the desolate Hiawatha,  
 Far away amid the forest,  
 Miles away among the mountains,  
 Heard that sudden cry of anguish,  
 Heard the voice of Minnehaha  
 Calling to him in the darkness,  
 "Hiawatha ! Hiawatha !"

Over snowfields waste and pathless,  
 Homeward hurried Hiawatha,  
 Empty-handed, heavy-hearted,  
 Heard Nokomis moaning, wailing,  
 "Wahonowin ! Wahonowin !  
 Would that I had perished for you,  
 Would that I were dead as you are !  
 Wahonowin ! Wahonowin !"  
 And he rushed into the wigwam,  
 Saw the old Nokomis slowly  
 Rocking to and fro and moaning,  
 Saw his lovely Minnehaha  
 Lying dead and cold before him ;  
 And his bursting heart within him  
 Uttered such a cry of anguish,  
 That the forest moaned and shuddered,  
 That the very stars in heaven  
 Shook and trembled with his anguish.

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"Farewell !" said he, "Minnehaha !  
 Farewell, O my Laughing Water !  
 All my heart is buried with you,  
 All my thoughts go onward with you !  
 Come not back again to labour,  
 Come not back again to suffer,  
 Where the Famine and the Fever  
 Wear the heart and waste the body.  
 Soon my task will be completed,  
 Soon your footsteps I shall follow  
 To the Islands of the Blessed,  
 To the kingdom of Ponemah,  
 To the Land of the Hereafter !"

It is not our intention to dwell at length on Longfellow's many poems : to mention one or two of the most striking is



enough to recall them to the mind—and to whom are they not familiar? "The Courtship of Miles Standish," with the story of the old Colony days, and the noble and womanly love of the Puritan maiden; the "Tales of a Wayside Inn," in which we find the vigorous poem, "Paul Revere's Ride;" the pathetic tale of "Sir Federego and his Falcon;" and the fine ballad of "King Robert of Sicily;" with some impressive versions of Talmudic legends and the Sagas of the fierce and martial Scandinavian race.

Among the shorter poems, may we not recall the musical and pathetic song, "The Old Clock on the Stairs," with its impressive refrain, "For ever, never;" "The Children's Hour," tender, almost sacred in its feeling; "The Rainy Day," melancholy, yet hopeful; "Blind Bartimæus," perfect in expression and treatment; "God's Acre," through which gleams the light of the Resurrection; and that very touching little poem of four stanzas, called "Weariness." In this last, as well as in "The Children's Hour," we have his sympathy with the little ones, his love for the young. We shall, we are sure, be forgiven if we quote it in full:—

#### WEARINESS.

O little feet! that such long years  
Must wander on through hopes and fears,  
Must ache and bleed beneath your load;  
I, nearer to the Wayside Inn  
Where toil shall cease and rest begin,  
Am weary, thinking of your road!

O little hands! that, weak or strong,  
Have still to serve or rule so long,  
Have still so long to give or ask;  
I, who so much with book and pen  
Have toiled among my fellow-men,  
Am weary, thinking of your task.

O little hearts! that throb and beat  
With such impatient, feverish heat,  
Such limitless and strong desires;  
Mine, that so long has glowed and burned,  
With passions into ashes turned,  
Now covers and conceals its fires.

O little souls! as pure and white  
And crystalline as rays of light  
Direct from heaven, their source divine;  
Refracted through the mist of years,  
How red my setting sun appears,  
How lurid looks this soul of mine!

Besides being a national singer, Longfellow made, apart from his translation of Dante, as many as forty-nine or fifty versions

from nearly every European language, and from writers otherwise little known. He excelled in a work so difficult as translation. He caught the very spirit of the poem he wished to reproduce in English; and giving it all the needful value of accent and rhythm, made it in a sense his own. "The Bird and the Ship," "Whither," "King Christian," "Beware," "The Happiest Land," "The Castle by the Sea," all read like original inspirations more than mechanical or literal translations. His translation of Dante is considered by eminent critics to be

free alike from the reproach of pedantic literalness and of unfaithful license. His special sympathy and genius guide him with almost unerring truth, and display themselves constantly in the rare felicity of his rendering. In rendering the substance of Dante's poem, he has succeeded in giving also, so far as art and genius could give it, the spirit of Dante's poetry. Fitted for the work as few men ever were, by gifts of Nature, by sympathy, by an unrivalled faculty of poetic appreciation, and by long and thorough culture, he has brought his matured powers in their full vigour to its performance, and has produced an incomparable translation—a poem that will take rank among the greatest English poems.<sup>1</sup>

It is said that

he spared no pains to make his work perfect. As it went on, friends were called in whose judgment as scholars, men of taste, poets, could be relied on, and to them the cantos were read in English; they comparing the version with the original, which they held in their hands, and making suggestions as the reading proceeded. Thus the utmost accuracy was obtained. In this way every line, every word, was tested by those most competent to pass judgment.<sup>2</sup>

Longfellow continued to compose and publish almost to the last. His "Ultima Thule" was published some two years before his death, and since that lamented event a volume called "In the Harbour," containing some short poems and translations, has appeared. His "spirit" and his pen were active up to the end. These volumes, if they do not increase, at least sustain the reputation of the honoured author, and add another flower to the garland that wreathes his brow. "The Bells of San Blas" was the last poem that he wrote. It was composed on March 15, 1882; but one of the finest things in "In the Harbour" is the sonnet, "Victor and Vanquished," which gives sonorous expression to exalted emotion and elevated thought. We shall conclude our extracts from the poet with quoting this sonnet, although another very fine one, and marked by the same qualities, is the sonnet entitled "Chimes":—

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Charles Eliot Norton, in the *North American Review* for July, 1867.

O. B. Frothingham, in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

## VICTOR AND VANQUISHED.

As one who long hath fled with panting breath  
 Before his foe, bleeding and near to fall,  
 I turn and set my back against the wall  
 And look thee in the face, triumphant Death.  
 I call for aid, and no one answereth;  
 I am alone with thee who conquerest all;  
 Yet me thy threatening form doth not appal,  
 For thou art but a phantom and a wraith.  
 Wounded and weak, sword broken at the hilt,  
 With armour shattered, and without a shield,  
 I stand unmoved; do with me what thou wilt:  
 I can resist no more, but will not yield;  
 This is no tournament where cowards tilt;  
 The vanquished here is victor of the field.

The preface to the little volume, "In the Harbour," tells us that it "contains all of Mr. Longfellow's unprinted poems which will be given to the public, with the exception of two sonnets reserved for his biography, and 'Michael Angelo,' a dramatic poem, which will be published later."

In considering Longfellow's place among the poets, we cannot claim for him the position of a very great or original poet: he is surpassed by the greatest in splendour of diction, grandeur of imagery, and brilliancy of thought. Though entitled to a place in the foremost rank, no one would seat him beside Milton, or Byron, or Wordsworth, or Keats, or Tennyson. He may be as popular in the ordinary sense of the word as any of these; but his popularity is due to the simplicity of his style, and to that clearness of thought which gives to his verse much of its charm. He is never obscure. No future generation will ever establish a society for the better understanding of his poetry: it is as clear in thought as it is in expression. And happily so. Poetry ceases to be poetry where it becomes a mathematical problem which needs to be worked out before it is understood. It was not given to Longfellow to throw any new light on Nature, or to reveal things which are hidden from the world at large; it was rather his mission to clothe in tender and beautiful forms thoughts that lie very near the surface, and by a vivid fancy and a scholar-like touch to invest ordinary subjects with loveliness and grace. If his sentiments were at times commonplace, they were always elevated by an exquisitely simple and often stately expression. No poet has appealed to a wider variety of tastes. In whatever relationship he stands to the poets of the Old World, he was the most popular poet that America has produced, although she can justly boast of poets of such genius, as Bryant and Whittier, Wendell Holmes and Lowell. Had America a Poet Laureate,

there can be little doubt that Longfellow's brow would have worn the bays.

There is one meed of praise which he richly merits—a soul of moral purity inspires all his work. “Whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report,” formed the subject of his verse. His art was, in the truest sense, moral and religious. With him the sensuous never passed into the sensual. There is nothing in his poems, nothing in his love for the beautiful, to convey a taint to the imagination, or to degrade the soul. When in his company we always breathe a pure and healthy atmosphere far removed from the unwholesome sentiment which lies at the heart of too much of the poetry of the present day,—poetry which may be described as “earthly, sensual, devilish.” It is true of Longfellow, if of any poet, that “he left no line that dying he would wish to blot.” A spirit of religion breathes through all his poems; he really loves goodness, and therefore the highest moral beauty finds its expression in his words. There is no paganism or pantheism in his poems. He is intensely Christian. He ever sees behind the natural and moral universe not only a Divine Presence, but also a loving Redeemer. A friend of many years has beautifully said of him, “The man was more and better than the poet.” “He was such a man that London working-men thought it an honour to kiss his hand.”

The present writer had the great pleasure of seeing Longfellow in his home at Cambridge in the autumn of 1879. He was most cordially received, as indeed all visitors, and Englishmen very especially, were. The poet's home is well known as an historic mansion. It was built nearly a hundred and fifty years ago by Colonel John Vassal, whose family stone in the Cambridge Churchyard bears only the goblet and the sun, “*vas*”—“*sol*,” the family arms. The house passed to Colonel Vassal's son, who forfeited all in the Revolution; and after him it was occupied by Washington, and became for a time his headquarters. We found him in his library,—a picturesque figure among picturesque surroundings; and his face lighted up with benevolence and beauty as he showed us several objects of interest in the room, and took us round his garden, where many a bright flower adorned the beds, and the trees were in the splendour of their autumnal foliage. He pointed out to us his famous inkstand which belonged to Coleridge, and bears his name upon an ivory plate. He possessed another which belonged to Crabbe, and which was given to the poet, as was also Coleridge's, by Mr. S. C. Hall. On the walls were some crayon portraits, and a good bust of Professor G. W. Greene adorned the room. Here also was a fine carved bookcase containing a priceless literary treasure,—the various editions of his works; and, what was far more valuable,

the successive manuscripts of each carefully preserved and bound under his direction, and often extending to three separate copies: the original MS., the MS. as revised for the printer, and the corrected proofs. He showed us the armchair made from the wood of "The Village Blacksmith's" Chestnut Tree, and presented to him by the children of Cambridge on his seventy-second birthday. It was this gift that called forth the poem published in "Ultima Thule," beginning:—

Am I a king, that I should call my own  
This splendid ebon throne?  
Or by what reason, or what right divine  
Can I proclaim it mine?

Only, perhaps, by right divine of song  
It may to me belong;  
Only because the spreading Chestnut Tree  
Of old was sung by me.

His conversation, it is needless to say, was full of interest. He talked of England and America, literature and art, the poets, our impressions of the New World, and the beautiful scenery of "the White Mountains." It may be permissible to say that he had seen a small volume of the writer's, and had requested permission to insert some of the poems in a book he was then editing, called "Poems of Places." He spoke on composition and publication. It was a good way, he said, to publish short poems in magazines and periodicals, and then collect them into a volume. After the poems had appeared in print, he deprecated any alteration, as he thought by over-elaboration strength was often sacrificed for the sake of smoothness, and the verse, robbed of its vigour, suffered in consequence. So he talked, now in words of kindly encouragement, and now in kindly advice, his beautiful face beaming the while, and the simplicity and sincerity of his manner exercising a sort of fascination on those privileged to listen to his conversation, and to come within the reach of his sympathies.

But it is time that I bring these words upon this most gracious singer to an end. His reputation is world-wide; his memory has this peculiar fragrance, that, when he died, all felt—and the children, to whose hopes and fears he gave a voice, felt it not the least—that a friend had gone from earth. The merit of his works, their high moral sense, their deep religious beauty, their affinity with all that is noble in manhood and pure in womanhood, is attested by their immense circulation, and by the common verdict of men of letters and taste in every land where literature is cultivated and understood.

We cannot end this paper better than by quoting a few lines,

which the poet has put into the mouth of Walter, the Minne-singer of "The Golden Legend:"—

His gracious presence upon earth  
Was as a fire upon a hearth.  
As pleasant songs, at morning sung,  
The words that dropped from his sweet tongue  
Strengthened our hearts; or, heard at night,  
Made all our slumbers soft and light.

CHARLES D. BELL.

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### ART. III.—THE SILENT SISTER.

"**S**PEECH is silvern and silence is golden," has only a partial and occasional application. It would be almost as true, and only a few shades more inaccurate, to reverse the proverb, and to declare, amid the applause of Irish obstructives, and with the tacit approval of even Mr. Gladstone, that silence is silvern and speech is golden. Proverbs seldom, after all, tell more than half the truth, or paint more than one side of the shield.

The term "Silent Sister," as applied to the time-honoured College University across the Irish Channel—applied, I believe, in the first instance by the two great English Universities of Cambridge and Oxford—is a term not so much of reproach as of good-humoured badinage. Dublin was not always as famous for her literature as for her learning, if "literature" is a correct term to apply to the publication of books and tractates, as distinguished from the study and knowledge of books and tractates. The income of her Senior Fellows, and even of her Junior Fellows, increased as it is by the tutorial payments of undergraduates, and exceeding, as it so considerably does, the income of the Cambridge and Oxford Fellows and Tutors, may have had something to do with the quondam literary "silence" of the "Sister" University of Dublin. That reproach, if reproach it ever was, has now passed away entirely, as not only the scholarship but the scholarly literature of the Irish Sister has come to the front; but the not ungracefully descriptive title remains. The writer remembers having been asked many years ago, by the head of one of our great public schools of the second rank, whether "they 'do' Greek in Dublin," an inelegant question inelegantly put, by a gentleman who probably would have been offended if the head of one of our great public schools, of the first rank, had asked him whether "they" are able to "do" Greek in, let us say St. Nemo's School. That

question, certainly not asked in an underbred or uncivil way, asked with an appended "ne" for simple information, represented the utter unacquaintance of an educated man with the *tertia inter pares* rank of Dublin University scholarship and status, as compared with that of Cambridge and Oxford. The "Silent" Sister was to him, though not to his own University, one of the unknown forces in the education of the day. He had never heard of Provost Travers, the friend of Cartwright and indefatigable opponent of Hooker; had never read the life of saintly Wilson of Sodor and Man; or of Sir W. Temple, the patron of Johnson. Bishop Chandler's "Defence of Christianity" was of course unknown to this head of a great school, Goldsmith was perhaps a stranger to him, and probably his scholars did not know who wrote the "Burial of Sir John Moore." Had he ever heard of Ussher, and whence did he suppose came Ussher's Greek? Everybody is aware of the dissenting minister's query, "Did Paul know Greek, and if he could do without it why cannot I?" The dissenting minister and the schoolmaster were alike ignorant or alike forgetful, and neither the "Greek" of the apostle Paul, nor that of the University of Dublin, would be questioned by many dissenting ministers or Church schoolmasters of average information and reflection. By-and-by, and perhaps very soon, the question of Greek or no Greek will become really intelligent and interesting, and will be asked in quite another fashion. Parents seeking training of a mercantile sort for sons, impatient of mere abstract learning, will inquire, "Do they still 'do' Greek in Oxford?" But the inquiry will be couched, perhaps, in not so "raw" and crude a style, and will signify modern development rather than structural inferiority or incompleteness. The Irish University will probably be one of the foremost bodies to respond to the call of the age, inasmuch as she has never once "lost touch" with the intelligence and refinement of the cultured and culture-seeking classes of contemporary society. This is rather, however, an introductory parenthesis than a substantial argument.

The actual position of Dublin among Universities is almost unique, inasmuch as it offers to students their own option of residence or non-residence. This is, indeed, its specialty. There is another specialty, of which more anon, in that it actually has, contrary no doubt to the intent of its original foundation, only one College, and that therefore the College discipline and the University discipline of Oxford and Cambridge, which in those Universities merely overlap and interlace, become almost identical in the "University of Trinity College," as it is sometimes not quite accurately denominated by Englishmen more intelligent than the ex-headmaster of St. Nemo's, but who do not quite grasp the situation. That, however, is

rather a matter of detail than of principle. The option of non-residence is a matter of principle, and of very valuable principle.

The option in question is not, I am aware, an unmixed benefit either to the University or its students. It has, or at least it is apt to have, and is only by the genius of its executive and administrators prevented from having, a "confusing" effect upon examinations, as regards the University; and as regards the students, the *esprit de corps*, tone, manner, and perhaps even ethos of the non-resident undergraduates being as a rule not quite up to the mark which residence and the discipline of residence tends to produce, has a somewhat deteriorating effect upon the whole body. The Irish students, with whom Dublin is naturally "our University," are mostly resident, and the large admixture of English students, with whom Oxford and Cambridge are "our Universities," but who by pecuniary or other reasons are debarred from the education afforded, are mostly non-resident, on the banks of the Liffey, until at least such of them as intend to take Holy Orders reach the "Divinity Lecture" period of their undergraduate career. Then they are obliged, by the requirements of English and Irish bishops alike, to reside for the two academic years during which those Lectures continue.

This feature of optional non-residence it is which attracts so large a proportion of English students to Dublin. No doubt London University offers the same sort of advantage in a still more liberal spirit, and with fewer examinations, but then (1) the London University matriculation "exam." is probably more severe and searching, and covers a wider field than the matriculation "exam." of any other University anywhere; and (2) the social prestige of a London degree is considered, reasonably or unreasonably, farther remote from that of Oxford and Cambridge than is a degree from Dublin. There is also more connection, not necessarily but as a matter of fact, between the Church of England and Dublin University than between the Church of England and London University. The three Universities, called, in the old books of Common Prayer, "our Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin," and till recently the only recognized Church and State Universities, and the only Universities represented in the House of Commons, till Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill so properly admitted others, are still the chief sources of the supply of clergy, as the tables supplied in "Crockford's Clerical Directory" abundantly testify. Of 23,612 English clergy Cambridge furnishes 8,615, Oxford 7,682, and Dublin 1,751, to which, if the Irish clergy be added, who are nearly all Dublin graduates, it will be evident that Englishmen and Irishmen seeking Holy Orders, and being unable to



compass the residence required by Oxford and Cambridge, turn more generally if not more naturally, to Dublin than to London, which supplies only 176 of the 23,612 clergy above mentioned.

There is also in Dublin, what there is not in London, the admixture of resident and non-resident students. London provides no discipline for her alumni, and is merely an examining institution; Dublin provides the discipline, but never enforces it. It is worth while, as so many English readers are unaware of the extent of this liberally and maternally provided discretion offered by the University of Dublin to her children, to sketch out very briefly what it is, what are its limits and its liberties.

In Oxford and Cambridge, as everybody is aware, before a degree can be taken, so many terms must be kept by actual seven or eight weeks' residence per term within either a college of the University or an authorized lodging in the town. In Dublin terms are "kept" either by residence or by examination. Dublin is, in fact, both a teaching University by lectures to resident students, and an examining University to both resident and non-resident students. A non-resident student must pass nine examinations, commencing with matriculation; proceeding by one or two examinations in the first or "Junior Freshman" year; two examinations in the second or "Senior Freshman" year, if two have already been passed in the previous year, and three if only one has been passed in that first year; one or two examinations in the third or "Junior Sophister" year; and two or three in the "Senior Sophister" or last year. A resident student has to pass only half this number of examinations, but it is obligatory on him to pass the Michaelmas Term Examination of the Senior Freshman year, which may be called a University examination, the previous three, as also the matriculation, being rather "College" examinations, only binding on non-resident undergraduates. This very convenient option may well suit the sons of English clergymen in these days of disputed tithe, lowered glebe rent, and high rates and taxes. Such clergymen, often with large families as well as slender means and considerable parochial responsibility of a pecuniary kind, find the comfort and advantage of being able to send sons to Dublin, coaching them themselves, or with the help of a curate at home, and merely being put to the expense of two annual journeys to Dublin, and the tutorial fees of sixteen guineas per annum. There are no doubt various openings in Oxford and Cambridge to poor gentlemen in the way of scholarships, sizarships, servitorships, exhibitions, and Bible clerkships; but many of these presuppose exceptional abilities and attainments, local qualifications of birth or school, or some other such restrictive conditions.

The ordinary curriculum of study in Dublin does unquestionably involve quite as much work and brain-power as the ordinary curriculum at Cambridge and Oxford, and in the opinion of some of the best judges who are able to compare the three courses, that of Dublin is the most severe of all, not only in theory but in actual, practical reality. That men failing in Dublin go through Oxford or Cambridge without discredit means nothing to the point; because it is equally true that men failing at Cambridge find Oxford tolerably easy, and that others failing at Oxford pass through Cambridge without a single approach to the dreaded "plough," and even with a certain amount of credit. But it will be evident, probably, to any Oxford or Cambridge examiner carefully observing the course as prescribed in the Dublin University Calendar for an ordinary degree, that even an ordinary degree means quite as much honest reading as an ordinary English degree in any University except London, of which the degrees have more mental, intellectual, and "industrial" significance than have the *ordinary* degrees of any University. The educating power of the Dublin course is very considerable, and forms a happy combination of the Cambridge and Oxford systems of study, with judicious additions and equally judicious subtractions of its own. Any reader wishing to form his own judgment on this point, and not being in the way of consulting a Dublin University Calendar, could not do much better than expend the very moderate sum of six shillings on a book which, to the writer and to many of his friends seeking accurate and trustworthy information on educational matters, has been of much service. I allude to Messrs. Cassell's "Educational Year Book," which is really an epitomized Calendar of every University, as well as an almost exhaustive description of every important school, and a sketch of nearly every other school, in the United Kingdom.

The special courses of professional study, such as Divinity, Engineering, Medicine, Law, Music, branch off, like the seven Champions of Christendom, after going on together for a time in the earlier part of the "Arts" course. Even for the degree of Bachelor of Arts a student has his option, after a time, of "taking up" either Classics, Language, Experimental Physics, or Natural Science, in addition to the always indispensable Mathematical Physics, Logics, and English Composition. Divinity students are compelled to begin residence a year before they graduate, and to continue it a year after, when they obtain a Divinity Testimonium which, on the testimony of English and Irish bishops alike, is one of the most reliable and valuable certificates produced by ordination candidates, as having not merely mechanically attended a certain number of Lectures of Archbishop King's Lecturer and of the Regius Professor, but

as also having been examined on, and tested in, the subject of such Lectures. Dublin graduates ordained, as is sometimes the case, without their Divinity Testimonium and the two years' residence which it implies, find it much harder work to satisfy the examining chaplains of the present day.

After all, a University should not aim at being a mere training school for any one or for any seven or more professions, and especially not for the vocation of clergyman, whether in a country where Church and State remain connected, or in another where they have been permanently separated. Mr. John Stuart Mill's definition of the functions and ends of Universities is, especially in such a country as ours, somewhat visionary and unpractical. "To keep alive philosophy," he says, "is the end above all others for which endowed Universities exist or ought to exist." "To rear up minds with aspirations and faculties above the herd, capable of leading on their countrymen to greater achievements in virtue, intelligence, and social well-being; to do this, and likewise so to educate the leisured classes of the community generally, that they may participate as far as possible in the qualities of these superior spirits, and be prepared to appreciate them, and follow in their steps." This is surely mere philosophical "tall talk," sailing in the Socratic and Academical balloon far over the heads of those on whose behalf national Universities were projected, founded, and endowed. Universities were never intended to be mere academies, but educational guardians of the national life, stimulating its progress and development, and placing themselves in the van of its intellectual and philosophical achievements, and not, it is true, degenerating into the professional, still less the mechanically industrial, schools of Professor Goldwin Smith's ideal, but laying the foundation of professional, artistic, and by-and-by, perhaps, the higher sorts of mechanical training. Mr. Mill, somewhat inconsistently, but very sensibly and practically, brings this out in an "Inaugural Address" where, being face to face with a body of students other than "leisured classes" and eclectically "superior spirits," he no doubt felt that the mere critical and reviewing faculty had better be subordinated to the practical good sense which elsewhere he had seemed to disconnect from Universities, as an element of their studies, objects, and pursuits. "Universities are not intended to teach the knowledge required to fit men for some special mode of gaining their livelihood." Insert some such word as "primarily," "mainly," or "principally," after the word "intended," and few would dispute Mr. Mill's assertion, however dogmatically put forth. "Their object is not to make skilful lawyers, or physicians, or engineers, but capable and cultivated human beings." Surely because their object is to make men capable and culti-

vated, therefore that object is to make more conscientious lawyers, more skilful physicians, more erudite and careful engineers, more learned divines, more candid reviewers and critics, more cultured and widely travelled architects, by-and-by more highly educated artisans and mechanics.

But, leaving this more extended though not altogether inapt or "non-gremial" subject, caused by the perusal of a review of Professor Sedgwick's Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge, with the single remark that the course of education prescribed in Dublin tends very decidedly and very considerably not only "to make capable and cultivated human beings," but intelligent clergy, doctors, lawyers, engineers, and other professional men, it is time to remember that this paper is upon one University in particular, and not upon Universities in general.

Trinity College was in contemplation, and even in embryo, many years before the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but it was undoubtedly that far-sighted and shrewd-minded sovereign who actually, on March 3, 1591, founded it, not as a University but as *Mater Universitatis*, the mother or first and parental college of a University, after the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge, and not at all of the Scottish Universities, not then popularly known in England or Ireland. The actual style was *Mater Universitatis, pro educatione, institutione, et instructione juvenum et studentium in artibus et facultatibus, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturum, et quod erit et vocabitur Collegium Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, juxta Dublin*; showing that its foundress was of a more practical and less philosophical turn of mind than Mr. Mill, or, at least, contemplated a more practical and less philosophical University than the ideal University of that eminent writer. A religious and a Protestant University, and, doubtless, a Church of England University, was also thus founded; and it must occasion the Unitarian gentlemen who graduate in Dublin, even more than it occasions Presbyterians and Nonconformists, some stirrings of heart, when, after declining the "catechetical examinations" on "Secker," &c., they claim a degree from "Queen Elizabeth's" Church of England College of the "Holy and Undivided Trinity!"

"Juxta" Dublin! It was only "near" Dublin then; it is in the very heart of Dublin now, and is loyal to the core, "silently" but not less unflinchingly true to England and the Union. It has educated the Irish nobility, gentry, and large sections of the middle class into cultivated, capable, and loyal human beings for several centuries, training them less into being "superior spirits" than into doing their duty in the station of life to which it has pleased God to call them. And a University which does that is not far off from fulfilling its functions and discharging

its responsibilities to its endowment, the nation, and the world at large.

Like Oxford and Cambridge, setting in this respect an unhappy example which London has creditably refused to follow, Dublin gives her M.A. for money without examination. That eminently becoming dark-blue hood, which the Queen's or Royal University has had the questionable taste to adopt as also *her* badge of M.A., ought to mean something more and better than so many pounds sterling. It is, of course, true that M.A. implies B.A. and the examinations which precede B.A., but the higher degree ought undoubtedly to imply the higher examination. If men have not the leisure to prepare for it, or the brains to pass it, they should be able to do without it. London tells them this, and so enlarges the knowledge and raises the intellectual culture of others than "superior spirits" and "leisured classes" very appreciably.

It is pleasant to note that even the more able and cultivated portion of the Parnellite press of Ireland appreciate and are proud of the great Irish University. The *Freeman's Journal* gave utterance last June to some graceful and discriminating sentiments, which were worthy of the better days of that once truly national and respected organ of intelligent public opinion in the sister island. Dublin University "hath charms to soothe" even the *Freeman*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Honorary Degrees conferred at the Dublin University Commencements yesterday were fairly and discerningly distributed through the various fields of literary and scientific eminence. Cambridge was well and worthily represented in the persons of Archbishop Trench and Mr. Munro; Oxford was represented by Mr. Ellis, Astronomy by Professor Brunnow, Electricity by Mr. Siemens, and Biology by Mr. Wallace. It was a capable, comprehensive, and sympathetic selection; and the University derives its own share of honour from the honours which it appreciatively conferred. The most attractive feature in these comitia for some years past has been supplied by the Latin speeches of the public orator, Dr. Webb, and probably he never spoke more classical Latin than he spoke yesterday. Some of his allusions and tropes were, perhaps, somewhat strained, and pitched into too high a key, and it was a bold rhetoric that undertook to introduce Lucretius in bodily presence for a T. C. D. degree. Dr. Webb, however, speaking out of his own classical culture, said of Mr. Munro, as Lucretius Redivivus, no more than what every classical scholar in the three Universities will endorse. Mr. Webb made a sort of graceful apology for the University's long delay in conferring its degree on Archbishop Trench, and we must add that the delay has always seemed to us unaccountable. Dr. Trench, English by education, is Irish by descent; and it is no false flattery to say that his writings have honoured both his birthplace and his education place. What the University, speaking through its eloquent public orator, has discovered now, the whole republic of letters knew more than thirty years ago: and how Trinity College happened to be so late in the discovery we cannot pretend to explain. Late it is, but better late than

The number of degrees conferred at this Commencement, which is only one out of five in the year, was seventy-two B.A.'s, fifty-three Bachelors of other Faculties, including two Bachelors of Engineering, most ingeniously rendered by the authorities as *Ars Ingeniaria*, on the "canting" heraldic style, or simply punning ordinary style; one Licentiate in Medicine; one Master in *Arte Obstetricia*; forty-two Masters of Arts; one Doctor of Music; six Doctors of Medicine; nine Doctors of Law; and seven Doctors of Divinity; making a total at this one Commencement of 192, besides the six *Honoris Causa* degrees. In addition to these honorary degrees, the University grants *stipendiis condonatis* degrees to men less widely known who have done good work, more valuable than obtrusive, for God and man in various fields of missionary and other labour. English Universities might well follow so noble an example.

The Silent Sister has also trained many of her *alumni* in the "silvern" arts of parliamentary and preaching oratory, as will readily be admitted in memory of such names as Burke, Sheil, Cairns, Magee (Bishop of Peterborough), McNeile, and a hundred others who, out of no disrespect to their *Alma Mater*, the quondam "silent one," have made parliament houses, platforms, and pulpits ring with their "speech." It has been reserved for a graduate and professor of the University of Dublin to turn a deaf ear to all this pulpit eloquence, and to write about the "Decay of Preaching." Surely Professor Mahaffy, forgetful also of parliamentary glories, might with equal inaptitude write of the "Decay of Oratory," or others, ignoring the Professor's musical and historical knowledge, which the world at large is so willing to acknowledge, might write of the "Decay of Historical Lectureship," but that the shade of Kingsley would frown; or of the "Diminution of Musical Taste," but that such an essay would seem to savour too much of "words, words." And all graduates of Dublin should, in writing papers and articles, especially beware of mere "words, words," and make even an abrupt conclusion rather than yield to any temptation to indulge in them.

S. B. JAMES.

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never. Dr. Trench was born, the "Peerage" says, in 1807, and we suppose we may venture the conjecture that he is the oldest man that ever received either an ordinary or an honorary degree from the University of the "Holy and Undivided Trinity near Dublin."—*Freeman's Journal*, June 30.

#### ART. IV.—CHURCH DIFFICULTIES CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.

WE live in very difficult times. The minds of men are in a state of unrest and agitation. There are difficulties both without and within ; difficulties in politics, and difficulties in religion ; difficulties abroad, and difficulties at home ; difficulties outside the Church, and difficulties in the very heart and centre of it. Now, these Church difficulties are often the cause of the greatest perplexity to Christian minds. They harass Christian people more than those in politics. People do not see what they think they ought to see in the Church of God. They meet with grievous errors boldly taught by those who are the Church's officers, and who are sworn to maintain its truth ; and, even amongst those who are faithful to the truth, they are constantly meeting with very sad defects. Now, if we had been led by the Scriptures to expect a perfect Church, consisting only of perfect men, we might well be disturbed by all we see ; for we must all subscribe to the words of David, "I have seen an end of all perfection." We have to consider, therefore, whether this is the teaching of the Scriptures, and examine carefully what is the description there given of the true, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.

With this view, let us examine into the first Epistle of John the Apostle. The date of the Epistle is not accurately known, but it is supposed to have been written about the year A.D. 81, and to have been one of the last, if not the last, of the Apostolic Epistles. It may give us, therefore, an insight into the state of the Apostolic church towards the close of the Apostolic government ; and may also teach us important lessons as to the manner in which the Apostles treated the difficulties prevailing in their times. Let us study, first, the difficulties in the days of St. John ; and secondly, the manner in which he treated them.

##### I. *The difficulties.*

(1.) There were great doctrinal heresies in his day, and these of the most alarming character. They did not merely affect nice points, or refined distinctions, but they struck at the very foundations of the faith. They were cankers on the root of the tree, and were of such a desperate character as to destroy the whole Christianity of the Gospel.

There were some who denied the *Messiahship* of our Blessed Saviour, and actually went so far as to maintain that Jesus was not the Christ, or the Messiah. To these St. John refers in ch. ii. 22 and ch. v. 1.

Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son.

Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God : and every one that loveth him that begat loveth him also that is begotten of him.

There were some who denied the *Incarnation*, and maintained that our Blessed Saviour had not really come in the flesh. To these he refers ch. iv. 2, 3, and 2 Epistle 7.<sup>1</sup>

There were others who denied His *Divinity*, and who did not believe in Him as the Son of God. To them he refers ch. iv. 15, and v. 5, 10.

(2.) Here, then, were three great terrible, doctrinal heresies, any one of which was sufficient of itself to destroy the whole foundation of Christianity. But this was not all ; for in addition to this there was a terrible and most dangerous heresy in practical life.

The great heretics of those days were called, and, I believe called themselves, Gnostics. According to Bishop Wordsworth, writing on the authority of Irenæus (i. 6, 20), "They alleged that by reason of the spiritual seed in them, and of their superior spiritual knowledge and communion with the light, they were free to act as they chose, and were not polluted thereby, and were not guilty of sin." It was against this terrible, practical heresy that the Apostle aimed the main force of his Epistle. From one end to the other he is occupied in maintaining the practical results of true knowledge, or true light. To take one example, refer to that often misquoted passage in ch. iii. 6, &c.<sup>2</sup> The one object of that passage is to show that if we have a blessed hope in the Lord Jesus the effects must be practical. Throughout the passage the word used is in the present tense, indicating habit. The sixth verse describes two habits in contrast one with each other, the habit of abiding in Him, and the habit of sinning. The word rendered "commit," or "committed," is the same as that employed in John vii. 19: "None of you keepeth the law." So that the whole point of the passage is that when there is a new birth there will be a new life ; that he that *doeth* righteousness is righteous, and not merely he that talketh about it, or he that claims to have a certain spiritual knowledge, or *γνωσις*, raising him above the claims of practical conduct ; that there is a clear, marked, visible, practical, difference between the sons of God and the sons of the devil ; for that in practical and habitual life the one class do right, and the

<sup>1</sup> I would throw out in passing the consideration whether the doctrine of transubstantiation is not a virtual denial of the reality of the manhood of our Lord.

<sup>2</sup> " Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not: whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him."



other wrong. So he says, verse 10: "In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness, is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother." The passage, therefore, has not the slightest reference to the theory of the sinless perfection of the believer, but is aimed point-blank at the fatal Gnostic heresy, that if a man had light and knowledge he was raised by them above the claims of practical conduct, so that by virtue of the light that was given him, his practical misconduct would not be sin in him.

Now, I fully admit that we have a great many evils in our dear old Church of England. We have Rationalism and Ritualism, and ever so many other isms perpetually cropping up amongst us, and no one deplores them more than I do. Could we not all weep fountains of tears at the cruel unfaithfulness by which the dear old Church of England, the faithful old witness for truth, has been disgraced and dishonoured by many of her sons? But is the Church of England now in a worse position than the Church of the Apostles in the days of St. John? I venture to express the strong opinion that our position, instead of being worse, is not nearly so bad. We have heresies taught amongst us, I fully admit. But are they worse than those in the days of St. John? Have we anything worse than the three great denials, that Jesus was the Christ, that Jesus had come in the flesh, and that Jesus was the Son of God? If we were to give up those three great truths, the Messiahship, the humanity, and the divinity of the Lord Jesus, what should we have left? And so again with reference to sin and sinlessness. We have had, I know, strange ideas put forth in modern times; but not worse than those of the Gnostics, though, I must say, apparently very much the same. We learn, therefore, with reference to *difficulty*, that there is nothing new under the sun. There was heresy then, and there is heresy now. There was Gnosticism then, and there is something very like it now. If there is any difference between the year A.D. 82 and 1882, it is rather in favour of the latter date, and it is not for the wise man to be unsettled, alarmed, and panic-stricken, because the old enemy is still at work with his old weapons. For 1800 years he has been using them with all his power, but he has not yet succeeded, and, as I firmly believe, he never will. So we are not to be terrified, as though some new thing had happened to us; but should calmly, peacefully, and hopefully buckle on our armour, and be prepared to contend resolutely for God.

II. Such being the difficulties in the days of St. John, our next business is to consider how he treated them, and so endeavour to learn lessons of practical wisdom as to our own conduct in these difficult times in which we live.

It is very plain that he did not act on the "do nothing" principle, but thought it his duty to contend with all his power for the faith. It was to this sense of active duty that we owe the existence of this Epistle.

Nor did he act on the "run away" principle. He did not say that because heretics had got into the Church therefore he must go out, and so launch forth into empty space, compelled to stand alone because he could find no church in the world in which there was no possibility of the inroad of a heretic. But as a vigorous and well assured witness for Christ he remained where he was, and faithfully contended for the truth.

With this in view, let us rapidly glance over a few points in the Epistle.

(1.) St. John laid down clear, strong, decisive statements of sound doctrine.

He makes the most unqualified statements as to the person of our Blessed Saviour, as to His humanity, ch. iv. 2, and His divinity, ch. iv. 15; while in the opening verse of the first chapter he gives an account of the solid evidence of personal acquaintance on which his convictions rested: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of Life."

He is as clear as possible on the subject of Atonement. He aims straight at the Gnostics, and points out the true safety of the believer. He shows that our safety consists not in a fancied sinlessness, but in the full propitiation through the precious blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. "If we say we have no sin," *i.e.*, in our hearts, "we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." "If we say that we have not sinned," *i.e.*, in our practice, "we make him a liar, and the truth is not in us." But "if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: And he is the propitiation for our sins."

He is equally clear respecting the new birth. He did not consider Christian victory to be the exclusive privilege of those who fancy that they have attained to what they call a "higher life;" but he laid down the great broad principle, and laid it down as plainly as words can express it, that wherever there is a real new birth there then is victory, for he says with the utmost decision, "Whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world" (ch. v. 4).

(2.) He boldly denounced error. In all these matters he laid down a clear basis of solid scriptural truth. But he went further than this, and spoke of error in a manner exceedingly contrary to the fashion of our own day. The modern fashion is to be so liberal as to suppose that those who differ from us on great, essential, clearly revealed truths are right as well as ourselves.

But there was none of that pseudo-liberality to be found in St. John. He was, what the world would call "bigoted" enough to believe that the opposite to truth was falsehood, and he spoke of such falsehood in language that we who are not inspired men should scarcely venture to employ. For example, in ch. ii. 22, he plainly said that whoever denied that Jesus was the Christ was a liar. In ch. iv. 3, he declared that if any one denied the real manhood of the Lord Jesus, he was the spirit of Antichrist. And in ch. v. 10, that if a man did not believe the divine testimony to the Son of God, he thereby made God a liar. This was strong, plain language, and utterly opposed to those modern ideas which appear to imply that men believe in no such thing as distinctive truth.

(3.) The Apostle taught very clearly, as I have already shown, that true knowledge, and true light, must lead to practical conduct. Read the Epistle carefully through with this Gnostic heresy in your mind, and you will find a flood of light thrown on numberless passages, as, for example, such as ch. ii. 29 and iii. 3.<sup>1</sup> But the point to be particularly observed is the standard of this practical conduct. The Gnostics made their own knowledge their standard. They claimed to have light and knowledge, and to be right in all they did according to their own light. But against this most delusive notion St. John aimed his heaviest battery. He showed perfectly clearly that there is only one standard, and that that one standard is not our own light, or our own knowledge, or our own fluctuating attainments, according to which the same thing may be right to-day and wrong to-morrow; but that it is one fixed and unchangeable standard, being nothing else than the *Commandments of God*. Now St. John is often spoken of as the Apostle pre-eminent for spirituality. People tell us, though I utterly differ from them, that St. James is pre-eminent for practical character, and St. John for spiritual life. We must not stop to debate the question. We may accept it as the creed of Christendom. Now what is the teaching of this most spiritual Apostle? of him who was beloved of the Lord, and who undoubtedly taught us more than any other, of the doctrine of mystical and loving union with the Lord Jesus? I venture to reply that there is not one of the Apostles, not St. James, or St. Paul, nor any other, who made such a point, as he does, of the commandments of God as the one standard of practical conduct. It is true that in ch. iii. 3, he teaches that the perfect character of our Blessed Lord is our standard, for he there says: "And every man that hath this hope in Him purifieth himself,

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<sup>1</sup> "If ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one that doeth righteousness is born of him."

even as He is pure." But there is no real difference, for the life of the Lord Jesus was the perfect fulfilling of the law of God. There is not an Apostle who spoke more clearly of the complete propitiation as the one foundation of hope, or of the commandments as the one standard of life and practice.<sup>1</sup> If, therefore, we desire to contend for the faith as he did, we must never accept any lower standard, nor for one moment be content with our own light as our guide. According to St. John, if the commandments of God are broken then there is sin, whatever we may think of it, for "sin is the transgression of the law." And so, on the other hand, if we desire the mind of the Lord Jesus Christ, and if there be real love of God in our hearts, we must not be content to go floating about wherever we may fancy that love leads us; but we must be guided simply by His own revealed will as given in His own inspired word, for there we read, "This is the love of God that we keep His commandments; and His commandments are not grievous."

(4.) In dealing with error, he showed very clearly his own confidence in truth. Believers will be powerless against error if they cannot themselves answer the question, "What is truth?"

Our Lord said to His disciples (Luke xii. 29), "Neither be ye of doubtful mind;" and we may all be perfectly certain that so long as there is a doubtful mind in ourselves we shall never be the means of helping others to the assurance of faith. Thus the Epistle of St. John abounds in declarations of his knowledge. The word *γινωσκω*, to know, from which the Gnostics derived their name, occurs not less than twenty-five times in this Epistle, and if you examine your Cruden's Concordance, you will find the words, "We know," occurring no less than sixteen times in these five short chapters. St. John did not say "we feel," or "we think," but "we know." And if my readers look at the character of this knowledge, they will find that it was not merely the result of inspiration, but the consequence of the calm consideration of well-established evidence. According to i. 1, the ear, the eye, and the hands were all called in as witnesses. He had heard the teaching of our Lord; he had witnessed His miracles, and he had handled his risen Saviour; and so, after having weighed the evidence, and thoroughly considered the facts, he was brought to an unchangeable conviction, and might have said, as St. Paul did, "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed to Him against that day."

Now, this is the kind of assured trust that we all require in

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<sup>1</sup> As this may surprise some of my readers, let them turn to one or two passages, ch. ii. 3, 4; iii. 24, v. 3.

these difficult times. We want to learn the lesson which St. Paul taught the Thessalonians (2 Thess. ii. 2), "That ye be not soon shaken in mind or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand." We want not merely to know the truth, but to know that we know it. We want to be kept in calm repose on the rock, in the full persuasion that the truth is clear, and the evidence for that truth impregnable. We do not want to be driven hither and thither by every wind that bloweth; or to be hurried into wild extravagance by every new fancy that arises. But we do want to be firmly assured that what is written in the Scriptures, that is sufficient, and that what God has revealed, that is infallible; that so we may be able to use the clear language with which this Epistle concludes (v. 18, 19, 20):—

We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not.

We know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness.

We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, even in His Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life.

EDWARD HOARE.

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#### ART. V.—THE LATER HISTORY OF JERUSALEM.

1. *Coins of the Jews.* By FREDERIC W. MADDEN, M.R.A.S., Member of the Numismatic Society of London, &c. With 279 Woodcuts and a Plate of Alphabets. London: Trübner & Co. 1881.
2. *Le Temple de Jérusalem, Monographie du Haram-es-Chérif, suivie d'un Essai sur la Topographie de la Ville-Sainte.* Par le Cte. MELCHIOR DE VOGUÉ. Paris: Noblet et Baudry. 1864.
3. *Stirring Times; or Records from Jerusalem.* Consular Chronicles from 1853 to 1856. By the late JAMES FINN, M.R.A.S., Her Majesty's Consul for Jerusalem and Palestine from 1849 to 1863. Two vols. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.

THE Biblical interest of Jerusalem is of such paramount importance, it is so sacred, so manifold too and various, comprehending, as it does, both the Old Testament and the New, that very often it is viewed as exhausting the subject. Moreover the destruction of the Holy City by the Romans—in fulfil-

ment of prophecy and in punishment of Hebrew sin—isolates the city's later history from the past, and separates off that past from all succeeding generations. And, once more, Christianity is not a local religion; and we have no reason now for looking upon Jerusalem with the thoughts and feelings which on every pious Israelite were anciently imperative.

Thus it is sometimes forgotten that Jerusalem, since the time of its living association with the Bible, has been by no means a dead city, but has held, and still holds, a very great, and even central, place in the history of the world. Again and again, and in divers ways, it has been the focus of warm and affectionate enthusiasm, and the fulcrum of great military and diplomatic movements. Hence a slight and rapid sketch of its later annals may not be without its use; and such a sketch may indeed be the more useful by reason of its being slight and rapid, because thus the whole of this series of centuries, so full of diversified interest, will be seen at a glance.

It will be true to the facts of the case, if we connect the successive periods of this long range of time with the names of eminent men; while in this method there will be the further advantage, that a biographical aspect of the enumeration of events will prevent it from being dull. These names, too, are all really great names; and if each had a distinct personal connection with Jerusalem, as was certainly the case, this is enough to show that Jerusalem is a pivot for history from the declining days of the Roman Empire to the rise of what is termed "The Eastern Question" in the Levant. The names are those of Hadrian, Constantine, Jerome, Justinian, Chosroes II., the Khalif Omar, Godfrey of Bouillon, Saladin, Solyman the Magnificent, Mehemet Ali, and the Emperor Nicholas. They will be here taken separately and in succession; but in looking over the list as a whole, one general thought, full of deep sadness, oppresses the mind; for we see here the first arrival, and then the settling, of the dark Mahomedan cloud, upon the sacred city of the Hebrew Church.

(i.) Beginning with HADRIAN we make a sudden plunge; and this is really an advantage for us in beginning to take a survey of a period of history which is sharply separated from the past. Since the close of the Jewish War under Titus, there had been an absolute cessation of the existence of Jerusalem, as a home for a community of living men, during more than fifty years. Such a silence, so to speak, in the history of Jerusalem, is a very solemn fact. Hadrian was a great traveller, and a great builder. The incidents of his stay in Egypt are chronicled on the Barberini Obelisk, now to be seen in Rome. The gateway, which bears his name in Athens, is so placed as still to give us a very definite notion of the suburb which he built and

adorned there; while the name of Hadrianople, memorable in connection with recent struggles of the Russians and Turks, is a record of his presence and influence in another part of the Levant. On no place did he impress himself more definitely than on Jerusalem. One feeling of his day was an extreme hatred of the Jews, who had manifested a determined tendency to rebellion; and this feeling was expressed by Hadrian in the building of a thoroughly Roman city on the site of Jerusalem, with Temples dedicated to Jupiter and Venus on the most sacred spots, in making the place a "colonia," like Philippi, and in calling it "*Ælia Capitolina*," after his own family name and the name of the Capitol in Rome. This attempt to link Jerusalem with the secular history of the great world-power had no lasting effect. The Holy City refused this combination, and like the Holy Land has held itself aloof, with extraordinary tenacity, from being merged in the general fortunes of mankind. The place had indeed lost its continuous association with the Biblical past; but in a new and unexpected way it connected itself immediately with Revealed Religion. Certainly no great love of Christianity was mingled in Hadrian's mind with his hatred of Judaism; but Bishops of *Ælia* immediately appear, as taking their place in ecclesiastical councils and in the administration of the Church.

The science of numismatics furnishes us, in two ways, with most lively illustrations of that resumption of the history of Jerusalem with which we are now occupied. A word must be said here on each side of this illustration. Mr. Madden has recently published, under the title of "*Coins of the Jews*," what is virtually a new edition of his former work, entitled "*History of the Jewish Coinage and Money in the Old and New Testaments*." Neither work is limited to the period of the Biblical annals only; and there are no more interesting parts of his work than the chapters on the money struck during the revolt of Barchochab, and on the Imperial Colonial coins minted at Jerusalem during the reign of Hadrian and afterwards. As regards the latter, which continues down to the time of Valerian in the middle of the third century, and specimens of which down to Elagabalus are in the British Museum, it is a curious study to mark the strictly Roman types on these coins—as for instance the architecture with the round arch, indicating the above-mentioned heathen temples, and the old mythological figures of the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus—especially when we remember that this attempt to merge the history of Jerusalem with the history of Rome was quite nugatory.

The other series of contemporary numismatic illustration has perhaps even a greater interest for us. The revolt of Barchochab,

the son of a star,<sup>1</sup> in the reign of Hadrian, had a decisive effect upon the subsequent fortunes of Jerusalem. In this revolt was a gallant two years' resistance. "The exasperation of the Romans knew no bounds; and their fury was especially directed against the scholars and their disciples, so that many of them died under cruel torments." Among them was Akiba, who, while torn to pieces by red-hot pincers, continued to cry, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God: the Lord is God alone." Mr. Madden gives engravings of the series of coins, which were minted under Barchochab, and which remain to this day an eloquent memorial of this brave, but unsuccessful struggle of Hebrew nationality. The types on these coins are such as the following:—the palm branch—the Beautiful Gateway of the Temple, with a star above—the three-stringed lyre—the bunch of grapes—the two trumpets—with "the deliverance of Jerusalem," and the second year of the deliverance of Israel," as the mottoes. The vine was always viewed as characteristic of Judæa: a vine of metal was above the great entrance of Herod's Temple: wine is named as part of the supply to the Tyrian workmen at the building of Solomon's Temple; and the same is implied at the rebuilding under Ezra. The two trumpets were a warlike emblem with allusion reference to the instruction given in the Book of Numbers.<sup>2</sup> Among these coins one of the most interesting is in the British Museum, where emblems of this kind have been over-struck upon a silver coin of Trajan, minted at Antioch.

(ii.) With the reign of CONSTANTINE we come suddenly to two vital changes in the annals of Jerusalem. At this point the history of it as a Christian city begins: and this new period of history begins with the idea of localization in religion. Jerusalem now resumes its position as the sacred city of revealed truth; but under an aspect distinctively Christian, and not in the least degree Jewish. Again the old local feeling reappears on this sacred spot; but under conditions totally new. This is an absolute revolution in the manifold illustrious career of this city.

To enter here into the details of the famous story of the Invention of the Cross would be quite out of the question. It is enough to say—while it is very essential to say—that this story coloured a large part of the literature of the earlier Christian centuries, and helped to give character to a large part of the feeling of the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> Nor will any attempt be

<sup>1</sup> This title was given to him in allusion to Numb. xxiv. 17. Afterwards the Jews called this false Messiah "Bar-Chozba," the son of a lie—just as Bethel, in olden times, was named Bethaven.

<sup>2</sup> Numb. x. 2.

<sup>3</sup> All that can be said on this subject, and all that need be said, will



made here to solve those architectural questions, which have their beginning in Jerusalem at this point of time.<sup>1</sup> This only may be said with confidence that the great church built by Constantine's mother, over the supposed place of our Lord's burial, like the great church built by her at Bethlehem over the supposed place of His nativity, was of the Basilican type. The age of the Byzantine architecture, with the cupola which became characteristic of the East, was not yet come. The edifices which we see in Rome, at Ravenna, and indeed at Bethlehem itself, enable us to picture to ourselves the general character of the first Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The point of supreme importance for the history of Jerusalem in this period is that the great question of the "Holy Places," which has been so prolific since of pilgrimages, crusades, and modern wars, then and there took its beginning.

(iii.) In the course of a journey through the Holy Land there is no more interesting moment, short of the paramount interest attaching to directly Biblical subjects, than a visit to the place associated with the life and labours of ST. JEROME. In one sense, indeed, this association is strictly Biblical: for at Bethlehem he executed the Vulgate translation; and one of the pictures in his grotto there represents him as occupied in this great task. The point of importance, however, to which we are now coming, is that with him we reach the epoch of pilgrimages; and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem is a distinct memorial of this. The central interest of this topic is, of course, at Jerusalem—though from this point of view, as indeed from any point of view, the place of our Saviour's birth may be viewed as a suburb of the Holy City. The significance of this era of pilgrimages, and its close connection with Jerome, are so well set forth by Dean Milman, in both sections of his great historic work, that it is quite worth while to quote a few sentences from each. In the "History of Christianity" he describes thus the change which had taken place:—

Jerome's example, though it did not originate, strengthened to an extraordinary degree the passion for pilgrimages to the Holy Land; a sentiment in later times productive of such vast and unexpected results. In the earlier period the repeated devastations of that devoted country, and still more its occupation by the Jews, had

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probably be found in Mr. Sinker's article in the "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities."

<sup>1</sup> Of the change effected in Jerusalem generally Dean Milman says: "Constantine, by the advice of his mother Helena, adorned with great magnificence the city which had risen on the ruins of Jerusalem. It had become a place of such splendour, that Eusebius, in a transport of holy triumph, believed that it was the New Jerusalem foretold by the prophets."—*History of the Jews*, iii. p. 11.

overpowered the natural veneration of the Christians for the scene of the life and sufferings of the Redeemer. It was an accursed rather than a holy region, desecrated by the presence of the murderers of the Lord, rather than endeared by the reminiscences of His personal ministry and expiatory death. The total ruin of the Jews, and their expulsion from Jerusalem by Hadrian; their dispersion into other lands, with the simultaneous progress of Christianity in Palestine, and their settlement in *Ælia*, the Roman Jerusalem, notwithstanding the profanation of that city by idolatrous emblems, allowed those more gentle and sacred feelings to grow up in strength and silence. Already, before the time of Jerome, pilgrims had flowed from all quarters of the world; and during his life, whoever had attained to any proficiency in religion, in Gaul, or in the secluded island of Britain, was eager to obtain a personal knowledge of these hallowed places (vol. iii. pp. 191, 192).

Dean Milman adds that Jerome himself was the most influential pilgrim to the Holy Land, and that the general and increasing desire to visit that land may be traced to his writings, which had opened a free and constant communication between the East and the West. In his "History of Latin Christianity" the author returns to the same subject, and points out how "during the following centuries pilgrimages became the ruling passion of the more devout." Indirect consequences of a good kind followed from this. The drawing up of itineraries must have promoted the knowledge of geography. The establishment of hospitals along the pilgrim-roads was an opportunity for the exercise of charity.<sup>1</sup> But, on the other hand, the mischievous notion grew up that pilgrimage was an expiation for sin, and the traffic in relics became a fraudulent trade. The perils of this passion were in some degree perceived at the time.

It is remarkable to find among those who yielded in other respects to the more materializing influence of the dominant Christianity, some who attempted to maintain on this point a lofty spirituality. Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine remonstrated against the dangerous and unnecessary journey to such remote lands; dangerous to the virtue especially of the female sex; unnecessary to him who might worship God with equal fervour in every region. Others of the Fathers during the fourth century strongly offered the more sublime tenet of the divine omnipresence to the sanctity of peculiar places; the superiority of a quiet holy life in any part of the world, to the wandering over sea and land, east or west, to seek more assurance of the Divine presence (vol. iv. pp. 168, 169).

Even Jerome himself "dissuades his friend Paulinus from the voyage," declaring that "heaven is as accessible from Britain as

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<sup>1</sup> Some reference was made to the early travellers in the Holy Land in a paper on "Central Palestine," in the March number of the *CHURCHMAN*.

from Palestine." The example, however, of Jerome, adds Dean Milman, "was more powerful than his precept."<sup>1</sup>

(iv.) The reign of JUSTINIAN was a memorable and well-defined epoch of the later Empire; and some of its results have been far-reaching and permanent. We have here to do with it only so far as it can be shown that any really important movements of that time turned upon Jerusalem. This reign, great as it was in itself and in its extent, seems at first sight to have but little connection with Palestine, if we except an interference between Jews and Samaritans by some pedantic rules regarding the use of language. Yet in one sense this reign is of the most cardinal importance for a true picture of Jerusalem as it was in the Middle Ages and as it is now. We need not think here of the famous system of jurisprudence which is connected with the name of Justinian, or of the scandalous life of the Empress Theodora, or of the reconquest of lost provinces. The reference here is solely to Architecture. From this point of time begins that divergence of the Basilican and Byzantine modes of church-building, which has resulted in such contrasted impressions of the West and East. The lofty spacious cupola of St. Sophia at Constantinople introduced an architectural change almost as great as that which was brought into the world by the Roman arch. We need not believe the fable that an angel revealed the new form of structure to Justinian, though it is quite possible that it may have been suggested, more or less, in a dream. Nowhere is the result more palpable than in Jerusalem. As we "gaze from Olivet" on the scene beyond the Kedron—

Where Tower and Dome in one wide prospect rest—

the two structures on which the eye dwells most eagerly are the Dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Dome of the Rock, popularly called the Mosque of Omar.<sup>2</sup> They differ very much in form, but each of them may most correctly be called a memorial of the reign of Justinian.

(v.) The intrusion of the Persians under CHOSROES II. into the regions near the Mediterranean is only an episode in the annals of that sea. Still even this presents to us Jerusalem as a pivot-city in important historical movements of the world. This eminent man, therefore, and his temporary conquests, and

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<sup>1</sup> There is a noble sentence in one of Augustine's sermons: "*Noli longa itinera meditari: ubi credis, ibi venis: ad Eum enim qui ubique est amando venitur non navigando.*"

<sup>2</sup> This designation of the famous building which rises in much grandeur on or near the site of the Ancient Temple, has obtained currency in almost all books of Eastern travel. This mosque, however, was not built by the Khalif Omar, but by one of his successors.

his final defeat by the Emperor Heraclius, must have a place in our enumeration.

His taking of Jerusalem is a fact which, regarded merely in itself, cannot be passed over. It was one of those violent occupations of the city, in which it has been doomed, age after age, to be the scene of struggle and suffering. When the Persian monarch invaded the Byzantine Empire, after taking Antioch, he himself moved towards Constantinople, while one of his generals marched on Jerusalem, then a Christian city. The Jews, believing that their hour of vengeance was come, rallied in large numbers round the Persian army and stirred up their brethren in Damascus and Cyprus. A vast number of Christians were slaughtered; and ruin came upon the sacred buildings erected by Constantine and Helena and all other churches in the city. To use Gibbon's phrase, "the devout offerings of three hundred years were rifled in one sacrilegious day." Such an event cannot be omitted in a summary of the prominent facts in the later history of Jerusalem. It is true that Heraclius threw off the invader and reconquered Jerusalem, and made it Christian again, and himself visited it as a pilgrim. But even this is one of those strange alternations, to which our careful attention must be directed.

And in another way the time of Chosroes and Heraclius comes before us as a period of critical change for Jerusalem. We are now, so to speak, within the *penumbra* of the great Mahomedan eclipse. The historian of the "Decline and Fall" says that the second Chosroes "prepared that revolution of the East which was speedily accomplished by the arms and religion of Mahomet."<sup>1</sup> And this is illustrated by a curious anecdote. When the Persian monarch was in the full career of his success, a letter came to him from the Arabian prophet, then "an obscure citizen of Mecca," inviting Chosroes to acknowledge him as the apostle of God. The invitation was rejected, and the letter torn, which caused Mahomet to exclaim, "It is thus that God will tear his kingdom." Gibbon concludes his forty-sixth chapter with the following words:—

While the emperor triumphed at Constantinople or Jerusalem, an obscure town on the confines of Syria was pillaged by the Saracens, and they cut to pieces some troops who advanced to its relief: an

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<sup>1</sup> This is made more articulate by Mr. Freeman. "The great campaigns of Chosroes and Heraclius made no lasting difference in the map. except so far as, by weakening Rome and Persia alike, they paved the way for the greatest change of all." In connection with the extraordinary speed with which the Saracens pressed their conquests, he adds that, "with the Mahomedan religion they carried also the Arabic language, and what we may call Eastern civilization as opposed to Western."  
—*Historical Geography of Europe*, vol. i. pp. 109, 110.

ordinary and trifling occurrence, had it not been the prelude of a mighty revolution. These robbers were the apostles of Mahomet; their fanatic valour had emerged from the desert; and in the last eight years of his reign, Heraclius lost to the Arabs the same provinces which he had rescued from the Persians (viii. p. 263).

Thus we are now in direct contact with that mysterious change, which coloured all Eastern Christendom and seriously endangered the Christendom of the West. And this change is of paramount moment in our present sketch of history; for, not to make mention of it under any other aspect, Jerusalem was the point of struggle between Saracen and Crusader.

(vi.) The spirit of the Crusaders has remained very tenaciously among the French. They never willingly reconcile themselves to the thought of losing their hold on Palestine and the Levant; and some of the authors who write the most warmly and eagerly on questions connected with these regions are those who write in the French language. Among recent authors of this class a high place must be assigned to Count de Vogüé, who, besides a very elaborate and beautiful work on the ancient churches of Syria, has published the book named at the head of this article. From Arabian sources he gives an account of the KHALIF OMAR'S entry into Jerusalem, which, though it relates to a very serious event, is extremely entertaining. The Saracen conqueror, leaving his camp on the Mount of Olives, entered the city quietly and modestly, and was met by the crafty Christian Patriarch Sophronius. Omar asked to be taken to the Temple of David, concerning which he stated that he had seen a vision, which would easily enable him to identify the place. Sophronius took him first to the Church of the Resurrection. "This," said Omar, "is not the Temple of David." Then the patriarch conducted him to the Church on Mount Sion. "Neither is this," said the Khalif, "the building which I saw in my vision." Then, after some difficulty, an entrance was procured to the area, where the Great Mosque now stands. Here the recognition was immediate. "Here is the Temple of David, of which the prophet gave me a description." Sophronius said (in what language, or whether audibly or not, we are not informed), "This is indeed the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the Holy Place." Thenceforward Jerusalem became a sacred city of the Moslems, as it had been a sacred city of the Hebrews in one sense, and of the Christians in another. In fact, as Count de Vogüé remarks, this visit of Omar made the site of Solomon's Temple a Moslem sanctuary of the first rank. Biblical events have so great a place in the Koran, that it could not be otherwise.

It is to be observed that the Saracen occupation of Jerusalem,

notwithstanding the magnitude of the change which it involved, was by no means attended with the carnage that accompanied its capture by the Romans, the Persians, or the Crusaders. Large privileges were granted to the Christians. Toleration was accorded to the exercise of their religion. But it was the toleration of ignominy. For this time "the iron entered into the soul" of the Christians of Jerusalem and Palestine. They were thenceforward an abject and humiliated caste. As to their religion, no bells were to be rung, no cross was to be exhibited, no sacred processions seen in the streets. As regards their private and social life, the rules made for their costume, their names, their very gestures, reminded them perpetually of the dishonour into which they had sunk. It is probable, too, that their consciousness of the secret exultation of the Jews added another bitter ingredient to the bitterness of their cup. What was true of the Christians of the Holy Land was true likewise of all the Christians of the East, wherever the Mohamedan power had overshadowed and crushed them: and a keen sense of shame and sympathy penetrated Western Christendom.

(vi.) But, above all, the Holy Places were now in the hands of the Infidels. The greatness of the place of Jerusalem in mediæval history is seen in this one fact, that it gave occasion to the Crusades. This was the most conspicuous movement of that period, the fullest of enthusiasm and heroism, cruelty and folly; the fullest of far-reaching consequences for all future time. English tourists at Brussels, when they are enjoying their comfortable quarters at one of the two principal hotels near the statue of GODFREY OF BOUILLON, hardly consider how near their thoughts are, or ought to be, at such a time, to Jerusalem.

The very magnitude of the subject imposes brevity on this part of our historic summary. When we read Tasso, there are two passages of his "*Jerusalem Delivered*" on which we pause especially. These are the descriptions of the first view of the city obtained by the Crusaders from the east and of their taking of it from the north. In the early part of the poem the description of the position of Jerusalem and its geographical relations is remarkably accurate; and we see clearly how well the Western mind had been made acquainted with it through the reports of the pilgrims. As to the feeling of the Crusaders we need not attenuate its fervour and earnestness; and the description of their emotion after first coming in sight of Jerusalem is probably true:—

Al gran piacer che quella prima vista  
Dolcemente spirò nell' altrui petto,  
Alta contrizion successe, mista  
Di timoroso e riverente affetto.

And regarding Godfrey himself, we certainly need not doubt the deep and honest devotion with which he spent time in prayer and gave orders for religious observances before the last assault :—

Del dì, cui dell' assalto il dì successe,  
 Gran parte orando il pio Buglion dispensa ;  
 E impon, che ogni altroi falli suoi confesse,  
 E pasca il pan dell' alme alla gran mensa.

Yet the shock is very great, when we compare all this either with the savage and indiscriminate cruelty of the massacre, when Jerusalem was taken, or with the quarrels and low ambitions of the Crusading princes themselves during the Latin occupation of the East.

The numismatic illustrations of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem are of extreme interest, though the surviving coins of its kings are, as might be expected, scanty in number. We must especially note the representations of three buildings which appear on these coins. On those of Baldwin the Second, Third, and Fourth, we have what is called the Tower of David, and which seems to represent that very tower which still remains in the highest part of Jerusalem, and is very familiar to all Eastern travellers. Coins of Guy Lusignan (1186-1192) exhibit the cupola of the "Temple," which is in fact the "Dome of the Rock," mentioned above as built by one of the early Khalifs, while those of Amurath I. show the "Church of the Holy Sepulchre" with a round conical roof and arches below, and apparently in the form which it presented before the fire of 1808. No coins of Godfrey himself are known to exist, and probably none will ever be found. It is not likely that he who refused to wear a crown of gold where Christ had worn a crown of thorns, would put his effigy, or use any titles in honour of himself, on the money of his kingdom. Of this numismatic series none brings the struggle of Saracen and Crusader more forcibly before us than one struck from metal taken from the churches, during the very siege by Saladin.

(vii.) From Godfrey of Bouillon the progress of history brings us very rapidly to SALADIN. The inevitable course of events is well put before us by Count de Vogüé :—

The kingdom of Jerusalem could not possibly last. Notwithstanding prodigies of valour and perseverance, it was doomed to yield to the attacks of the Arabs and to the elements of dissolution which it carried in its own bosom. The struggle which it maintained was not an equal one. The West had not then that superiority over the East, which has now been assured to it by the development of Christianity and the progress of civilization. The moral and material conditions were at this epoch nearly the same in the two camps. The military valour, the religious ardour, the political constitution, the armament,

were the same on one side and on the other. Thus, other things being equal, victory was sure to remain with that one of the two adversaries which fought on its own soil. The advantage of ground was against the Crusaders, forced as they were to supply their commissariat from the sea by the help of an imperfect fleet, at an enormous distance from their base of operation, while the centre of Asia furnished an inexhaustible source to the fleet of their enemies, which renewed itself continually. We know the brilliant part which the Templars played during this struggle of a century. They postponed, without preventing the final catastrophe. The day came when they were obliged to quit Jerusalem and the famous fortification, the name of which, made young by their sword, was thenceforth ever to be associated with the memory of the highest military virtues (p. 78).

The biography of Saladin is of surpassing interest, and ought to be better known. Like Abraham, he came from Mesopotamia; and, like Abraham, "he went down into Egypt;" the footsteps alike of the great Patriarch and the great Saracen were in early life by the Euphrates and the Nile—though in no other respects would it be easy to find a resemblance between the careers of the two men. Saladin won his spurs in Egypt in conflict with the Franks of Palestine (1166–1168). He defended Alexandria against them. This is one of the last appearances of that city as an important place, before it was overshadowed for long centuries by the greatness of Cairo. He became virtually sovereign of Egypt, owning a nominal allegiance to the Khalif—herein presenting a curious anticipation of the present condition of that country. He finally quitted Cairo in 1182; and thenceforward he is identified with Syria, Palestine, and Jerusalem. His sway extended from Tripoli in Africa to Damascus, with the interruption only of the small Latin kingdom the capital of which was still the Holy City. The battle of Hattin in July, 1187, decided the fate of the Christians in Palestine. Jerusalem was taken in October of the same year, after having been eighty-eight years in subjection to the Franks.

The third and fifth crusades must not be forgotten—the former on account of the memory of our King Richard Cœur de Lion, the latter because of the temporary resumption of Frankish rule in Jerusalem under the Emperor Frederic II. The siege of Acre is not likely to be forgotten, at least by Englishmen who have travelled from Carmel to the Lebanon. Saladin died at Damascus when King Richard was in his Austrian prison.<sup>1</sup> The expedition of the young German Emperor under the order of his guardian, Pope Innocent III., takes us back to Jerusalem

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<sup>1</sup> One of the most remarkable sights in Damascus is the tomb recently erected in the great mosque to the memory of Saladin. It is an indication of that Mahomedan enthusiasm, which is one of the most serious factors of the Eastern Question.



once more. But the new Latin kingdom here was ephemeral. The privileges obtained for the Christians were before long extinguished; the sacred buildings of Jerusalem lost their Christian characteristics, and became Mahomedan once more; and the title of its Christian kings faded into a mere shadow of the past on the coins of Cyprus and Savoy.

(viii.) Travellers who describe Jerusalem (and they have been very numerous, perhaps too numerous) seldom refer to the extraordinary interest of the walls of the city. Let her walls, then, in this slight account of her later history, receive their true position of honour.

In the first place, the instances are very rare in modern times, when one can walk all round the wall of a fortified city without being interrupted by outlying suburbs. This can be done now at Jerusalem—and done far more easily than when Nehemiah took his famous ride by night, “going out by the gate of the valley,” examining the whole circuit of the walls, and entering by the same gate again.<sup>1</sup> And it ought to be done with very great care and attention; for we have in the circuit of these walls, whatever may have been the changes in their actual masonry, a memorial both of the late Roman and of the Crusading times. But besides this, the existing walls (and in the walls the gates must be included) are of extreme dignity and beauty. Their stone-work is excellent; its colour has a very peculiar charm; and the combination of the masonry with rock, whether this natural stone forms part of its basis, or is exposed to view with a small interval between, is very striking. This last characteristic attracts attention particularly on the north side, in the neighbourhood of the Damascus gate. But, above all, it is to be remembered that the present aspect and condition of the walls of Jerusalem are to be connected with a great historic name.

The builder was SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT, the second Khalif and Sultan who reigned at Constantinople. How great this monarch was, how worthy of his title, will be seen by help of a very brief enumeration of facts. And it is the more incumbent on us to take note of him because we are now living in the period of the decay of the Turkish Empire. It is to be remembered that in reaching this Sultan we have passed from the Saracens to the Turks, from a period of Mahomedan history, which, as we view it now, is brightly coloured by romance, to a dismal reality with which we are too sadly familiar. Solyman II., however, stands out very nobly in the annals of his time. He was a really great monarch in an age of great monarchs. As to his date and his relation to other rulers, it is useful to recollect

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<sup>1</sup> Nehem. ii. 11-15.

that he came to his throne almost exactly at the time when Charles V. was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and that his alliance with Francis I. was the first instance of such a combination between Turkey and any Christian power. In this way Turkey was in fact brought into the modern States-system of Europe, as an incongruous element indeed, but a very important one. It was precisely at this time that the Ottoman Empire of Constantinople reached, not indeed its widest extent, but its highest eminence of military power. The Turks were then a terror to Europe; the pirate Barbarossa was sweeping the commerce of the Mediterranean; and one of our Collects for Good Friday stands as a memorial of English feeling on this subject in its Christian form. To return to Solyman the Magnificent, his conquests extended from Belgrade to Bagdad; he drove the knights of St. John from Rhodes; he besieged Vienna in person. But it is more to our purpose to say a word of his character. He was so great a legislator, that his Mahomedan title is drawn from this circumstance. One of his noble sayings was (as if in sarcastic anticipation of the Turks of the present day) that he wished those who administered justice under him to be "like those rivers which make fruitful the lands through which they flow, not like those streams which tear away all the ground in the neighbourhood of their courses." He was a poet and a mathematician. A famous mosque at Constantinople attests the splendour of his views of architecture. He diligently made roads and bridges. The point to which all these remarks in the present instance are leading up, is this, that to Solyman the Magnificent are due the strength and the aspect of those walls of Jerusalem, with which every modern tourist is familiar.

(x.) From his name to that of MEHEMET ALI is a deep descent; but we must come by this sudden fall to the next personage in our catalogue. The whole range of modern history—three hundred years in duration—lies in this interval, though indeed the fifty years which have passed since the day of Mehemet Ali have, in one sense, generated more history than all the preceding time, especially as regards scientific discovery and invention. Jerusalem has lain meanwhile immovable under the heaviest part of the Mahomedan cloud; and yet, when we think of it, we are conscious that it lies in the very heart of the great Eastern Question, which was stirred so vehemently in the days of Mehemet Ali. We feel, in looking back on those days, the beginning of the storm which broke out so seriously in the Crimean War, and the beginning too of what is happening at this moment. It was a time of great movements throughout the world. It was immediately after the passing of the Reform Bill in England, and after the emancipation of Greece by the Battle of Navarino,

that Mehemet Ali endeavoured to secure the independence of Egypt; and this would have been done but for the interference of the European Powers, the arresting of Ibrahim Pasha on his march to Constantinople, and the bombardment of Acre by our own ships. The mention of this last event seems to bring that time with a very fresh remembrance into the mind, while the presence of von Moltke in the battle of Nizib is a most curious link between those days and ours. The point before us is the condition of Jerusalem and of Palestine in regard to the world at large. The Holy City and the Holy Land cannot be viewed, in discussions such as these, separately from one another. Now this may be said with truth, that, notwithstanding the excitement of the period, they seemed to lie mysteriously in a kind of sacred isolation, waiting for the future. And this has occurred again and again through the long lapse of history. Palestine was like a bridge for the Egyptians and Turks, as it had been in the times succeeding Alexander the Great for the armies of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ. Mehemet Ali felt, as Napoleon felt, some five-and-thirty years later, that Jerusalem did not lie on the line of his operations.<sup>1</sup> It is most remarkable that, so to speak, the Holy City and the Holy Land refuse to be secularized, and still stand apart for a destiny of their own.

As we pass on to our conclusion, it must be added that there is one very unexpected aspect, under which Jerusalem appears as the influential centre of what may truly be called a great movement. Cardinal Newman has told us, in his "Apologia," that the establishment of the Anglo-German Bishopric in Jerusalem was one of the events which most decisively broke his link with the Church of England. This indeed may appear a very small matter to some students of contemporary history. But, perhaps, when the whole significance of the annals of this country is fully known, no movements will be seen to be really more important than those which have been connected with such names as those of Chevalier Bunsen and Dr. Pusey.

(xi.) We end with the Crimean War, the strong personality associated with that passage of modern history being the EMPEROR NICHOLAS. Those were indeed "stirring times," to use the title of the book written by the late Mr. Finn, our highly esteemed consul at Jerusalem. Nothing in the history of the world is more strange than that the question of the possession of a silver star and of a key at the place of the Nativity of our Lord should have convulsed Christendom, cost multitudes of precious lives, and changed the boundaries of States—and this too in our own scientific, industrial, unromantic day. But that

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<sup>1</sup> See a paper on "Southern Palestine," in *THE CHURCHMAN* for September, 1881.

star was adorned with the arms of France, the patron of Latin Christianity in the East; and that key locked or opened one of the Holy Places to the Greek Christians who looked to the Russian Emperor as the chief source of their strength, as he looked to them to further the extension of his influence in Turkey. Other events too conspired to bring on the acute phase of the Eastern Question. Especially it was at this time that the President of the French Republic became Emperor.

Mr. Finn's book, published by his widow and introduced to us by a preface from Lady Strangford, is of great value, because it presents to us the state of feeling in Jerusalem and Palestine, with all sorts of miscellaneous information, at the critical time of the Crimean war. In consequence of the variety of its topics, it is a somewhat difficult book to read; but all those topics are worthy of our careful attention. The very gossip of Jerusalem at that time is instructive.

Mohamedans are for ever expecting wars between Christendom and Islam; and to them Christendom is Eastern Christendom. . . . But they expect the day of final triumph after a contest more sanguinary and desperate than any which have preceded it—a real Holy War, in which all the forces of both sides will at last be arrayed against each other. . . . It was amusing to hear the bazaar-talk in Jerusalem at the beginning of the Russian War, and afterwards when an alliance between Turkey and some of the European nations was first mooted, . . . it was gravely said that the Sultan, being attacked by the Christians (Russians), was about to call upon his vassals for aid in money and by arms. Was not the Sultan the Khalif-Allah? Did he not give permission to the French kings and queens to put on their crowns and swords after they had first made submission to them on their accession? Did not each king and queen take oath to come and fight for the Sultan when called upon? And now he was going to call upon the Queen of England, as his friend (and vassal), and upon the Latin kings, or at any rate upon their leader, the French Emperor, because the enemy was leader of the Greek Church, and the Latin Church must from duty and from policy come at the call of their suzerain and fight till the offenders had been chastised. If they, the vassals, came when summoned and did their duty—well; if not, why, they must be supposed to have made common cause with the enemy. And then? why, then the Green Flag must be unfurled, the Holy War proclaimed against all Christians—in Circassia and Asiatic Russia, in Algeria against the French, in India against the English. All true believers would rise as one man; and it would not be long before the last great triumph, the coming of Mohammed, and victory for ever to Islam (vol. i. pp. 344-346).

This was the popular Mahomedan talk at Jerusalem at the opening of the Crimean War. If to this we add the popular Christian talk, with a remembrance of the various nationalities and churches represented there, we obtain some important views

of the complication of the Eastern Question. The book opens with an animated account of the departure of the Turkish soldiers from Jerusalem on Sept. 19, 1853. The close of the war was signalized by a peculiarly fierce conflict of Greeks and Latins in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; for then, as during the present year, the Greek and Latin Easter came together. Nothing could be more humiliating than such conflicts. Still these facts remain before us, that Jerusalem was the pivot upon which the Crimean War turned, and that the Eastern Question, centralized there, awaits its solution.

In thus reviewing the vicissitudes through which Jerusalem has again and again been "made a heap of stones," and again and again become a centre of power and influence in the earth, no wonder in the mind is greater than the speculation as to how it is possible that on this site—and the site has always been the same—the city can have been at various periods so large and so splendid. No reference is here made to the magnificence of Solomon and Herod. Their periods were anterior to the survey we have been taking. But since the taking and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, it has been a large and splendid city as *Ælia* or Roman Jerusalem under Hadrian, and its successors, as Christian Jerusalem with the grand churches of Helena and Constantine, as the place of the noble Mahomedan mosques of the Khalifs, as the metropolis of the Eastern kingdom of the Crusaders, with a glory still attested by remains of fine Gothic architecture. The site, bounded by the ravines of Hinnom and of the Kedron, seems too small for the architecture and the population required by such facts. We wonder, as we roam through the poor narrow squalid streets (if streets they can be called) of modern Jerusalem. This is only part of the general surprise created by the smallness of Palestine; and the experience of the traveller is precisely the same in Greece. Great events have often been enacted, and great principles illustrated, within scanty limits of space and time. "A thousand years are with God as one day, and one day as a thousand years;" and we wait for the full understanding of all that He means when He says: "The Lord doth build up Jerusalem; he gathereth together the outcasts of Israel."

J. S. HOWSON.

## ART. VI.—THE ARMENIAN CHURCH: ITS PAST AND ITS PRESENT.

**A**RMENIA and the Armenians, though little known to most English readers of history or theology, will yet well repay the research of the student in any branch of investigation. The rugged mountain region, forming roughly a circle, the circumference of which touches the Caspian, the Euxine, and the Mediterranean, and embraces the head waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, nurtures a people who claim to be the oldest Aryan race in the world; within their confines somewhere are the cradle of the human race, the site of the Garden of Eden and the resting place of Noah's Ark. Physically, they are superior to most of their neighbours, tall, with fine chiselled features, somewhat fuller than the classical model, and more muscular, as becomes mountaineers, while their women have a reputation throughout the East—not undeserved—for their peerless beauty. So far as a stranger can judge, they possess many of the characteristics of the Scotch and the Swiss. In fact, they are the Swiss of Western Asia. They are thrifty, patient, industrious, intensely devoted to their families, passionately attached to their country, yet always ready to leave it, everywhere retaining their distinctive nationality, while absorbing a large part of the commerce of the East, and surpassing even the Jews in shrewdness and enterprise. They boast of an historical nationality reaching further back than the history of any other people save the Chinese. They were a kingdom when history began; they made alliances and treatises of commerce with China and Persia on the one side, and with Rome in the zenith of her power on the other, and the roll of her monarchs does not close till the end of the 14th century after Christ. Their language is as isolated and peculiar in its structure as that of the Basques, the old Iberians; they have their old ecclesiastical dead language in which exists all their literature, unintelligible to the uneducated; and their modern vernacular. The structure of this language seems further removed from the Greek than any other Aryan tongue, though it certainly belongs to this family, but is like some long shoot which has run up in a straight line from near the base of the main stock, and has sent forth no lateral branches, but during the whole of its lifetime has remained distinct. While most peculiar in its structure, the Armenian has borrowed names and words freely from the Zend and all the surrounding tongues. Many words from the Zend are retained, while lost in the original tongue. But none of these accretions have in any degree modified the structure of the language.

Thus race, language, religion, as well as country have combined to keep the Armenians a distinct and marked people. Yet their fate has been that of Poland. They are the Poles of the East. Like the Poles, they lost province after province, the western ones falling to Turkey, Kurdistan to Persia, Circassia and the whole of Georgia ultimately to Russia. There has been a tripartite partition, by these three powers, in which Russia has absorbed nearly two-thirds of the kingdom, Turkey almost a third, and Persia much less than a third. But this annihilation of Armenia, except as a geographical expression, has not shaken or affected the union of the race; of whom, according to their own accounts, there are eight millions. Can we wonder that a people whose nationality has been so completely suppressed, while the fire of patriotism burns fiercely in their breast, should cling with the intensest devotion to their national church, round which are clustered their whole literature, all the proud memories of their history; and should be ready to sacrifice anything rather than the distinctive features of that church? What link, what tie, either with their past history, or with their fellow countrymen, can they have except that of their old historic church?

Ecclesiastically we may look on that Church as the "Ultima Thule" of the East. It is true that primitive Christianity spread at a very early period beyond the Euphrates into Persia, but it was soon crushed by paganism and fire-worship, and was finally exterminated by the Sassanids in the fourth century. But it never lost its hold on Armenia, though, as primitive Roman Christianity in our own country was driven into Wales, so for a short time the Gospel light in Armenia glimmered only in the inaccessible valleys round Ararat. In this, as in many other particulars, there is a remarkable parallel between the histories of the English and Armenian churches. Both were re-planted, and the resuscitation of Armenian Christianity by Gregory the Illuminator, A.D. 301, has many points of resemblance with the mission work of Cuthbert and his predecessors in the north, and Augustine and Paulinus in the south of England. As the English church long resisted the encroachments of Rome, so for centuries the Armenians held out against the superstitions of her Greek neighbours. Both churches claim, in the first instance, an Apostolic founder, and the claim of the Armenians to have received the Gospel from Thaddæus and St. Thomas seems to rest on an historical basis.

For, with whatever legendary accretions the tradition may have been invested, it is impossible to disprove, and difficult to doubt, the statements corroborated both by Armenian and Greek authorities. We all know the legend of Abgarus, King of Armenia, his letter to Christ, and the fable of the handker-

chief sent in response, which retained the impression of the Saviour's features. Now, that Abgarus should have heard of the fame of Jesus is more than probable. The seat of his kingdom was at Edessa, the ancient Ur of the Chaldees, and now again known as Oorfa. At that period, it must be borne in mind, the Armenian kingdom had pushed to the southward, and although Edessa is geographically in Mesopotamia, its king was the recognized monarch of southern Armenia, or rather had transferred thither his seat of government, the spurs of the Taurid mountain range coming down to within two days' journey of the place. The Armenians claim that the Greeks, who came to Philip just before the feast, wishing to see Jesus, were the delegates of King Abgarus, and this is quite in accord with the long account given by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 13) of the mission of Abgar, overlaid though it be with fable. We must not forget that the historian very categorically asserts the existence of inscriptions attesting the mission to Christ, down to his day at Edessa. Nor, when we consider the constant commercial intercourse between that part of the Euphrates valley and Syria, the high state of civilization, and the travelling propensities of the Armenian race, need we be surprised to find them hearing so soon of the great Teacher who had arisen in Judea ; especially as we learn from other sources that Abgar had sent an embassy into Syria to the Roman General Marinus to deprecate some suspicions of Tiberius of his having intrigued with Persia.

But soon after the death of Abgar (and we are now on historic ground), the infant church was assailed by continuous persecution, stimulated chiefly by Persia. Still the light was never utterly extinguished, and when Gregory the Illuminator, the great patron saint and founder of the present Armenian Church arose, he found the soil prepared, and the 7,000 in Israel ready to come forth and avow their faith. He had been saved from the massacre of his family when an infant, and was baptized, educated, ordained and married in Cæsarea of Cappadocia. He baptized Tiridates III., founded the cathedral of Etchmiadzin, still the religious metropolis of Armenia ; and, like our own Bede, devoted many years of his life to the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular of his nation. Tiridates, and the nobles of his kingdom, proclaimed, at Edessa, Christianity to be the religion of Armenia. The date of this national profession of Christianity is disputed, some Armenian authorities placing it as early as A.D. 276, which is manifestly too early, the more probable epoch being A.D. 302, when Gregory was consecrated by the Bishop of Cæsarea, to the See of Armenia, the present Armenian Orders being thus derived from the Greek. But whatever the exact date, the boast of the Armenians must be



admitted to stand on indisputable grounds, that theirs was the first nation which ever made a public profession of Christianity, and adopted it as the religion of the State; for this national re-conversion occurred, at latest, several years before Constantine emblazoned the Cross on the banners of the Roman Empire.

The Patriarchate, or rather the Catholicate of St. Gregory, descended to his two sons in succession, and thence to two of his grandsons, one after the other. Many and marvellous are the traditions of the Armenians as to the labours and sufferings of Gregory. It was one of his sons who attended the Council of Nicea to represent his church, in A.D. 325, and to him also is ascribed the invention of the Armenian alphabet, the Syriac characters having been previously used; but this change was really much later, about A.D. 400, by St. Isaac. Gregory accepted at once the Nicene Creed, which is in daily use in his liturgy, with the anathema appended, but before which stands a rubric—"Thus far the symbol of faith." He added, also, what is called "the Confession of St. Gregory," always recited after the Creed, and to which the Armenians attach great importance. "And we also glorify Him Who was before all worlds: we worship the Holy Trinity and the one Godhead, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end—Amen." The tradition of the Uniat Armenians, that St. Gregory visited Rome, does not seem to rest on any historical basis.

Again, the fires of persecution tried the Armenian Church through the tyranny of the conquering Sassanian dynasty of Persia. During this troublous epoch, the most conspicuous name in the ecclesiastical annals is that of St. Isaac. One thing was secured by the Persian domination, the complete independence of the Armenian Church from the Patriarchate of Constantinople. During this period also was held the Council of Chalcedon, the decrees of which have never been accepted by the Armenian Church, which has consequently been deemed by most orthodox writers to be heretical and to have adopted the monophysite heresy.

But, as I have often heard Armenian ecclesiastics earnestly plead, at the time of the sitting of that Council, A.D. 451, their country was in such a state of intestine convulsion, consequent on the Sassanian invasions, that the attendance of their bishops was impossible; that as a matter of fact they were never summoned; that, from their ignorance of Greek, they could have been of little use there; and that finally the refusal of the Armenians to receive the decree of Chalcedon is simply based on their maintenance of the great principle that no Church can be called on to accept as binding on her the decrees of a Council in which she was not represented, and that, so far as Armenia is concerned, the Council of Chalcedon was not œcumenical. They deny,

however, any rejection of the doctrines laid down by that Council. This denial is scarcely borne out by facts; for though at first the Armenians declined to receive the decrees, as being contrary to the anti-Nestorian declarations of Ephesus, and persisted in their refusal when, ten years afterwards, the Archimandrite Barsumas sent a delegate to urge their acceptance; yet thirty years later the national Armenian Council went further than this, and in A.D. 491 anathematized the Council of Chalcedon. The question whether the Gregorian Church (as the old Armenian is rightly called) does hold the Eutychian heresy, may, so far as we know from her formularies, be answered in the negative:—that practically the educated clergy do so absorb the manhood in the Godhead, as to lose sight of the sacrificial character of redemption, so far as an outsider, unable to converse with them in their native language, can ascertain, is true. But, so far as any dogmatic declarations go, the commonplace charge of heresy, so glibly uttered by Greek and Roman partisans against *all* the ancient independent churches of the East, is in this case at least, without sufficient proof. Because Armenia rejects the authority of a Council, that is not to say she affirms the doctrine condemned by that Council. Various other charges of heresy have been brought, one, *e.g.*, because the national Council of Tiben, A.D. 535, interpolated into the “*Ter Sanctus*,” in the Liturgy, the words “who was crucified for us,” as applied to all the persons of the Holy Trinity. But this interpolation does not appear in Malan’s translation of the Liturgy, nor in Dr. Neale’s, nor in Langlois, and Armenian prelates have assured me the charge is without foundation. Yet there can be no doubt that the Council of Tiben did introduce the words. The other items of indictment on the score of heresy are, the keeping of Christmas on the day of the Epiphany, the use of unleavened bread and of wine unmixed with water in the Eucharist. These latter will weigh but little with English Churchmen. In the main, the Armenian Church holds, and has ever held fast, the great verities of the Christian faith.

The ecclesiastical hierarchy of Armenia is peculiar. The highest title, that of *Katholikos*, has no parallel in any other church. There are two *Katholici*, of Etchmiadzin and of Sis, the northern and southern provinces. There are also Patriarchs at Constantinople and Jerusalem, but these are rather civil and political, than spiritual dignitaries, and are later additions, induced by the national circumstances of the Armenian people. A Patriarch cannot consecrate a *Katholikos*, but must be consecrated by a *Katholikos*. Their archbishops are numerous, as in the Greek Church, and have all the spiritual prerogatives of their ecclesiastical superiors. There are at present nineteen archbishops, most of whom have from two to six dependent

bishops in the towns of their province, but the succession of individual Sees has not been preserved with the same care as in the Greek or Roman Churches.

From the period of the final separation of the Armenian from the other Oriental Churches, its annals are scanty in the extreme. For centuries pressed politically between the upper and nether millstones of Persian and Tartar on the one side, and the Ottoman on the other ; ecclesiastically, between the ruthless persecution of Mohammedanism, and the bitter and intriguing enmities of the Greek and Latin Churches, the story of Armenia is one long tale of suffering and oppression, borne with indomitable endurance. The libraries of Etchmiadzin and Sis contain many manuscripts which have never been printed, nor even read by any Western scholar. The Greeks laboured with but indifferent success to induce the Armenians to observe their ritual and observances, until the advent of the Crusaders opened a field for Romish aggression.

The Armenian kingdom had gradually but steadily been pushed from its northern fastnesses to the southern slopes of the Taurid, until in the twelfth century it comprised little more than the ancient province of Cilicia, with Marash as its metropolis. Attacked by the Ottomans politically, and by the Greek Empire both politically and ecclesiastically, the King, Rupen II., and the Patriarch Gregory, took the fatal step of invoking help from Rome, A.D. 1184. The Papal Court made no definite promise, but never lost an opportunity of dangling hopes of assistance on condition of submission to the claims of Papal supremacy. The astuteness of Rome was so far rewarded, that on the Pope's pledge to use his influence with Spain, Genoa, and Venice—then the great commercial powers in the East—several very important changes were made in the Armenian ritual, which up to this epoch had remained the most primitive and purest of all the liturgies of Christendom. We have no trace of the worship of images or eikons before this date, nor of the insertion of the Virgin's name as a co-mediator, nor of invocation of her or of saints. The doctrines of purgatory and of transubstantiation also now appear for the first time in the Armenian Church. But on one point the Armenians remained firm. They would not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and consequently, when Rome found she could gain no more, she threw off the mask, and abandoned the hapless victims to their fate. An historian, certainly not prejudiced against the Church of Rome, briefly passes over this period with the remark, that in these transactions the proceedings of the Roman Court will not bear investigation.

But the efforts of Rome were successful in creating a schism which remains to the present day. Vast numbers of Armenians

had left their country, perpetually harassed and devastated by invading hordes, and had settled in the seaboard towns of the Levant and elsewhere, where they proved most successful traders. These the Dominicans laboured, not without success, to detach from their national church, offering the protection of Spain and Venice to all who would recognize the supremacy of the Pope, with the concession that they should retain their own orders, the marriage of their clergy, and the use of the Armenian liturgy, modified and interpolated to meet the requirements of Rome. Shall we wonder that men bereft of a country, homeless in the world, should accept the offer? Hence arose what is called the Church of the Uniat Armenians, now numbering about 150,000 souls, very few of whom, however, are to be found in the country itself, but chiefly among the emigrants on the Mediterranean seaboard. The headquarters of this schism, for some time fixed at Modan, in the Morea, then Venetian territory, were removed, in A.D. 1715, to the island of Lazaar, close to Venice, where they still remain, under the name of Mechitarists, from their founder, Mechitar. Here is the only Armenian press of any importance, and to this convent of schismatic Uniates, the Gregorian Church of Armenia is still chiefly indebted for all its literature. The liturgy used by the Uniates, and first printed at Rome, now at Venice, is full of Romish interpolations, as may be seen in Malan's translation; but I have frequently found Venetian printed liturgies in use in Gregorian churches, professing to be those of the old Gregorian rite, yet incorporating many Romish additions. So ignorant are many of the native priesthood, that they do not discriminate at all between the various editions, orthodox and corrupted.

But the efforts of Rome did not cease with the Uniat schism. Leo VI., the last King of Armenia, had married a princess of Hungary, and, attacked by the Egyptian Khalif, a last effort was made to secure western aid on any terms. While the Armenians hesitated to yield to the absolute demands of Rome, the country was overrun and Leo captured, A.D. 1375, and his kingdom was finally destroyed. After several years of captivity he was released, retired to Europe, became reconciled to the Pope, and finally died an exile in Paris, whither he had gone to seek aid in liberating his country, in 1393.

From that date the history of Armenia resolves itself simply into the lists of its Katholici. The Turks, into whose hands the fruits of the Egyptian conquests soon fell, left the Armenians the free exercise of their religion, subject only to the extortion of large bribes on the appointment of their Patriarchs and chief Ecclesiastics, whose election must be ratified by the Porte. But meantime the whole of northern Armenia had become absorbed by Russia, and the well-known machinations of the Muscovite

power have made greater inroads on the Gregorian adherents than all the violent outbreaks of Moslem fanaticism.

The Armenian Church, isolated, despoiled, and oppressed, had sunk at the commencement of the present century into a state of ignorance and poverty equalled in the case of no other church except the Nestorian Jacobites. She was without the means of educating her clergy, excepting at the small convents of Etchmiadzin and Sis; and the Armenians have never had nuns, and have shown little taste for monasticism, the only monasteries they possess being simply educational colleges. They possessed no printing presses, and for their theological teaching were much at the mercy of the Uniats of Venice. So absolute was their dependence, that it is said, though I cannot vouch for its truth, that copies of the liturgy, with the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son inserted in the Creed, have been found in use in Gregorian churches.

Since Armenia has ceased to have a national existence, had it not been for the wonderfully strong hold maintained on the race by its national Church, it must have become completely absorbed among its great and Moslem neighbours. Yet such is the power of that Church, that while there is no people except the Jews so universally dispersed as the Armenians, from China westward to America, yet nowhere have they lost their nationality, or been absorbed among the people where they sojourn.

We cannot have these facts too strongly impressed upon us, if we are to take a just view of the present and future of the Armenian Church, its attitude towards reform and towards Protestant missions; and the previous pages of historical resumé are really necessary in order that we may grasp the peculiar position. The struggles of the last four centuries may be passed over as, in this regard, unimportant.

The first direct effort to do anything to aid the Armenian Church in reformation, was made by the Basle missionaries in 1821, when they obtained the permission of the Russian Government to visit Russian-Armenia and Georgia. They extended their researches into Persian Armenia, and the story of their labour at Shamakhi and Shoosha is most interesting. Their only object at first was the evangelization of the Moslems, but finding them inaccessible, they listened to requests of the Armenians, who urged, "Why do you pass us by, and go to the Moslems. Come to our aid; establish schools for us." This they did for a time with most cheering results. Their object was not to proselytize, but to enlighten. In their own words, "to direct all their labours, in enlightening and reforming the Armenians, to the simple point of bringing them to be coadjutors

in the great work of converting the Mohammedans." They aimed "to enlighten the Armenian Church without drawing away its members, and for this end to lay the fundamental doctrines of redemption by Jesus Christ, justification by faith alone, and sanctification by the Holy Ghost, simply and clearly before individuals as often as opportunity should present." In this spirit the Basle Mission did a great preparatory work, both educational and by the circulation of the Scriptures, to which it must be remembered the Armenian Church has no objection, for it is to Scripture, of which they hold the Church, to be the witness and keeper, and not to the Church, that they refer as the ultimate arbiter in all matters of faith.

Thus the ground was in no small degree prepared when, in 1830, the American Board of Missions took up the work, which they have since carried on with a vigour and an employment of resources, and, we may also add, with a success scarcely paralleled elsewhere in missionary annals. But what were the views and principles of Dr. Eli Smith and Dr. Dwight, the pioneers of that mission? In their own words—

So many barriers are set up by prejudice against foreign influence, that neither foreign missionaries alone, nor converts who have united with them, and thus come to be viewed as foreigners and apostates, can hardly expect to effect the entire reformation of the Armenian Church. The work must be done by enlightened persons rising up from the midst of the Church itself; and the greater the amount of light that is diffused through the nation before it is attempted, the more sure and complete will be the result. The missionary, therefore, instead of aiming to make proselytes to his own communion, although he may receive individuals who wish, or are forced, to come, should shape his measures so as to draw as few as possible.

Would that the Mission had been carried on always in this spirit!

The American Congregationalist Mission has steadily increased and expanded its operations. It has now in the Armenian country six important central stations, Aintab, Marash, Harpoot, Mardin, Van, and Erzeroom. It has good educational establishments at Marash, and I believe at other centres, and a noble college at Aintab, with a strong and able staff, there being a medical department also attached, the value of which is simply inestimable to the natives. They have many congregations, some of them self-supporting. But all these are entirely drawn from the Gregorian Church. There is no direct effort whatever made by them against Mohammedanism, and though largely supported by the Society called, by a strange misnomer, the *Turkish* Missions Aid Society, the Turks are not looked on as within the scope of their work. The missions have practically become exclusively missions for drawing Oriental Christians

into Congregationalism. No one will for a moment deny that they have done a great work, both in quickening spiritual life, and, above all, educationally. But there can be no doubt the work would have been much greater, had a spirit of toleration been cultivated; had the prejudices of the Orientals been considered; and had it been carried on in a more large-hearted spirit. It is for want of this that no impress worth speaking of has been made on the members of the Oriental churches. The door of friendly intercourse with Greek, Armenian, and Syrian prelates, which is still quite open to English churchmen, is closed to the Americans. Nor can this be wondered at, when episcopacy, the use of a liturgy, the wearing of surplices and stoles is inveighed against with the same vehemence as Mariolatry, and the Church of England denominated the half-way-house. To the fact that the Presbyterian American Missions in Syria have adopted a much more catholic tone, may be ascribed the more friendly feeling towards them entertained by all Oriental Christians, except of course the Latins.

Those readers who have weighed the above summary of Armenian Church History will surely at once appreciate, ay, and sympathize with, the intense devotion of Armenians to their own ecclesiastical system, and the importance of any effort at reformation being made *on their own lines*. That they are not averse to reformation is certain. The eagerness with which they all seize on opportunities for education, their natural intelligence, the frank way in which the leaders of their hierarchy welcome English aid, ay, and guidance, in endeavouring to secure higher education; the fact that their Church places no obstacles on the diffusion of Scripture, that they are not hampered by monastic or other religious orders; that they acknowledge that many of the parts of their system against which we protest were forced upon them by Rome in the darkest hour of their country's need; all these things facilitate reformation. That they need reformation is surely as evident to every English churchman who will stand by the principles of his own reformation. The invocation of saints as mediators, the adoration and invocation of the Virgin, the teaching of purgatory, the practice of masses for the dead, the adoration of eikons, the practical teaching of transubstantiation, the employment of a dead and unknown tongue in all their public services—these things, if not all incorporated as articles of faith into their formulas, are all held in practice. To quote the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury—"I cannot understand how any one who holds the doctrines of the English Reformation, and is grateful for the work of our Reformers, can withhold his sympathy from a movement for the reformation of the Armenian Church."

And such a movement there is at present. About sixteen years ago Martyn Migherditch, Armenian Archbishop of Aintab and Vice-Katholikos of the Convent of Sis, was referred to for information by some of his own people, who had got into controversy with the American Protestants. By the direction of the Patriarch, he accepted a challenge from the latter to defend the dogmas of invocation of the Virgin and of the saints and purgatory. In order to support his views, he began to study carefully the Word of God, and found to his grief and horror that the Americans were right and he was wrong. He frankly stated his difficulties to the Patriarch, but the only advice he received was to trust his Church, and to remember that he was likely to succeed to the Katholicate. At this time he knew nothing of the Church of England, he had only heard of it as one among many Protestant sects. For three years he remained in a state of painful mental conflict, but at length he determined for truth's sake to abandon his ecclesiastical dignities and to retire into private life. There were parts of the Congregational system from which he shrank, especially the rejection of episcopacy, the disuse of a liturgy and all forms of prayer, and their restriction of infant baptism to the children only of those few who were admitted by the missionaries into full communion. About this time he heard of some of his people who were meeting in private and using a service-book of which they had become possessed. It seems that a missionary of the Jews' Society, travelling to Hamadan, had left behind him a Turkish version of the English Prayer Book. This had come into the possession of those Armenians who had been educated in the mission schools, but would not leave the Church of their fathers. This book he borrowed and studied. It supplied the need he felt; and as he had been compelled to quit his dignities, because he insisted on using the vernacular in public worship, he at once adopted this book, until such time as he could have a translation of St. Gregory's liturgy, purged from the Romish interpolations of the fourteenth century. But now the ecclesiastical authorities commenced a severe persecution and refused to listen to all terms of compromise. He was then led to apply to Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem for intercommunion and recognition. After frequent communication with him, he went to Constantinople, and had much personal intercourse with the Rev. Dr. Köelle, the well-known missionary to the Moslems, who more fully instructed him in the doctrines of the Church of England. Finally, he was received into intercommunion by Bishop Gobat, signing the "Thirty-nine Articles" as his provisional confession of faith (excepting such only as are of a local character), until such time as the Gregorian Church shall have reformed her own doctrines and practices in accordance



with God's Word. He has ever since maintained his position, and about 300 of the Armenians in Aintab have continued steadfast in their attachment to his ministrations. The late Bishop Gobat, to the day of his death, generously maintained the Archbishop, and supplied him with the necessaries of life from funds at his disposal. By the generous aid of the late Rev. W. Newton, Vicar of Rotherham, a central site for a church for the Archbishop was secured in Aintab, for the erection of which a firman was, after three years' delay, granted by the Porte, and the walls of which have, through funds recently collected, been raised to the wall plate. But the progress of the building is now arrested by the exhaustion of all available funds. The site is vested in trustees—viz., the Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., J. McGregor, Esq., and the writer; and the deeds deposited in the Archives of the Embassy at Constantinople. By these the building is confined to the use of those in *Armenian* orders, using either the liturgy of the Church of England, or such liturgy of the Armenian Church as is in harmony with its teaching. The great object is to present to the thousands of Armenians who are dissatisfied with the superstitions of their own Church, but value its Catholic usages and traditions, a type of what a reformed, yet Catholic, Orthodox Church, may be, without ceasing to be Armenian.

The death of Bishop Gobat, and so soon afterwards of his like-minded successor, Bishop Barclay, and also of Mr. Newton, have deprived Archbishop Migherditch of almost the only friends he had left, who knew, by personal observation, the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Southern Armenia; and meanwhile he is left absolutely destitute, save for such a pittance as the writer has been able from time to time to remit to him. His own people are all of the poorest—hand-loom weavers and labourers.

Meantime, the movement for a Reformed Armenian Church has spread with marvellous rapidity. Nothing has contributed more to its success than the circulation of an edition of the Prayer Book of the Church of England, translated by the Archbishop himself into the Turkish vernacular of Southern Armenia, and printed in the Armenian character, the only character read by the people. This was printed in 1880 by the S.P.C.K., and most munificently presented at the sole cost of that venerable Society. A similar grant of Bibles has been made by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The writer made a lengthened visit to the country last year, and found congregations or groups of adherents in almost every one of the twenty or thirty towns he visited. Not only did he find Armenian priests using our Prayer Book out of church, and even reading the scriptural lessons in church in the vernacular, but he found a yearning among many of the native Protestant con-

gregations for a reunion with a Reformed Church of their fathers. Several Protestant pastors had earnestly sought episcopal orders from Archbishop Migherditch, and some were using our Prayer Book. At the same time a new danger is assailing Armenia. No less than 400 French ecclesiastics of the various orders expelled from France have betaken themselves to Asiatic Turkey, and are already spread through Syria, Asia Minor, Armenia, and Mesopotamia, studying the languages, and preparing themselves for an onslaught on Oriental Christianity, reformed and unreformed alike.

The evidence that there is a widespread and deep-seated desire throughout the whole Armenian Church for reformation on the lines of the Church of England is absolutely overwhelming. And this movement needs only to be judiciously fostered in order to produce vast results at no very distant day.

Exception was taken by some of the American missionaries to any sympathy shown by English Churchmen to the native and national reformers, on the ground that it would be an intrusion into their field. In reply, the promoters of the movement have repeatedly and emphatically repudiated any desire to interfere with the Americans in their work; but can they turn a deaf ear to the cry of thousands yearning for light, but who, having had the congregational system before them for years, determinedly decline to accept it? As Churchmen, they would be false to their principles if they repelled these people; as Reformed Churchmen they would be equally false, if they bid them be content to rest in superstition, so long as the Gregorian Church practises the worship of images, the adoration of the Blessed Virgin, the invocation of saints, the adoration of relics; teaches the doctrines of purgatory and of transubstantiation, and offers animal sacrifices.

Independent testimony to the truths of the statements already published have come in from all quarters. H.B.M. Consul at Aleppo, Mr. Henderson, writes that the movement is "real, spontaneous, indigenous, and rapidly spreading." And again, "I hope you will succeed in getting a large subscription, and that two or three assistants may be sent out from England, who could have the protection of British subjects."

Mr. Hormuzd Rassam writes to the *Times*, 25th of October, 1881: "Of course all Armenians and other Christian sects in Turkey prefer the Episcopalian principles, but hitherto no Anglican Society has extended to them the hand of fellowship."

The Bishop of Gibraltar admits in a letter to the *Morning Post*, dated 11th of February, 1882: "There is a singular concurrence of independent movement on the part both of the Greeks and the Armenians towards the English Church."

Mr. Morrison, the agent of the British and Foreign Bible

Society, in writing from Tiflis to Dr. Tristram in confirmation of his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, encloses a letter from G. J. Zarian, of Diarbekir, whom he knows, and whom, along with Mr. Carapet (ordained by Bishop Gobat), he speaks of as having "favourably impressed him as earnest truthful men."

Zarian writes from Diarbekir to Mr. Morrison—

You will be very glad to hear the news of the prosperity of the Gospel and progress of our Church. Especially in these days we see superstitious people being converted day by day unto the true and Christian right way; many are ready to leave all their superstitious and wrong doctrines and join our Church. In a special manner, the Armenians and Syrians in our country prefer the Episcopal Church more than any other Protestant Church which has no episcopal order or institution for its establishment. Our Church can take large paces in advance, but unfortunately it is in want of assistance, and has no sufficient means to manage all wants of its progress. Now there is more progress than before. Every Sunday our chapel is full of Armenians, Syrians, and Roman Catholics. Many people are now awakened from their sleep, and come to hear the preaching of the Word of God. Last Sunday, two men, two youths, and a woman were added to the number of our membership, and became partakers of the Holy Communion. Our school has twenty-five boys, who are learning reading, writing, and Christian education; but our work is imperfect while we are outside the care of any mission society or bishopric. We have no power and assistance to keep both the school and church, and the other necessities which favour the progress of the Church. . . . In these days, there are also Church movements both in our city and in neighbouring towns. A week ago we received two letters, one from Mosul, the other from Mardin, fifteen hours distant. These letters ask for assistance from our Church. We did what we could. We sent them Prayer Books and Bibles; we gave them instructions how to conduct Divine service according to the Prayer Book, and we advised and encouraged them to continue in that manner. . . . Please to mention our Church, and present it to our episcopal brethren, who will have sympathy and love for Christ's Church in Diarbekir, so that through their favour many people may enjoy the same Christian blessings which they have, "that we all of one mind may hold the faith in unity of spirit in the bond of peace."

The following extracts are from a letter to Dr. Tristram, from the native pastor of the self-supporting congregation of Oorfa (Ur of the Chaldees):—

There is a new danger coming out. When we look at it as men of reason, it seems as though it would swallow up the whole of the Gospel work in this country.

The Jesuits, 400 of whom, when excluded from France, turned to Asia Minor, are learning Oriental languages, especially Armenian. In a short time they will make their stations in the chief cities of Turkey, and by their enormous expenditure and their instructions

they will convert the people to Popery. How can a man of reason believe that such a feeble and superficial Congregationalism will be able to stand against this gigantic enemy? . . . . .

We are exceedingly sorry to say that, with a very few exceptions, neither the native pastors nor the missionaries have any depth of knowledge of Armenian literature and ecclesiastical constitution. On the contrary, they abuse the Armenian language, and try to make profane Turkish the theological and literary language for the Armenian Christians. Their secret resolve is by this means entirely to separate the Armenian Protestants in their ecclesiastical and national relations from their great stock.

Another thing, which is a sadder, though more absurd, matter, is that the Episcopal Church is explained by the missionaries to be a Popish Church. From this it is clearly seen that these persons are ignorant of Church History, and of the fact that the Episcopal Church is the greatest branch of the Reformed Church.

We cannot understand the reason why the noble English nation has not before now largely begun her missionary work in this country, for it is more than evident that the English nation is much loved in Oriental countries, both for her national and ecclesiastical character, and there are many educated persons who are ready to help the work, and they wait in that hope.

The following are extracts from a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury by Mr. Boyajian, the well-known native pastor of Diarbekir:—

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—In the interview which your Grace favoured me with at Addington, last August, I promised at your request to write concerning the movement among the Armenians towards the adoption of the system of the Church of England. After leaving England I have been constantly travelling, and so occupied in various ways, that I have had no time to fulfil my promise, and for this I beg to offer to your Grace my sincere apology.

With regard to the movement, while in Constantinople, I met several clergymen, amongst them a bishop, the most learned and enlightened of the Armenians, who were very anxious that the Churchmen in England should assist in the introduction of the Church of England formula among the people, and they have assured me that the great mass of the Armenians will be most ready to adopt it.

In the interior the case is the same. There are already communities in connection with the English Church at Aintab, Marash, and elsewhere, formed under the care of Bishop Migherditch.

Since my arrival here, which is about six weeks, I have received letters from Bitlis and Kharpoot, telling me that there are several hundred families among Armenians in those places who are Protestants in heart, but decline to adhere to the American missionaries on account of their Church policy (Congregationalism), being earnestly desirous of union with the Church of England, and they have appealed to me either to send them some one, or to go myself, to guide, advise, and admonish them. There is also another appeal from Mar-

din, a large town to the south of Diarbekir. Thus, your Grace will see that the statement of Canon Tristram is not a fiction, but rather within than beyond the limit of the true state of the case. I am very anxious that something should be done to forward this movement, which I seriously consider to be for the highest benefit of the Armenians. . . .

The Armenians generally are inclined to the reformed form of Christianity, but not to Congregationalism. *The Church of England system is the most suitable to them, and I believe that its introduction will cause the reformation of the Armenian Church at a not far distant time.*

The above-mentioned appeals are sent to me on account of my connection with England, and they know how strongly I favour and advocate this great work; but I know not how to help it effectually, for, as your Grace may remember my telling you, I am the pastor of a large Protestant community here, who, though independent of missionaries, still keep the form of the Church organized by them; nevertheless, the majority are in strong sympathy with the Church of England. I intend for the present to write and admonish those who appeal for help, promising to lay their desire before your Grace.

With such evidence before them, the committee, recently formed to carry out this work,<sup>1</sup> confidently appeal to the sympathies of all members of the Church of England, who are attached to the principles of the Reformation, to aid them, 1st. In completing the still roofless church of St. Gregory at Aintab. 2nd. In affording assistance to Archbishop Migherditch. 3rd. In sending out immediately two clergymen—one to be a means of communication with England, to be with the Archbishop at Aintab, to assist in organization, and generally to exercise a directing and controlling influence. Such an one it is believed is willing to go—one, whose name and qualification would at once commend him as eminently fitted for the work. The other is needed as an itinerant preacher, to visit the towns and villages, and to look after the congregations where there is either no reforming Armenian priest, or none capable of preaching. This one, too, is ready, in Rev. A. Garbooshian, himself an Armenian by birth, and a Cambridge graduate, whose chaplaincy in Cyprus, under the Colonial and Continental Society, has been lately suspended for want of funds, and who earnestly desires to devote himself to work among his countrymen. He can preach in Armenian, Turkish, and Arabic, and is in the full vigour of youth. It would indeed be a mistake to let slip such an opportunity.

English Churchmen have contributed many thousands of pounds to the American Congregationalist Mission, through the

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<sup>1</sup> The trustees of the fund are the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rev. F. E. Wigram, Hampstead, Rev. Canon Tristram, D.D., Durham, Hon. Sec.

Turkish Missions Aid Society, and otherwise. Is it too much to ask that when the aid of their own Church is invoked, and there is a fair prospect of reforming the most ancient and venerable of the churches of the East, the response should be prompt?

The sum of £1,000 a-year would meet all demands. The case comes under the purview of no existing society. There is no time to be lost, for the harvest is fully ripe.

H. B. TRISTRAM.

## Short Notices.

*The Pulpit Commentary.—Deuteronomy.* Exposition, by the Rev. W. L. ALEXANDER, D.D., Editor of Kitto's "Biblical Cyclopædia:" Homiletics, by the Rev. C. CLEMENCE, B.A., D.D.: Homilies by various Authors. Pp. 580. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

IN reviewing several volumes of "The Pulpit Commentary," edited by Canon Spence, and the Rev. Joseph Exell, we have readily done justice to the work, as almost unique; admirably planned, and carried on with ability, reverent care, and good judgment. The volume now before us merits hearty praise. The Introduction by Dr. Alexander is exceedingly good; and of the exposition, homiletics, and homilies, so far as we have examined, we can write with confidence. Here and there, in the exposition, occur some specially choice paragraphs; but the whole is clear, forcible, and fresh. The book is a big one; in some respects, perhaps, too big; but from many teachers, at all events, there will be no complaint on this score. Full and suggestive, it is a valuable Commentary. The printing, on good paper, is excellent.

In his Introduction, Dr. Alexander replies to Dr. Robertson Smith. We quote a specimen passage of his able argument:—

The aspect and attitude of the writer, both retrospective and prospective, are those of one in the position of Moses at the time immediately before the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan. . . . These allusions are so numerous and precise that it may with justice be said, "If Deuteronomy is not the work of Moses, there is here the most exquisite of literary frauds, and that in an age which had not as yet acquired the art of transporting itself into foreign individualities and situations" (Hengstenberg).

The passage just quoted suggests a weighty consideration in favour of the Mosaic authorship of this book. If the book is not by him, if it is the production of a later age, it must be regarded as a forgery. For beyond all question, the book not only contains discourses alleged to have been uttered by Moses, but also claims to have been written by him (cf. ch. i. 1; xxix. 1; xxxi. 1, 9—11, 24). Are we, then, to pronounce this book a forgery? If so, the book cannot be regarded as one of the *λεγόμενα*, the sacred writings—as really belonging to the *γραφὴ Θεόπνευστος*, as being a book given by Divine inspiration. For the religious consciousness recoils from the thought that God would either originate or sanction a deliberate untruth. We may admire the genius of the man who could produce so consummately skilful a fiction; but we can never believe that it was by Divine direction and with help from above that he composed it, or that it was sent forth with the authorization of him "all whose words are true." Nor is it easy to conceive how what must have been known to be a fraud could have found acceptance and been reckoned among

the sacred writings of the Jews. It has, indeed, been pleaded that there was no fraud in the case; that, as all knew that the book was not written by Moses, none were deceived by the ascription of it to him, any more than those who heard Herodotus read his history at the Olympic games were deceived by the ascriptions to his heroes of the speeches which he had himself composed. But on this supposition, how are we to account for the author of the book ascribing it to Moses at all? Herodotus made speeches for his characters, and inserted them in his history, merely to give completeness to his story and as a display of literary skill. But no such motive could have induced the author of Deuteronomy, supposing him to be some prophet or scribe of a later age, to have ascribed his work as a whole to Moses. He could do this only in the hope of thereby investing it with greater authority, and procuring for it a more ready acceptance and deferential regard. But for this it was essential that the book should be *believed* to be by Moses; the moment it was known not to be by him, the author's design would be wholly frustrated. The author must, therefore, have *intended* it to be accepted as really the work of Moses; and if it was not so accepted, it must have been repudiated as a too manifest forgery to be endured. Its acceptance by the Jews and its place in the canon is thus utterly unaccountable on the supposition that it is the production of a writer of an age later than that of Moses.

*The Abbey Church of Bangor.* By the Rev. CHARLES SCOTT, M.A., Incumbent of St. Paul's, Belfast. Pp. 45. Belfast: Baird, 10, Arthur Street.

Bangor, the Bangor of Mr. Scott's interesting pamphlet, which we gladly recommend, is the pleasant watering-place on the shores of Belfast Lough. It was called Bangor Mor, or the Great, to distinguish it from Bangor in Wales; and it has a claim on every student of Irish history. (The word Bangor, which in other parts of Ireland takes the form Banagher, means rocky or pointed rocks.) About eighty-four years after the landing of St. Patrick, St. Comgall, who was the founder of Bangor, Mr. Scott tells his readers, was born at the place now called Magheramourne, on the shores of Larne Lough. This district produced two of the most eminent Irish saints of that century; for Ciaran, the founder of Clonmacnoise, though born in Meath, was sprung from the tribe Latharna, a word still preserved in the name Larne. Comgall studied at Clonard, Glasnevin, and Clononagh, then celebrated schools. The learned author proceeds:—

At Clonmacnoise or, more probably, at Connor, he was ordained priest by Bishop Lugidius, for the Church of St. Patrick did not believe in the parity of ministers, but, with the whole Primitive Church, recognized the distinction of the ministry into three ranks, bishops, priests, and deacons. Like many other earnest and ardent Christians of his time, he desired to go over as a missionary to Britain, and it was only after a good deal of persuasion that he remained at home. After teaching for some seven years in Ulster, he settled in the year 558 at the place then, as now, known as Bangor. He built a church and established a monastery, that is, a Christian settlement, comprising not merely a church but a college and schools, a mill, and everything else that was needed for the support of the community. In fact, an Irish monastery was just like a modern missionary station in Africa or North America. Ireland at that time was divided into numerous tribes, continually at war. Each great church, with the people, men, women, and children, that gathered around it, formed thus a tribe, too, under the charge of the principal minister; he was called their chief, and they were called his people. Comgall's settlement grew from year to year, until, it is said 3,000 souls were under his care. He framed rules for the guidance of his community. Its fame spread far and wide. We find that Cormac, King of South Leinster, came to Bangor, joined the community, and there died.

Of Columbanus, Mr. Scott says:—

Columbanus was a very remarkable man, and like his namesake Columbkille, hardly ever out of hot water. He rebuked sin wherever he found it, and nearly suffered the fate of John the Baptist for a somewhat similar cause, from a weak king and an infuriated queen. He wrote most boldly to the then Pope, Leo the Great, and wound up with this remarkable statement—"Error can lay claim to antiquity, but the truth which condemns it is always of higher antiquity still." To Pope Boniface he wrote as strongly—"For we are disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of all the disciples who wrote by the Holy Ghost, the divine Canon, thorough Irishmen are we, inhabitants of the very ends of the earth, but, however, men that receive nothing beyond the teaching of the Evangelists and Apostles." Such was the teaching received in old Bangor long ago. These missionaries from Bangor carried with them the institutions of Bangor and the *Cursus Scottorum*, or Irish order of Divine Service.

Comgall, was an intimate friend of another great Ulsterman, Columbkille, the founder of Iona. He visited him at Iona, and travelled with him through Scotland.

*Popular Commentary.* Vol. III. Edited by P. SCHAFF, D.D. *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul.* With Illustrations. Pp. 628. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882.

The second volume of this Illustrated "Popular" Commentary, edited by Professor Schaff, was reviewed in the CHURCHMAN nearly two years ago. The first volume had been noticed in these columns a little while before. We were able to commend the work as an admirable addition to our store of sound and interesting commentaries; on general grounds, we thought this illustrated Popular Commentary would stand a comparison with its predecessors and contemporaries, and it merited praise on account of its own peculiar features. The volume before us we can also warmly recommend. As regards illustrations, we may remark, the first volume surpasses the second and the third. But the three volumes, as a whole, form a valuable work, and the concluding volume, which Messrs. Clark announce as to be published at an early date, will be worthy, no doubt, of ranking with its fellows. The type, printing, and general "get-up" of the work deserve special mention. The demand for such volumes as these is a cheering sign of the times. Of critical Commentaries for scholars and theologians, English and translated German, we have now enough; of expository and illustrative Commentaries for the use of intelligent and thoughtful students, who know no other tongue but English, Commentaries up to date, as regards both controversies and discoveries, the store is not too large. The present work of the eminent Edinburgh publishers will have, we trust, the large circulation which it deserves.

The Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians, are the work of the Editor, Dr. Philip Schaff, and Dr. M. Riddle; Professor Lumby undertook Philippians and Philemon; Dr. Oswald Dykes, Dr. Marcus Dods, Principal David Brown, and Dean Plumptre, are the other commentators.

In the exposition of the Epistle to the Romans we had marked several passages for notice; but we have no room. In the Introduction to the Epistle to the Philippians, Professor Lumby discusses briefly, but with sufficient fulness, the organization of the earliest Christian Churches. "We can see," he says, "that the two titles, 'bishop' and 'presbyter,' were for some considerable time employed as interchangeable."

In the exposition of the Epistles to Timothy, Dean Plumptre refers, of



course, to the same question. He says that the position which Timothy occupied was that "in modern phrase, of a vicar-apostolic," exercising an authority over bishop-presbyters, and deacons. He had to sit in judgment over men who were older than himself (1 Tim. v. 1, 19, 20); to appoint the bishop-elders and deacons of the church (1 Tim. iii. 1-13); to regulate its almsgiving and the support of its widows, as a sisterhood partly maintained by the church and partly working for its support (1 Tim. vi. 9, 10). In regard to "widows," 1st Ep. v. 3-13, the Dean writes that these women, like those of Acts vi. 1, ix. 39, were dependent on the alms of the church, not necessarily deaconesses or engaged in active labours.

*The Temple.* Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations. By Mr. GEORGE HERBERT. First Edition. 1633. Fac-simile Reprint. Third Edition, With Introductory Essay. By J. HENRY SHORTHOUSE, Author of "John Inglesant." London: T. Fisher Unwin, 17, Holborn Viaduct. 1882.

This is a very interesting volume; in its way a *gem*. Prepared from the copy in the British Museum, this edition of "The Temple," says a prefatory note, is "wholly a *typographical* reproduction, and for this purpose many special punches have been cut and ornaments engraved. The volume is as close an imitation as possible of the original in size, in binding, and in the colour and texture of the paper." An introductory essay by the author of that remarkable novel "John Inglesant" deserves, in a literary point of view, unstinted praise. Upon his opinion of George Herbert's position, and influence, on another opportunity we may make some criticisms. At present we remark that in his opening sentences Mr. Shorthouse twice writes "altar," a term which he cannot find in the Prayer Book.

*The Faiths of the World.* A Concise History of the great Religious Systems of the World. Pp. 430. William Blackwood & Sons. 1882.

This volume contains twelve lectures, delivered in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, and in the Cathedral, Glasgow, last winter, by leading clergymen of the Church of Scotland; Principal Caird, Dr. Matheson, Professor Milligan, Dr. Burns, Professor Flint, and others. That these lectures are able, interesting, with much that is new and with a good deal that is old, yet newly set and suggestive, we need scarcely remark. With every lecture, considering both what is said in it and what is left unsaid, we cannot say we are satisfied.

*Voices from Patmos.* By Rev. WILLIAM BURNETT, M.A., Author of "Sidelights of the Bible." Pp. 134. S. W. Partridge & Co.

Simple, faithful, and affectionate expositions of the benedictions to the Seven Churches: a little book we can heartily commend.

*A Manual for the Social Science Congress.* By J. L. CLIFFORD-SMITH, Secretary of the Association. Office of the Association, 1, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

In commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science it has been thought well to issue a narrative of past labours and present results. This Manual, cleverly compiled, is a readable little book, with a good deal of useful and interesting information. We quote a specimen paragraph:—

CANAL AND RIVER POPULATION.<sup>1</sup>—The subject of the social and sanitary condition of the canal and river population was considered by the Health Com-

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions*, 1876, p. 614; 1877, p. xxxvi.; 1880, p. 622; 1881, p. xxxviii. *Sessional Proceedings*, vol. x. pp. 21, 312; vol. xiv. p. 143.

mittee and by the Council in 1877, when representations were made to the Home Secretary urging the necessity of early legislation with a view to the prevention of overcrowding, the spread of infectious diseases, the evasion of the Acts for the registration of births and deaths, and vaccination, the neglect of education, and the deterioration of morality. The Canal Boats Act of 1877, warmly and mainly promoted by Mr. George Smith, of Coalville, was passed shortly afterwards. In 1880 the Health Committee instituted an inquiry into the working and operation of this Act, issuing to all the authorities charged with its administration a series of questions as to the number of boats registered, the system of inspection adopted, &c. The replies received were afterwards presented in a tabular statement which gave interesting and valuable information as to the working of the Act, and practical suggestions for its amendment.

*With the Prophets Joel, Amos, and Jonah.* Church and Home Lessons from three Minor Prophets. By ALFRED CLAYTON THISELTON, Minister of the Episcopal Chapel, Upper Bagot Street, Dublin. Pp. 318. Nisbet. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, and Walker, Middle Abbey Street. 1882.

A good book. The author is known to some of our readers, no doubt, as the Honorary Secretary for Ireland of the Colonial and Continental Church Society; his "Church and Home Lessons from Hosea" we had the pleasure of reviewing at the time of its publication.

*The Great Roman Eclipse; with the visions of the Locusts and Horsemen.* An Exposition of the 8th and 9th Chapters of the Apocalypse. By the Author of "The Little Horn of the East." Pp. 400. Elliot Stock. 1882.

This book will be read with interest by many students of prophecy who cannot concur with the Author's conclusions. We may give an examination of it, hereafter, in connection with other good prophetic works, but at present we simply remark that while the author accepts the general English interpretation of the first four trumpets, he differs from it in some particulars, and especially in regard to the *eclipse* (not *extinction*) of the Roman Sun. The book is well printed on good paper.

The Church Missionary Society Report for 1882 (C. M. S., Salisbury Square), contains many valuable and interesting passages, on which, had we space, we should gladly comment. The encouraging Report of the Palestine Mission—e.g., by Canon Tristram and Mr. Bickersteth, is particularly inviting. Our affection for this noble Society grows stronger year by year; and we are thankful to note how its excellent publications are edited, with good judgment, literary ability, and reverent care.

"It is evident that we want additional work of all kinds both in our town and large rural parishes, mission chapels, open-air preaching, services suited to untrained tastes, and a larger army of workers from every class, as lay-readers and district visitors. *It is difficult to see how by any other mode than the extension of the ministry by an unpaid diaconate the present spiritual destitution of the country can be completely met.*" We quote these sentences from the Church Pastoral Aid Society's Report for 1882. (C. P. A., Temple Chambers, Falcon Court, 32, Fleet Street.) This 47th Report of a most important Society deserves to be read, and lent, and recommended, more—a good deal more—than as we fancy at present is the case. The sentence which we have put in italics, has an especial interest just now. No "party" feeling, happily, has been felt, as yet,

among the advocates of a change as regards the Diaconate. The movement is growing stronger, slowly, but surely. For ourselves—the remark may be excused—we rate the question as among “Church Reforms” of the highest importance; and in the pages of *THE CHURCHMAN*, from the first, this reform has been urged. Representative men, High, Broad, and Evangelical, plead in its favour; but, as we think, the traditions and the principles of Evangelicals should make them prompt in coming to the front.

Of *The Revolt of Man*, a clever work of fiction (Blackwood & Sons) a new edition has appeared. Mr. BESANT's plot is that in the order of things which certain irreligious *doctrinaires* have seemed to wish for, women were masters; but the men revolted, and the monstrous woman-rule, with Socialistic ideas of marriage, was swept away.

We received in due course from Messrs. T. & T. Clark, the first issue of their Foreign Theological Library for 1882. *Dorner's System of Christian Doctrine*, Vols. III. and IV. These volumes should have been noticed in an earlier number. For those students who know how to use it Dorner's work is of high value.

Messrs. Silver, the well-known outfitters, have published several colonial handbooks. The volume before us, *Handbook for Australia and New Zealand* (S. W. Silver & Co., Sun Court, 67, Cornhill), a third edition, seems an exceedingly good one; complete, clear, and correct: a *handy* book, besides, not too big. The Map shows the latest discoveries.

We have received some pleasing packets of new floral Cards from Messrs. Campbell and Tudhope (45, St. Paul's Churchyard), cheap and good, suitable for Sunday Schools. It seems early for the Christmas and New Year's Cards; but it is well to be in time.

*The Preacher's Analyst*, a monthly Homiletical Magazine, edited by the Rev. J. S. BIRD, B.A. (Elliot Stock) is a good fourpenny-worth; after the fashion of the *Clergyman's Magazine*, it contains original articles and sermon notes, original and selected. Its tone is all that we could wish.

In the *Foreign Church Chronicle* (Rivingtons), an interesting number, appears a review of Dr. Littledale's *Plain Reasons*. The *Chronicle* therein says:—“One thing is very striking in the work—that instead of being, as so many former works on Roman controversy were, an attack, it is really a defensive work. It does not aim at proving the Church of England to be a true living branch of the Catholic Church, and the Church of Rome to be a withered branch, and to show how far she has fallen from the faith, so much as to plead that there is no sufficient reason to leave the one for the other. Its attacks seem as the desperate sallies of men from a beleaguered fortress, rather than the confident assault of a victorious army.”

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## THE MONTH.

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THE interest of the war in Egypt speedily shifted from Alexandria to Ismailia on the Suez Canal, Kassassin on the Freshwater Canal, and the earthworks at Tel-el-Kebir. Sir Garnet Wolseley has proved a prudent commander, with qualities of the highest order of generalship. The war is over. Loyal subjects throughout the British Empire have abundant

cause for congratulation; and believers may mingle thanksgivings with their prayers for "unity, peace, and concord."<sup>1</sup>

The revolt of the Dublin Metropolitan Police has been wisely met by the firm yet conciliatory attitude of Lord Spencer. In resisting requests of various kinds for the commutation of the sentence on F. Hynes,<sup>2</sup> the Lord-Lieutenant has shown that the Government mean to govern.

Cetewayo is on his way to South Africa.

Why is Mr. Green still in prison? The answer, says the *Record*, is easy:—

Sir T. Percival Heywood, the patron of Miles Platting, is the sole impediment to the release of his friend Mr. Green. Mr. Green and the English Church Union, of which he is the tool, have in the most formal manner announced their determination to resist deprivation just as they have resisted suspension. We know what this means. It means that if Mr. Green were set at liberty to-morrow, he would at once return to Miles Platting and re-enter into possession of the living from which the law has ejected him. At the present moment there is nothing whatever to prevent this being done if the prison doors were open. Sir T. Percival Heywood, the patron, would encourage and assist Mr. Green, and as he carefully abstains from appointing a successor, there would be no rival rector to encounter. But suppose this manoeuvre successfully carried out, and Mr. Green once more installed at Miles Platting, indulging in all his old practices and superstitions, what remedy would there be? Actually none, except fresh proceedings, ending in a fresh imprisonment.

<sup>1</sup> Between four and five o'clock on Wednesday morning, the 13th, the Egyptian troops were roused from their slumbers by Sir Garnet's soldiers. The earthworks at Tel-el-Kebir were found to be very extensive, but the defenders, taken by surprise, were panic-stricken when they found themselves at close quarters with the dreaded British bayonet. The contest was over in about twenty minutes. The enemy fled "in thousands," pursued by our cavalry, and their loss was very heavy. Arabi escaped on horseback in the direction of Zagazig, and then by railway to Cairo. The British forces consisted of 11,000 bayonets, 2,000 sabres, and 60 guns. The Royal Irish Regiment particularly distinguished itself. Zagazig was occupied later in the day by General Sir Hugh Macpherson, in command of the Indian contingent. The forces at Cairo and Kafr-dowar surrendered without delay.

<sup>2</sup> A special jury convicted Hynes, the murderer of Doloughy, and the *Freeman's Journal*, the property of Mr. Gray, M.P., High Sheriff of Dublin, inserted letters and articles accusing the jury of drunkenness and levity, reflecting on the justice of the trials under the Act, and on the mode by which the jury were summoned. Mr. Justice Lawson considered that these articles constituted Contempt of Court, and condemned Mr. Gray to three months' imprisonment, a fine of £500, and to find two securities of £2,500 each, besides giving security himself for £5,000 to keep the peace for six months, in default of which he would be subject to three months' further imprisonment.

To this the *John Bull* feebly replies :—

The *Record* throws the blame on the Patron; it is his duty to present, and when the benefice has another incumbent Mr. Green may be released. But Sir Percival Heywood has no more faith in Lord Penzance than we have; and is Mr. Green to suffer for the Patron's "contumacy" as well as his own? How long is the vicarious imprisonment to endure?

In commenting on the year's Report of the Education Department (a report which records a steady and satisfactory progress of educational work and efficiency) the *Guardian* says :—

There is about it a certain air of common sense, a frank recognition of practical possibilities, as contrasted with mere ideals, a tone of cordiality towards the existing voluntary system, and a freedom from inordinate terror of what is called "denominationalism," which are not always found in official documents. We trust that we may take it as an indication of the prevalence in the Education Department, under Mr. Mundella's auspices, of a spirit of true liberality, as contrasted with the intolerance of non-official agencies, which is not unfrequently associated with so-called Liberalism.

The *Record* also says :—"We have found in the Circular to Inspectors proofs of a determination on the part of the Department to secure in the inspection of schools justice to all concerned."

Professor Mountague Bernard<sup>1</sup> has passed away. Mr. Bernard was one of the small knot of Oxford men who set up the *Guardian* newspaper.

Bishop Steere died of apoplexy at Zanzibar.—Sir George Grey, who has been for some time in a precarious state, died on the 8th. The Right Hon. Baronet, an able administrator, was Home Secretary under Lord John Russell in 1848.—The Bishop of Grahamstown (Dr. Merriman) died on August 18th, after a severe accident.—The Hon. and Very Rev. G. V. Wellesley, Dean of Windsor, died on the 18th, after a short illness. He was in the 73rd year of his age, having been born in 1809.—Dr. Pusey fell asleep on the 16th.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, after a severe illness, we note with deep thankfulness, has made some slight progress. Many fervent prayers throughout the Church were offered for his recovery.

The harvest in many parts of the country has been much better than at one time was expected.

The Bishop of Ripon, we are happy to hear, has materially improved in health of late.

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<sup>1</sup> In its first column, under the heading "The Week," the *Guardian* (Sept. 6) says :—It is with deep regret we announce the death, after an illness of some months, of the Right Hon. Mountague Bernard, at Overross, his home in Herefordshire. For the first thirteen years of the *Guardian* he was the leading contributor of this column—setting a high example of truth and purity of language to those who have followed him.

# THE CHURCHMAN

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NOVEMBER, 1882.

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## ART. I.—BIBLE STUDY IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

NO ancient Church writer coloured the Reformation theology so deeply as St. Augustine. Without enlarging on this obvious fact, it may be assumed that the Reformers generally must have been assured that they and the illustrious Bishop of Hippo stood on the same common ground. If the central principle of the Reformation in all countries was that of our Sixth Article, the absolute and sole authority of Holy Scripture in all matters of faith, it must have been felt that St. Augustine's voice was in unison with that dominant note. Otherwise, no occasional agreement on points of detail, no mere sympathy with his doctrines of predestination, or other favourite dogma, could have made him the great teacher, which he undoubtedly was, in the eyes of the Reformers. To read his treatise, *De Doctrina Christiana*, is to have this fact brought before us in the most vivid manner. His critical methods may often be crude, his knowledge of science imperfect or incorrect, but he is absolutely at one with the great schools of Protestant theology as to the duty of all Christians to search the Scriptures. He knows no bondage in its interpretation but the restraint of its own analogies and harmonies, and bids his disciples search freely into the critical history of the individual books for a full assurance that each of them is of divine origin, and belongs to the genuine Canon.

If this be so, it follows that St. Augustine is on the Protestant side of the great dividing line which intersects the Church. Beneath all controversies must lie the yet deeper question of the authority which is to decide them. Among Christians who have a dogmatic system only two such authorities are known. They may be confused by unskilful or artful handling, but Church authority and Bible authority are the two rival powers. The

one is Romanism, the other is Protestantism. We need not be ashamed of the results of three centuries of Bible study. It may have produced some strange vagaries occasionally; but the great Protestant Schools from Luther downwards have been marvellously steadfast, while the Schools of Authority have developed the strange monstrosities of the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility.

The second and third books of the treatise of St. Augustine, *De Doctrinâ Christiand*, contain his instructions on the Study of Holy Scripture. In reviewing those books two main points of view will continually present themselves. First, his attitude towards Scripture; second, his technical methods of interpretation. With regard to these last mentioned his position is more akin to our own than that of his great contemporary Chrysostom. For his mother-tongue was Latin. The book he usually read, and from which he discoursed was, therefore, a Latin translation. The original tongues were to him foreign, and could only be a subject of study, even as they are to ourselves.

If there is one thing more satisfactory than another in the history of all ancient Churches, it is their care to provide their people with the Word of God, "in their own tongue, wherein they were born." Where, for at least 500 years, can we find a Church without a translation, or even several translations, of Holy Scripture? This fact meets St. Augustine at the commencement of this part of his subject (v. 6):—

Holy Scripture, written at first in one language, had been translated into various tongues, had been spread far and wide, and thus became known to the nations for their salvation. In reading it men seek to discover the mind and will of those by whom it was written, and through these to know the will of God, in accordance with which we believe them to have spoken.

Obviously, nothing short of the free translation and circulation of the Word of God, as the life of missionary effort, is present to the mind of Augustine. Moreover, we begin with the distinct recognition of the fundamental principle already stated. The will of God is set forth in Holy Scripture. To discover that will we must study the meaning of the Sacred writers, who spoke under divine guidance.

But the principle, thus broadly and without hesitation set forth, brings us at once to the perplexities of varied interpretations. While we may demur to the critical accuracy of some of Augustine's methods and solutions, nothing can be more instructive than his absolute fearlessness about consequences. Unbelief and misbelief were as prevalent in that age as in any other.

Heathen, Manichee, Pelagian, or ignorant believers, might

reject or misapply, or diversely understand many things; Augustine none the more flies to some traditional prescription, or some infallible interpreter. The Word of God is to him a garden, within whose enclosed space flowers and fruits are abundantly growing. The very diversity which it presents to different minds only fills him with the more admiration. Hence (c. vi. 7) he suggests reasons for the "manifold obscurities and ambiguities" of Holy Scripture. Pride must be lowered by discovering what labour is needed for unfolding the deep things of God, while the mind is aroused to put forth all its powers to discover what has been invitingly hidden. Thus the spiritual search meets with continual reward, and no satiety can be felt in a pursuit which presents everchanging interest. The illustration given of this peculiar delight may seem to many to be drawn from a grotesque interpretation. It is the following. We may rejoice to be told in plain prose of a true servant of Christ, coming from the baptismal font, filled with the twofold love of God and man, and thenceforward useful in the deliverance of others from the bondage of superstition and vice. But with a peculiar charm do the words of the Song of Songs (iv. 2) come home to us when we read the same meaning there. "Thy teeth are like a shorn flock which came up from the washing; whereof every one bears twins, and none is barren among them." The shorn fleece is the worldly burden which the converts have laid aside. They come up from baptism bearing the twin commandments of love, and "none is barren in that holy fruit." Then they become the teeth of the Church, biting men away from their errors, and transferring them softened into her body. Whatever we may think of the interpretation, we can sympathize with the pious ardour with which the mind of God is thus sought, and with the admiration of that higher wisdom with which "the Holy Spirit has so ordered the Holy Scriptures that the plainer passages obviate hunger, while the more obscure stimulate the appetite."

Who, then, shall be the most skilful searcher of the Sacred writings? There is no hesitation in the reply, no apparent consciousness that any different answer could be given. He it is, "who has read them all, and holds them in his knowledge, not all perhaps with understanding, but who has at least read them." Could the Bible be thrown open more absolutely for the study of the simplest soul?

But this answer leads to another question (c. viii. 12). How shall we know what books justly claim the august title of the Word of God? Is this great divine of the Fifth Century in possession of any key to this question other than we possess? Is there any Church decree, any authoritative decision of older tribunals, any contemporary utterance to which he refers us?



There is none. The student must gather his information for himself, and form his own judgment. He is advised to pursue his investigation into the Canonicity of the books which claim to be Scripture in the following manner. Those books which are received by all Catholic Churches he must prefer to those which some of them do not receive. With regard to those which fall short of this unanimous reception, he must both weigh and count the testimony of the Churches which accept them. There may be on one side Churches more in number and of weightier authority. Especially there may be some of apostolic origin, honoured with the reception of Epistles. On the other side there may be Churches fewer in number and of minor authority. In such a case the decision is obvious. Should, however, the improbable case occur, that a numerical majority of the Churches be on one side, and a minority of the higher authority on the other, the result must be held to be equally balanced.

To some, who have been taught that THE CHURCH somehow, and at some ascertained time, gave the Bible to her children, this frank uncertainty of the Fifth Century will be startling and disturbing. To the intelligent reader of the Bible it will present nothing new. He will at least have asked some simple questions, why (for example) he rejects the Book of Wisdom, and receives the Epistle to the Hebrews in his Canon of Scripture. The answer on which he will have relied may not be worded exactly as Augustine put it, but it comes to the same thing. It is simply because the vast preponderance of testimony requires such a decision.

While reading such sentiments as these we must feel to be, as in fact we are, removed by centuries from the modern conception of the papacy, and from the dogmatic arrogance of Trent, which requires a license for the possession or use of a Bible by private persons, and forbids even an unpublished interpretation of Scripture against the unanimous consent of the Holy Fathers.

When we turn to the prolegomena of Alford, or whatever other *apparatus criticus* we may be in the habit of using, what else do we find than the very process which Augustine recommends? How can we learn the verdict of these many Churches, but through their literary representatives? What else do those lists of quotations from ancient writers mean in dissertations on the canon of Scripture? What is the purpose for which the words of Clement, of Justin Martyr, of Irenæus, and all the other venerable names are cited but to prove how far within their knowledge this or that book was deemed Canonical?

Apart from details, it thus appears that the idea of Canonicity in the mind of Augustine was the same as our own. Was the

result of investigation the same? In the New Testament it is precisely identical, and it is noticeable that he attributes to St. Paul the Epistle to the Hebrews. But in the Old Testament he includes a considerable portion of the Apocrypha—Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the Maccabees. How strongly Augustine was influenced by the authority of the Septuagint in this matter will be seen further on. His great critical contemporary, Jerome, came to a different conclusion, and pronounced those very books to be Apocryphal.

Our object, however, is not to investigate the Canon; it is to illustrate the ideas and the liberty of the Fifth Century. Having pronounced upon the Canonical books, Augustine repeats his admonition to search the Scripture (c. ix. 14):—

In all these books the pious reader seeks to know the will of God. He must know these books. Even if he does not understand them, he must read them, he must commit them to memory—anyhow, they must not remain unknown. The more he discovers, whether of the rule of life or of faith, the more will he find his understanding to open. As he becomes more familiar with the language of Scripture, he will be enabled to use the clearer passages to throw light on those which are more obscure. But this process requires a retentive memory well stored with Scripture. Failing this, such a fruitful work cannot be accomplished.

It may be permitted to pause for the instructive contrast of a modern utterance. "If the Bible is to be read in school without note or comment, it had much better be read in Hebrew." We need not search far to find other examples of such painful distrust of the Word of God, too freely uttered of late.

Augustine has, on the other hand, a quiet confidence in the Word of his Father, that it cannot mislead, and that to know it and store it in the memory will before long bring light into the soul.

But if the Christian is thus led to the study of the Word, and if it contains figurative expressions and dark utterances, what special learning may come to his aid most effectually? To Augustine, as to ourselves, the original languages of Scripture were foreign tongues. Hence the acquirement of Greek and Hebrew is placed first as essential to the right understanding of Holy Scripture. That was an age of revision as well as ours, and with far more need. There was no authorized invariable Latin Bible. The transcribers of the Latin text were often acquainted with Greek, and introduced arbitrary emendations from the Septuagint as they wrote, so that the variations, says Augustine, were numberless. It is characteristic of his acute and fertile rather than exact mind, that he endeavours to point out benefits which may arise out of this very diversity. Still

he discerns that, in many cases, if we would know the very thoughts of the writer, we must be acquainted with his language, or at least make use of very literal translations, in order to judge of the probable meaning by the comparison of the varied renderings of words.

Otherwise he would prefer a more free translation, since the genius of one language is violated by forcing into it too literally the idiomatic peculiarities of another. But we need not dwell on the solecisms and ambiguities which Augustine found in the Latin versions current in his time.

One curious note we find which shows that a certain kind of conservatism was as rooted in the fifth century in Africa, as in the seventeenth in England. Ps. cxxxii. 13, ran thus, *Super ipsum autem floriet sanctificatio mea*. The more learned hearer would prefer the correct *florebit*, nor was there anything in the way of the correction excepting *consuetudo cantantium*. The "habit of the choirs" could retain the less perfect version of the Psalms then as now. From prejudice of this kind Augustine was wholly free, and insists strongly (c. xiv. 21) on the importance of a thoroughly emended text.

The disadvantages of a Bible Student in those days come out very clearly. The reader has met with words or idioms strange to him. What can he do? If they belong to foreign tongues, he must consult men who know those languages, or he must himself acquire them, or at least compare different translations. This involved committing to memory the doubtful word or phrase. He will meet with some one having the needful learning, or with some passage which may clear up the difficulty. He must read, remember, ponder, and wait. The solution will come some day. We should turn to our shelves. We should refer to our dictionaries, our concordances, our commentaries. Only, we observe again, here is no bondage of any kind to authority other than that of the Word itself. Full, free, patient investigation, is the rule of the Fifth Century.

Augustine's own power of textual criticism cannot be rated very highly. His knowledge of Greek seems to have been somewhat limited, and of Hebrew he was entirely ignorant. Hence he gives to the Septuagint an authority which almost places it on a level with the Hebrew text (c. xv. 22). He intimates that he is more than inclined to believe the story of the several translators of that famous version being enclosed in separate cells, and yet producing an identical translation. He may well ask—"If this be so, who would dare to compare, much less to prefer, anything to so great an authority?" Hence he thinks that the Holy Spirit may have so guided the translators as to have taught them that one rendering which would be most suitable to the Gentiles who should afterwards believe in

the Lord. Consequently, if the Hebrew text should suggest a different meaning, a devout Christian will hardly prefer it to that which the LXX. have taught him. Augustine will not find many followers amongst ourselves in this opinion. Nevertheless we may take shame to ourselves that we of the Church of England have fallen so far behind other Churches in this matter. The German or the Scottish minister feels himself bound to consult "the Hebrew verity" to a degree quite unknown in England. The criticism of the Hebrew text, with the parallel collation of the LXX. in its most suggestive testimony to very ancient varied readings, has found little encouragement, and remains almost to be commenced from the beginning. We shall not be real students of the Old Testament until all this is changed.

Passing to the interpretation of the figurative language of Holy Scripture we come to very debateable ground. There has always existed great difference of opinion as to the degree in which secondary, or typical, or spiritual meanings, may lie under the inspired language. Augustine, in common with all writers of his age, carried this to a dangerous extent. Lax and arbitrary interpretation of the Word of God led to much the same result as its neglect. The edge of the sword of the Spirit was turned as effectually by the interposition of the comment of human fancy as by unbelief itself. "Lord here be two swords," was warrant enough for coercive ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the mediæval mind. The Reformation may be truly enough described, in one important phase of its appearance, as a return to grammar and common sense in reading the Scriptures. So one regarded it to whom the English race owes more than tongue can tell. William Tyndale, in his "Obedience of a Christian Man," sweeps away at one stroke the figurative encumbrance. "They divide the Scripture," says he, "into four senses, the literal, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical."

Thou shalt understand that the Scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth, whereunto if thou cleave, thou canst never err or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way. Nevertheless the Scripture useth proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories, as all other speeches do; but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle, or allegory signifieth is ever the literal sense, which thou must seek out diligently. . . . This blindness, wherein we now are, sprang first of allegories. For Origen and the doctors of his time drew all the Scripture unto allegories; whose ensample they that came after followed so long, till they at last forgot the order and process of the text, supposing the Scripture served but to feign allegories upon; in-somuch that twenty doctors expound one text twenty ways. . . . Yea,

they are come unto such blindness, that they not only say the literal sense profiteth not, but also that it is hurtful and noisome and killeth the soul. . . . God is a Spirit and all his words are spiritual. His literal sense is spiritual, and all his words are spiritual. When thou readest (Matt. i.), "She shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for He shall save his people from their sins;" this literal sense is spiritual, and everlasting life to as many as believe it. . . . Finally, all God's words are spiritual, if thou have eyes of God to see the right meaning of the text, and whereunto the Scripture pertaineth, and the final end and cause thereof. . . . There is no story nor gest, seem it never so simple or so vile unto the world, but that thou shalt find spirit and life and edifying in the literal sense: for it is God's Scripture, written for their learning and comfort. There is no clout or rag there that hath not precious relics wrapt therein of faith, hope, patience and long-suffering, and of the truth of God, and also of His righteousness.

But in applying the Word Tyndale allows full, yet measured liberty. "When we have found out the literal sense of the Scripture by the process of the text," he says, "or by a like text of another place, then we borrow similitudes or allegories of the Scripture and apply them to our purposes: *which allegories are no sense of the Scripture, but free things besides the Scripture, and altogether in the liberty of the spirit*; which allegories I may not make at all the wild adventures, but must keep me within the compass of the faith, and ever apply mine allegory to Christ and unto the faith."

The modern use of the term *literal* may tend to obscure the words of the venerable translator. He does not speak of the bare grammatical meaning in its most meagre significance. He would enforce the direct absolute message of the pure words of Scripture. It may be that our age needs the repetition of the warning. Commentaries again appear laden with patristic fancies, which may or may not be in harmony with the true proportion of the faith. They may influence the minds of many; but even if substantially correct they must lack the vigour of the confident announcement, "Thus saith the Lord."

If Augustine himself was able to distinguish between the application which his own fancy brought into Scripture and the actual meaning which the Holy Ghost intended, it is certain that the ages which followed him lost the distinction, as Tyndale so vigorously declared. But we must return to the Bishop of Hippo. Whatever we may think of particular interpretations, there is generally breadth in his principles. He perceives that all knowledge may illustrate the Bible. Natural history may contribute from its stores.

The Lord says, Be ye wise as serpents. The serpent to protect its head will offer its whole body to its assailants. So for our Head, which

is Christ, we should willingly offer our body to the persecutors. Or, again, to free itself from its old skin, the serpent draws itself through a narrow hole, so shall we also "put off the old man," by entering through "the strait gate."

In like manner note that the carbuncle shines in darkness and some metaphors of Scripture become clear. Observe that the hyssop cleanses the lungs, and pierces rocks with its roots, and we may understand why it is said, Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean.

The reader may smile at the simple confidence with which such interpretations are hazarded. We fear, however, that he may be able without much difficulty to call to mind some equally startling Scripture elucidations which the pulpit or the religious press of this nineteenth century has poured into the startled ear of the more scientific auditor. "Verify your quotations," was the admonition of the veteran Oxford scholar. "Verify your supposed facts," should be the admonition to him who presumes to extract a meaning from the Bible with the aid of some scraps of natural science. Be sure the Bible is accurate. Be equally sure that science, even of the best, is often inaccurate; and that the second-hand science of the ill-informed is more mistaken still.

We shall not dwell upon succeeding chapters (c. xvi. 25). The mystic language of numbers is treated as equally clear with the multiplication-table to him who has mastered its inner significance. *Four* marks creation existing in *time*; for morning, noon, evening, and night embrace the day, while spring, summer, autumn, and winter compose the year. *Three* is the number of the Holy Trinity. *Seven* indicates the creature, because the life is threefold, including heart, soul, and mind wherewith God is to be loved; and the body is compounded of the four elements. Thus we understand why the number 40 is the period of fasting, since it is four times ten; and the true life that is in the knowledge of God has no delight in the things of time. How music may in like manner lend its aid, and how the fallacies of astrology and other Gentile vanities of false learning are to be put away, we need not here discuss. Nor need we show how with true discernment the use of history or the mechanical arts is assigned its place in reference to the interpretation of Scripture. Augustine is more at home when he discusses (c. xxxi. 48, &c.) the place of logical science in Bible interpretation. We recognize with some amusement the old teacher of rhetoric bringing out some of the examples of logical fallacies which he had no doubt used as illustrations in his lectures at Carthage and at Rome. He reminds us (c. xxxv. 53) that the science of definition, division, and arrangement is no invention of man. It is inherent in the reason. It is evolved from the mind, as it discourses on the things which God has

made. Like the science of numbers, it is discovered, not created by man. No man can vary the immutable truth that three times three are nine. Order, then, arrangement, definition must have their place in discussing the Word which comes from the same Eternal Mind.

Finally, on this part of the subject Augustine (c. xxxviii. 57) warns the disciple to make all things redound to the praise and love of God alone, otherwise "he may seem to be learned, but wise he cannot be."

But how (c. xl. 60) shall we regard the philosophy of the ancients? If they have spoken anything that is true and in harmony with the faith we may seize it as from unlawful possessors. The Egyptians had not only their bondage and their idols, but precious things. Israel, abandoning Egypt, left its abominations but carried away its treasures. So Gentile philosophy amidst its vanities possesses fragments of truth, gold and silver, dug (so to speak) from the mines of an ever-present Providence. These the Christian may appropriate and dedicate to God. So came forth from Egypt Cyprian, most delightful of teachers, and blessed martyr. So came Lactantius, Victorinus, Hilary, and Greeks beyond number. So came forth Moses, "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

Thus furnished—

The student of Holy Scripture may enter on his investigations, but must ever remember that knowledge puffeth up, charity edifieth. And so, whatever riches of Egypt he may bring with him, unless he has kept the Passover, he cannot be saved. Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed for us, and to all the toilers in Egypt He gives the invitation, "Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." After all, what was the store which Israel brought out of Egypt in comparison of the wealth accumulated in Jerusalem under King Solomon? What are the resources of heathen learning compared to the knowledge of Holy Scripture? There may be found whatever really useful has been read elsewhere; and there in greater abundance may be seen what can nowhere else be learned, save in the wonderful elevation, and the wonderful lowliness of the Scriptures.

Such, in brief outline, is the second book of Augustine on Christian Learning. If Europe, in succeeding ages had followed these precepts, instead of petrifying his doctrines, it is not too much to say that the history of Christendom would have been totally changed. The free, the full, the bold,—but the patient, the modest, the reverential, and submissive study of the Word of their Father, must be the portion of the Children. The appliances of scholarship, of history, of science, which the simplest scholar of our days enjoys, are manifestly far beyond anything which this great Father could command. Nor have

we discovered any advantage of traditional knowledge, or interpretative authority, which was his portion rather than ours. The Empire which he saw in its decay has vanished. The tongue in which he discoursed is no longer articulate among men. "But the Word of the Lord endureth for ever." The future of England, and of the English Church, is wrapped up in its submissive treatment of that Eternal Word.

T. P. BOULTBEE.

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## ART. II.—JESUS LANE SUNDAY SCHOOL.

THE Jesus Lane Sunday School owes its name to the fact that for the first six or seven years of its existence it was held in a small building known as the Friends' Meeting House, situate in Jesus Lane, on the left-hand side as you approach Jesus College from Sidney Street. To what use this building was put from the year 1833, when the Jesus Lane Sunday School was moved into rooms in King Street, placed at the disposal of the Committee by the Governors of the Old Schools of Cambridge, until 1862, we know not; but in the latter year, this first home of the Gownsmen's Sunday School became the Sunday Schoolroom of the parish of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of which was in those days largely attended by undergraduates, who valued the ministry first of the Rev. F. J. Jameson, so early called to his rest, and then of the Rev. T. T. Perowne, now Archdeacon of Norwich.

When the Jesus Lane Sunday School was first moved into King Street in the year 1833, it was only allowed to make use of the lower schoolroom; subsequently, through the influence of the Rev. W. Carus, the whole building was made available, the school having outgrown the accommodation provided.

The Jesus Lane Sunday School is now held in handsome buildings of its own situate in Paradise Street, a quiet street running parallel with, and at no great distance from, the north side of Parker's Piece, but still retains its early name. It was during the superintendency of Mr. Pelly, 1861-63, that efforts were first made to obtain for the school this home of its own.

When in 1865 Mr. Leeke accepted the office of superintendent, he was charged by the Committee to take immediate steps to carry out the building project. A Building Committee was formed, on which the present Bishop of Durham, who acted as chairman, the Rev. T. T. Perowne, the Rev. G. W. Weldon, then Vicar of Christ Church, and other influential members of the University, consented to serve, and in October, 1867, the school



moved into its new quarters. The building contains one large schoolroom, and a number of smaller classrooms, and every appliance that can be desired for conducting an efficient Sunday School; the cost was about £2,300. We may infer how completely by that time the school had gained the confidence of the University authorities, when we find that the opening meeting was presided over by the Vice-Chancellor, and was attended by other heads of colleges and by one of the Proctors.

The Vice-Chancellor in his address said he knew of nothing so likely to draw out the higher and better instincts of a body of undergraduates than to be engaged in imparting religious instruction to young children. On the following morning, All Saints' Day, 1867, a sermon in connexion with the opening services was preached in St. Michael's Church by Professor Lightfoot, from Matt. xviii. 14. "Even so, it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish."

Not every Sunday School has a history worth recording, but as most of our readers know, the Jesus Lane Sunday School has features peculiar to itself. It is entirely supported and managed by members of the University of Cambridge; until recent years by undergraduate members only, or at any rate by undergraduates with the aid of a few Bachelors of Arts, remaining for a term or two after taking their degree. But since the year 1865, the superintendent and one or two other officers have been resident Fellows, able therefore to give more time to the work, and doubtless to exercise a more powerful influence than their predecessors over the tone and management of the school.

The teachers in this Sunday School are all young men of good social position, most of them preparing for the sacred ministry, some few for other professions, coming to their work with all the freshness and ardour, and we must add also the inexperience, of youth, and resigning their classes to others after two or three years of active work. Such a Sunday School occupies a unique position in the Church of England, and must exercise a powerful influence, not only upon the 40 or 50 young men of each year engaged in the work, but also indirectly upon the University at large. In the case of most Sunday Schools we think chiefly of the good work done in behalf of the children, although, as is often pointed out, there is a reflex benefit to the teacher; in the case of the Jesus Lane Sunday School, while hoping and believing that at least equal good is effected, we think rather of the influence exercised by the school and its work upon those who pass through it as teachers, not as taught.

We propose now to give our readers a few particulars of the past history, and the present position of this school.

It was established late in the year 1826, or early in 1827, by

a few earnest spiritually-minded undergraduates, principally members of Queen's College. When some 20 years ago a short account of the school up to that date was published,<sup>1</sup> a sharp controversy arose upon the question, with whom did the idea of the school originate? Who took the first and most active steps in its foundation? Was it the Rev. W. Leeke, at that time Perpetual Curate of Holbrooke, Derby (the father of the Rev. Chancellor Leeke, Superintendent 1865-69)? Or was it the Rev. James Wright, then Perpetual Curate of Latchford, Cheshire? Or, in fact, was any one man entitled to be called the "Father of the School?"

Into the merits of this controversy we do not propose now to enter. Each has been called to his rest since the discussion arose, and so also has the Rev. J. W. Harden, Vicar of Conover, another of the first founders, who argued warmly and forcibly in favour of the claims of Mr. Wright.

Few documents would be more interesting to Jesus Lane Teachers than the account of the school for the first 12 years of its existence. That its early history was committed to writing is evident from a letter written by the Rev. W. Molson, June 22nd, 1864, in which he says:—

I was fourth superintendent, and received from Meller when I succeeded him, and handed over to Gowing when he succeeded me in 1832, the RECORDS of the school, carefully kept from the beginning, a quarto volume, about 9 inches square and 1½ inch thick. This volume must be in existence somewhere, no one would destroy it. Hose, Meller, and Gowing must all remember the book well.

Since 1838, minutes of the proceedings of the Committee have been written, and are carefully preserved. Truly grateful would the writer of this paper be for any earlier records, or to be allowed to read any letters which may have been preserved, giving details of the early work.

As far as we know only two of those who took an active part in the earliest days of the school now survive; Mr. Higgins of Turvey Abbey, Bedford, and the Rev. F. Hose of Dunstable. The latter was present at the Jubilee Celebration in 1877, and spoke at the breakfast with a hearty vigour, which seemed to show that, like the school he loved, his powers of body and mind, though he was nearly four score years of age, had suffered no decay during fifty years. The early founders of the school were all regular attendants upon the ministry of Mr. Simeon, and to the influence thus exercised by him at Cambridge, may be indirectly traced this, as well as so many other good works.

The school in early days received kindness and support from

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<sup>1</sup> See "A History of the Jesus Lane Sunday School." By the Rev. C. A. Jones. Revised (1877) with additional chapters and new Appendix, by the Rev. B. Appleton. Thomas Dixon, Cambridge.

Professor Scholefield and Professor Farish. One of the earliest teachers, writing in 1859, said he well remembered an interview with the latter. "The kind good old man received us," he says, "with his wonted courtesy, and while he rejoiced in the thought of the men devising such a scheme, he demurred as to its practicability, and considered it very improbable that it would be long sustained when the originators of it were removed. He little thought, as indeed did any of us, whereunto the thing would grow, nor 'how great a plan with that day's incident began.'"

Like every other successful institution, the Jesus Lane Sunday School passed through many a struggle before it reached its present condition of assured prosperity.

"I have," says another teacher of that period, "hazy recollections of squabbles with Dr. Geldhart (then Incumbent of Barnwell) as to our visiting and poaching in his parish; of our being turned out of St. Peter's Church, and taking refuge in Little St. Mary's for the boys, and in St. Michael's for the girls:—the latter being at that time the Church of Professor Scholefield.

For many years the Jesus Lane Sunday School was a non-parochial school, drawing its children principally, but not exclusively, from the parish of St. Andrew the Less, better known as Barnwell; but when the new church of Barnwell (Christ Church) was consecrated, the Incumbent, Mr. Boodle, was asked to afford his superintendence, and an entry in the minutes of June, 1839, states that, at the beginning of the Long Vacation, "the school became one of the Sunday Schools of Barnwell." When the school was actually removed into the parish, in the autumn of 1867, it became necessary more accurately to define its position with regard to the Incumbent, and after much discussion, and many divisions, the following clauses were inserted in the trust deed of the new building:—

(1) The Incumbent of the Parish of St. Andrew the Less shall be *ex-officio* President of the school, and chairman of the general meetings of teachers.

(2) The President shall not interfere with the general management of the school, but if for grave reasons he shall be dissatisfied with the proceedings of the committee or superintendent, he shall have power to summon a Special general meeting of the teachers of the school, whose decision on the matter submitted to them shall be final, provided always that such meeting be held in full term time.

Since that date, the relations of the school with successive Incumbents have been most friendly, no "Special Meeting" has ever been summoned, but the Vicar has from time to time taken his place as chairman of the General Teachers' Meeting, and his advice has been sought upon all points of importance which have arisen; his connexion, however, with the school, necessarily

differs widely from that which generally holds between a clergyman and his Sunday School. It sometime happens that a lad will attend a class at Jesus Lane Sunday School who will *not* go elsewhere, but no children are now admitted from other parishes, "except under special circumstances, and by the wish of their clergy."

The school continues now, what it has been from the first, a *mixed* school; but arrangements are made for the transference of all girls to a Bible class, or to one of the parochial schools, within six months of their attaining the age of twelve years.

The subject is one over which many warm battles have been fought, and higher and lower limits of age urged, but the present rule, which seems to work well, has been quietly in operation for many years.

The Parochial difficulty having been thus happily solved, and the objections at one time entertained to the teaching of girls by undergraduates having been removed by the regulation just referred to, there remained the Vacation difficulty, and the difficulties caused by the too frequent change in the officers of the school. Both of these appear to be now completely surmounted.

How great at first sight the *Vacation* difficulty seems, may be gathered from the fact that it is no uncommon thing for a hundred teachers to be present one Sunday, and not more than ten the next Sunday.

In the "*Long*" Vacation, *substitutes* are easily found from amongst University men who are willing to take charge of a class for a few weeks, but who at first shrink from becoming regular teachers, though after this first experience they are often led to do so.

In the *June* Vacation the school is closed for two Sundays, while during the other vacations, arrangements have been made whereby all difficulties are surmounted, partly by means of a few extra Church services, partly by a system of block lessons, and principally by utilizing as teachers some of the elder boys, members of the Bible classes in connexion with the school, who are thus gradually trained to become, in many cases, teachers in the parochial schools of the town. Doubtless these young men appreciate the confidence thus reposed in them, and not improbably are all the more regular in their attendance at the Bible class, because they are thus periodically transferred from the ranks of the taught to those of the teachers. There are we know many Sunday Schools, especially in London, where at certain seasons of the year, difficulties arise through the absence of regular teachers: perhaps the Cambridge arrangement may prove suggestive in these cases.

Years ago the school suffered sadly from the short tenure of the superintendency and other important offices. This diffi-

culty, too, has lately been overcome ; in fact, the large development of the work of the school which recent years has witnessed, has made it quite impossible that the office of superintendent could be held by one who had not more leisure than belongs generally to undergraduates. Between November 7, 1839, when the appointment of a superintendent is first entered on the minutes, and December 7, 1852, we find no less than fifteen superintendents ; and between that date and June 5, 1865, twelve others. But between June 5, 1865, and Mr. Appleton's resignation, in the early part of this year, after more than eight years of service, there were only *three* superintendents. The two others were the Rev. E. T. Leeke (now Chancellor of Lincoln), and the Rev. A. E. Humphreys (now Vicar of St. Matthew's, Cambridge), each of whom held office for four years. These three were all Fellows and Assistant Tutors of Trinity College, and superintended the school until seven, six, and nine years respectively, after taking their B.A. degree.

We have spoken of the great development of the work of the school ; this has been in the direction of the Choristers' Branch and the Bible classes, rather than in the actual number of children.

In 1864, when the history of the school was first published, the numbers were:—boys, 162 ; girls, 97 ; infants, 120. In 1877, the Jubilee year, these numbers were:—220, 130, 120. Since then there seems to have been an actual diminution, as in 1880 we find the numbers given as 218, 120, and 89. In October, 1881, 190, 108, 73. It is, of course, possible that these diminished numbers may be due to a more vigorous erasure of the names of children on the books, but not in actual attendance.

The number of classes in 1863 was:—boys, 17 ; girls, 11. In 1881, 26 and 18 ; so that the number of children in each class is much less than it was.

In 1863 there were 43 class-teachers ; in 1881, 78. The Infant School had in 1863 two teachers ; in 1881, five.

In the Bible Class Section there has been a marked extension of the work. In 1863 there were two Bible classes, one for boys, and one, conducted by a lady, for the girls who left in accordance with the rules. This latter class has been dropped, but there are no less than six flourishing classes for elder boys and young men, containing fifty members, and taught by eight teachers. The number was somewhat larger in 1877. The report of 1878 tells us that a decrease in that year was largely due to a draft from the Bible classes to become teachers in the parochial schools of the town.

"Every Easter," we are told, "in the ordinary course of things a new class is formed, mainly from the new confirmees ;

and we have not found that the older classes dissolve at the same rate." This was written in 1877. It would seem, however, that since then the power of accretion and dropping off have nearly balanced each other.

Some, perhaps, may ask, are undergraduates, who are probably gaining their first experience as Sunday School teachers at Cambridge, qualified to undertake these Bible classes? Experience proves that by judicious selection, such may be found, and moreover, it is increasingly common for graduates to remain a year or two in residence to read for the theological or other tripos: the establishment of Ridley Hall, where candidates for Holy Orders can obtain such valuable help in their theological studies, will, we expect, still further increase their number.

The following passage shows that judicious efforts are made to solve that most difficult of problems—how to retain hold upon elder lads.<sup>1</sup>

Three or four years ago we formed the first six classes of boys below the Bible classes into a separate group under the name of the "First Division;" we adopted with them a somewhat more manly and confidential tone, and strove to make their connexion with the teachers a more personal matter, giving them at the same time some slight distinguishing privileges. A few very simple artifices have indicated the position in which we desire them to feel themselves; their classes are called by the teachers' names in lieu of numbers. Magazines are lent to them from one Sunday to the next; and latterly we have been able to place these classes in a room by themselves, with rather different hours of attendance from the rest—one of their teachers being sectional superintendent of them. Thus they are tolerably well marked off (and are fully conscious of it) from the Bible classes on the one hand, and from the lower part of the school on the other. I may add that we are well satisfied with the results obtained. The boys have stayed with us far more uniformly, and attended with greater regularity, and are marked by a higher tone and appreciativeness than before. The classes below the First Division are attached to us by the prospect of the rise in position; the First Division classes look forward to the Bible classes. Still more the somewhat closer connexion with the teachers, and the greater individual sympathy possible and natural with them is a valuable support against the peculiar temptations of that age, and an important aid to thoughts about Confirmation. Confirmation itself is usually the boundary line between the First Division and the Bible class.

The other extension of work which recent years has witnessed is the 'Choristers' Branch, which was established in the Mid-

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<sup>1</sup> See a paper read at the Church of England Sunday School Institute Conference in 1874 by the Rev. A. E. Humphreys.

summer term of 1867, and now numbers over 100 boys, drawn from the choirs of every college, except King's, where they are provided with religious instruction in the College. Morning chapel in all the Colleges being over before twelve o'clock, classes are held for an hour at midday in the large hall of the Young Men's Christian Association, in Post Office Place.

While no portion of the work requires or receives more anxious thought and careful judgment, about no branch have the annual reports been more bright and hopeful. The young choristers, instead of running about the streets after morning chapel, are gaining definite religious instruction and real help in the temptations and difficulties of their life, and much spiritual good has been the result of this new venture. The Choristers' Branch has a *sectional* superintendent, and the memory of the second of these (W. Amherst Hayne, of Trinity College, who held the office till his death) is much cherished by those who knew him. He was a nephew of the South Indian missionary, the Rev. H. W. Fox, and of the Rev. G. T. Fox, of Durham, who perpetuated his memory by a donation of £4,000 to the Church Missionary Society. The Crosse University Scholarship and the Jeremic Septuagint Prize showed him to be a man of great promise; and his contemporaries speak of his earnest Christian zeal, and of the influence exercised by him over those around him. He was, while in residence, an active member of the Committee of the Cambridge University Prayer Union, and an earnest labourer in the cause of the Church Missionary Society. It ought to be mentioned that Mr. Maxwell, a member of King's College, was the originator of the Choristers' Branch. He had already held in his own room a small class for some of the choristers, and the success of this class led him to apply to the Committee of the Jesus Lane Sunday School to take up and organize the movement. He was himself the first superintending teacher, and afterwards became a medical missionary at Kashmir under the Church Missionary Society.

The work of Maxwell and of Hayne has caused us to refer to the Church Missionary Society. We believe that the Jesus Lane Sunday School has done a great deal to advance the interests of that Society in Cambridge.

In the year 1859 the Society published a list of Cambridge University men at work in the mission-fields under its auspices. One half were old Jesus Lane Sunday School teachers, and since that date many more have gone out under the same society to preach the Gospel to the heathen.

Archdeacon Pratt of Calcutta, Bishops Vidal and Cheet-ham of Sierra Leone, Ragland, Robert Clark of the Punjab, Roger Clark of Peshawur, Paley of Abbeokuta, Bishop Moule and F. F. Gough of China, Bishop Royston of the Mauritius,

Bishop Speechley of South India, Meadows, and Shackell, were all Jesus Lane Sunday School teachers. Many of these missionaries visited the school when on a visit home to this country; others wrote letters to the children, and so maintained in their old school an interest in the work of the society.

The missionary zeal of Jesus Lane teachers was greatly stimulated by Bishop Titcomb, whose compulsory resignation of the See of Rangoon in consequence of his fearful accident on the Karen Hills caused genuine regret, not only among his many personal friends, but also among the Jesus Lane Sunday School teachers of the years 1850-1860, who so well remember his kindly dealings with them, and his unrivalled monthly sermons to the children. "There are," he wrote in 1864, "missionaries now in China and India, in Africa and New Zealand, who gained their first experience in public speaking in the parish schoolroom of Barnwell."

We earnestly hope that this close connexion between the Church Missionary Society and the Jesus Lane Sunday School, hallowed by so many touching memories and holy deaths, may be long maintained to the advantage of both associations and the highest interests of the Church of England.

Many S. P. G. missionaries have also been connected with the school—*e.g.*, A. R. Hubbard of Caius, who was murdered at Delhi in the Indian Mutiny, and men so well known in connexion with their foreign work as Bishop Cotton of Calcutta, Mackenzie, the first missionary bishop to Central Africa, Bishop Suter of Nelson, and Bishop Sweatman of Toronto. The last named deserves more than a passing notice. No superintendent was ever more loved and respected by his own generation of teachers; none more painstaking and self-denying. He held office from 1856 to 1859, and it was doubtless due in no small degree to the experience gained at Cambridge in organization, and in dealing with men, that he owes the confidence reposed in him by the Canadian Church. Moreover, it was his love for boys, and his knowledge of their characters and needs, which led him, in conjunction with his friend Mr. Tabrum, to establish the Youths' Institute at Islington upon the model of which so many similarly useful institutions have since been founded.

Of this Youths' Institute at Islington, which has been called "a very centre of Christian life and culture," one of the fruits is the "Albert Institute," at Cambridge, held in the buildings belonging to the Jesus Lane Sunday School. Here on week-day evenings the lads and young men find a reading-room, supplied with newspapers and periodicals of a pure tone; indoor games, such as chess, draughts, and the like; a lending library, carefully selected; educational classes, lectures, and entertainments; while a hand-bell company, a glee society, a cricket



club, a rowing club, and similar institutions have here their headquarters. Those best able to judge speak most confidently of the good results obtained.

The question has often been asked whether Sunday School teaching does or does not interfere with a man's proper work while a student at the University. Each man must judge for himself: his first duty is to the studies of the place, and not even Sunday School teaching should be allowed to interfere with these. Doubtless there are young men of anxious temperament, or delicate health, who should make the Sunday a day of absolute rest. But most of those who have taken part in the work would say that the change of scene and occupation, and the interest felt in the welfare of others, have been a real help and refreshment to them.

Senior Classics like Dean Vaughan, Canon Westcott, Regius Professor of Divinity, and the present Head Masters of Westminster and Harrow, distinguished scholars like Canons Barry and Farrar, successful theological students who are now doing good work for the Church in training others for the sacred ministry, like Dr. Maclear and Canon Saumarez Smith, gained, probably, their first experience in teaching others in Jesus Lane Sunday School; and all found that the careful preparation of their Sunday lesson was not inconsistent with a subsequent brilliant degree.

Henry Goulburn, who was second Wrangler, Senior Classic, second Smith's Prizeman, and first Chancellor's Medallist (perhaps the most brilliant degree ever taken at Cambridge) was a Sunday School teacher, and when the new buildings were opened in 1867, the Master of St. Catherine's stated that he had found, after accurate investigation, that out of 243 Jesus Lane teachers, who in a certain period had graduated in honours, 102 were in the first class in one or other of the triposes; in other words, about five-twelfths, when the natural proportion would have been one in three. In the ten years, 1851-1861, of the very large proportion of teachers who had graduated in honours, there were a Senior Wrangler, a second Wrangler, a Senior Classic; and in one year the Maitland, the Burney, the Carus, the Scholefield, and the Le Bas prizes were carried off by Jesus Lane men.

We have not been able to make an analysis of the teachers of the last twenty years, but a rapid glance at the list shows that similar statements might be made, and that, as a general rule, Sunday School teaching rather helps forward than retards a man's academical work. May we not see in this a fulfilment of the promise "them that honour Me I will honour."

Though we have already named many who have been connected with the school in the past, many more well known names may be added. To mention only a few: in the first

fifteen years of the school's history, we have, besides those named above, Professor Birks, Archdeacon Cooper of Kendal, Bishop Cotterill of Edinburgh, the Rev. M. Gibbs, and Wm. Bruce of Bristol, Canon Conway, Conybeare, and Dean Howson, Spencer Thornton, who was superintendent from 1834 to 1836, Thomas Whytehead of New Zealand; later on, Professor Adams, Archdeacon Perowne, Archdeacon Dealtry of Madras, John Macgregor, "Rob Roy," E. J. Routh, Canon Long of Bishop Auckland, the Rev. F. E. Wigram, the hon. secretary of the Church Missionary Society; and to come to recent times, Canon Kirkpatrick, the new Hebrew Professor, J. E. Sandys, the Public Orator, George Warington, and Professor Balfour, whose sad death upon the Swiss mountains, in July last, will be fresh in the memory of our readers. The list might be largely extended, for since its foundation over 1,250 teachers have passed through the school.

Few more interesting gatherings have ever been held than that at the Jubilee of the school. It brought together teachers of every period; it showed that during a half century of University life there never was a period of spiritual deadness; it showed a "continuity of zealous effort and deep interest" in the school, and that while at Cambridge, more rapidly than elsewhere, "one generation passes away and another cometh," one generation passes on to another the flame of Christian piety and zeal.

The reports which have been issued since that jubilee are before us: they show the same earnest loving spirit, and give much ground for hope as regards the future of the University in these days of constant and rapid change.

In the report for 1879 we have the following suggestive passage:—

Let me urge that influence over individual scholars can come in general from the teacher alone. He and he only can watch the progress of each child, and act or speak as is required at particular moments. The long absence of many of us from our classes tends to create the impression that we come into the school only from term to term as subordinate workers. But this cannot be so. The general directors of the school can only deal with scholars in the mass, or with individuals partially and occasionally; the teacher within his limited area must be, as far as the school is concerned, the one watchful helper of each child. He must be their first mover in all, the suggesting friend at the home, the ready encourager in all improvement, the constant intercessor for the weaknesses and temptations of the daily life of all his scholars. With him it lies to strive that one and all shall live lives of faithful service, and reach at length the "joy of the Lord."

The following passages from the last report issued in 1881 will give some indication of the deep debt which the

school owes to the last superintendent, the Rev. R. Appleton, who held office for eight and a half years, more than double the length of time of any of his predecessors :

Teachers have gained some advantage, I hope, from a weekly social gathering in my rooms, which has given opportunities for informal introductions and conversation. A plan of the same nature has been very successful with the first division of our boys, those at the critical age 13 to 15. In the winter months we have opened two class-rooms for them once a week, from 8 to 9.30. The first hour has been devoted to games, papers, &c., the last half-hour to a reading or lecture by one of the teachers. The periodic catechizing of sections of the school has been continued with good results as regards the scholars. We have not, however, been able to rouse the parents as a body to show interest by being present; teachers may with profit work for this.

A Bible class has been formed for young men who have left college choirs, and whom their vicars find it advisable to entrust to our care. The members have been few in number, but give encouragement by their interest and regular attendance. The Choristers' Branch has made solid progress in all ways under the new superintendent.

Our last discussion opened up the questions of our scholars' prayers and Bible reading. It is our great privilege and opportunity that we are able to assist the parents in inducing *habits* in our scholars while they are young and impressible. It was suggested that each teacher may form his class into a union to read over week by week the lesson of the next Sunday afternoon, or some other passages. We desire to see our scholars not alone "firmly rooted once for all in Him," but also "built up higher in Him day by day," and "growing ever stronger and stronger through their faith."

We have said nothing about the Children's and Mission Church of St. John, erected in 1873, at an expense of £1,200, in which the services for all the Sunday Schools of the parish have since been held, nor of the lending library by which 5,249 volumes were circulated last year; but it is time we should conclude.

We welcome the existence and continued prosperity of the Jesus Lane Sunday School, because it affords to young men a field of unobtrusive but useful labour for the glory of God and the cause of Christ; it tends to diminish the selfishness and self-indulgence inseparable from University life, and brings undergraduates into contact with people of a different class and different age from their own; it gives some happy and useful employment for the hours of the Lord's Day; it leads to the earnest and prayerful study of God's word, and to supplications for others at a throne of grace; it gives to our future clergy an interest in Sunday Schools, and an insight into their working.

The Jesus Lane Sunday School undoubtedly owed its origin to the Evangelical section of our Church, but is evidently not

now so exclusively attached to it as once it was ; it seems rather to reflect somewhat the prevailing idea among young men at Cambridge that it is not well that they should make a formal adherence to any school of thought. If, however, it is to continue to do good work it must be conducted in the spirit of its founders, and rest upon that strength which has hitherto sustained it, and given it such a remarkable development. It was founded in humble dependence upon the blessing of the Holy Spirit. "It was commenced," says one of the earliest teachers, "with much prayer : " "we knelt down and prayed together for a blessing on the work in which we were about to engage," writes another : in the same spirit it is, we are sure, still conducted.

There are dangers in popularity and prosperity against which the Committee of Management will do well to guard, and we cannot do better than conclude with the wise words of Bishop Titcomb who, as will be most readily admitted, both in Delahay Street and Salisbury Square, showed no narrow or exclusive spirit in his dealings with others.<sup>1</sup>

In a work like that of Sunday School teaching, unless all are agreed in fundamental principles, how is success possible ? What uniformity of action, or what union of spirit can there ever be, if some teachers are undoing the work of others ? It is worse than useless for the sake of too broad a charity to overlook essential distinctions, and to attempt impossible amalgamations. Let us hope, however, that such dangers are in this case imaginary. The teaching of this school has hitherto preserved the simplicity of evangelical teaching ; and I trust it will long continue to do so.

C. ALFRED JONES.

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### ART. III.—PRESENT ASPECT OF THE CONFLICT WITH ATHEISM.

THE championship of Christianity against unbelief appears to be passing into the hands of the Anglo-Saxon race. France has lately returned, on mature deliberation, to that complete banishment of God from the national life which she had adopted for a brief period only during the fiercest frenzy of her first revolution. In Italy the hatred of religion runs so high that it cannot spare from insult even the ashes of a dead Pope. Not much can be said in favour of Germany while Häckel is a chief authority in science and Strause in theology. Russia is strug-

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<sup>1</sup> See Introduction to the "History of the Jesus Lane Sunday School," published in 1864.

gling in the grasp of a Nihilism, whose creed is the negation of all accepted beliefs. On the Continent, therefore, the outlook, from the point of view not merely of a Christian but of a Theist, cannot be regarded as bright. In England, however, and in North America, whilst the struggle waxes hotter and hotter, there are no signs of defeat. There was never a time, I believe, when the fire of Christianity burnt more clearly, or was more widely spread. The extended and ever-increasing agencies for doing good—good physical, mental, and moral—all of which have their origin and their life in the religious motive, are in themselves a sufficient evidence of this fact. It may be said that Atheism is also advancing, both as to the number and calibre of its adherents. But even granting this to be so, it is clear that these new adherents are mainly recruited, not from the ranks of sincere Christians, but from the vast multitude of the lukewarm and the indifferent. This multitude, standing between the two contending hosts, is, I believe, diminishing rapidly, by inroads both from the side of Christianity and of Atheism. With regard to the former we may well rejoice; and even with regard to the latter we have warrant for holding that no state is so hopeless as that of lukewarmness, and that an open enemy is better than a feigned ally.

Such being the state of the struggle, it seems worth while to inquire what are the chief agencies by which, on the one side and the other, it is being carried on. In the present Article I propose to attempt this very briefly, confining myself entirely to our own country; and having done so, to consider whether the agencies on the side of religion deserve encouragement, and if so, how far the encouragement now afforded them is adequate to the need.

I will begin first with the forces of our opponents. There are in England two active societies existing solely for the propagation of Secularist ideas. The larger of these numbers many thousands of members, and the additions have lately been at the rate of 100 a month. It maintains some eight or ten lecturers, and procured in one year the delivery of over 1,000 lectures, and spent nearly £4,000 in propagandism. It issues three weekly publications, which have a large circulation, besides a deluge of pamphlets, tracts, and leaflets. Bundles of these latter are distributed gratis in factories and elsewhere; and the papers are issued to public reading-rooms. The other society is less energetic and influential, but still issues a weekly paper, and promotes the circulation of literature, which it recommends as being of the most destructive character possible. Such are some of the agencies at work for the spread of Atheism amongst the masses. With regard to the upper classes, there is not, of course, the same organization, and the missiles, so to

speak, are far fewer; but they are more powerful in at least the ratio of cannon-balls to rifle bullets. Scarcely a month passes but that one or other of the leading magazines contains an article of a distinctly anti-Christian character; and no one able to read between the lines can fail to see that the downfall of religion is an object dear to the editors of at least a large proportion of our daily and weekly journals.

The advocacy of one or two eminent men of science is a potent factor in the case; and probably not a day passes in which Professor Huxley's Agnosticism is not somewhere quoted triumphantly as a convincing proof that Christianity is a falsehood.

We will now pass on to the agencies existing on the Christian side. Amongst these the first place is fairly due to the Christian Evidence Society, which claims for itself to be the only Society whose sole and specific work it is to endeavour to check the spread of popular infidelity—the only organized missionary agency to Secularism. It was founded in 1870, has the Archbishop of Canterbury for President, and numbers amongst its Council such men as the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Gloucester and Peterborough, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Shaftesbury, &c. Its main work has been the giving of lectures, especially in London. It has had the courage to grapple face to face with the great Propaganda of Secularism, described in the last paragraph. On several occasions the Society has taken for a course of lectures the Hall of Science, at Clerkenwell, which was built by Mr. Bradlaugh and his followers, and forms their acknowledged headquarters. These lectures have been given by clergymen or laymen chosen by the Society, and at the close of each lecture full discussion is allowed. This generally means that some one popular champion, put forward by the Secularists, engages in a kind of duel with the lecturer, each delivering alternate speeches of ten minutes' length, and each attacking his opponent's position and defending his own. Lectures under similar conditions are continually got up by the Society in different parts of London and the suburbs.

Speaking from some personal experience, I must record my belief that such discussions are productive of great good. It is not that many, or perhaps that any, are convinced and converted on the spot. A clever orator—and the Secularists have many such—will always have enough rhetoric on his own side of the question, to dazzle minds generally incapable of cool reasoning. Mr. Bradlaugh, for instance, has at command an endless flow of metaphysical phrases and fireworks, which have little or no meaning in themselves, but which are as inspiring to his audience as "that blessed word Mesopotamia" was to the old woman of history. What such discussions effect is to show, to

those still open to conviction, that conviction is possible ; that Christianity has not merely authority but also evidence on its side ; that its claims can be argued ; and that its supporters are willing to come out and argue them in fair field, and are able at least to hold their own, even against the best champions of " free thought." Seed is thus sown, by which, through God's blessing, men may be and have been brought back from error to a sincere acceptance of truth.

A less attractive, but, I believe, equally important work, is done by the Christian Evidence Society in providing lecturers to meet the open air propaganda of the Secularists. In many open spaces of the east and north of London, Secularists regularly assemble every Sunday, and give lectures on their favourite topics to all who will listen to them. The arguments used at such times, as might be expected, are far more coarse, violent, and blasphemous than in their more formal meetings, but their effect is probably to the full as mischievous. The Society combats these by employing Christian lecturers to give addresses at the same time and place as those advertised by our opponents. These lecturers are laymen, chiefly clerks or tradesmen, and are thoroughly acquainted with the classes with whom they have to deal. Their task is a difficult one ; it needs besides sound thinking and the power of clear expression, very decided gifts of temper, tact, and in many cases personal courage. Their chief temptation is to follow their opponents in descending to blacken the characters of the opposing leaders—a line of conduct which, though not without some justification, is not to be encouraged.

Hitherto we have spoken of work in London alone. The Society, however, does its best to carry out similar work in the provinces, especially in the manufacturing districts ; and although it is difficult to obtain local assistance in the getting up of such lectures, yet a considerable number are delivered every year. Another department of their work consists in holding classes, and arranging examinations on the subjects of Christian evidence. The number of persons offering themselves to such examination is not large, but about 130 certificates were issued in 1881. Lastly, the Society endeavours, in some degree, to meet the want of publications on the question, which may be readily and cheaply obtained. Many of the lectures given at the Hall of Science, and elsewhere, have been collected into volumes and published, and these volumes have passed through several editions. Tracts are also widely distributed, and grants of books are made under special circumstances. No works aimed specially at the forms of unbelief current among the more cultivated classes have been published ; but the Society has

lately promoted the writing of a volume on Christian Evidences, by Professor Redford, of New College, London.

An association, called the Guild of St. Matthew, has lately undertaken, at the East End of London, a work similar in aim, though very different in method from that of the Christian Evidence Society. In addition to lectures and discussions, held on neutral ground, the members of the Guild read papers before the Secularist Societies themselves. They all profess advanced and even socialistic views in political matters; and strive to recommend themselves to unbelievers by testifying their full accord with them in questions outside religion. They seem to say:—"We will go the whole way with you in your Radicalism and Socialism: will you not go a little way with us in our Christianity?" There will be various opinions as to the prospects of success from this method; clearly it must be left in the hands of the peculiar school who have originated it.

Of a widely different character is the Victoria Institute, or Philosophical Society of Great Britain, founded in 1866, "to investigate fully and impartially the most important questions of Philosophy and Science, but more especially those which bear upon the great truths revealed in Holy Scripture, with the view of reconciling any apparent discrepancies between Christianity and Science." This is its first avowed object, which it endeavours to carry out by the reading of papers at stated times, and their subsequent publication; and none could be named more interesting or more important. The Society owed its origin, I believe, to the stir excited by the publication of Mr. Darwin's theory of evolution. Unfortunately, instead of regarding this as an hypothesis to be investigated, the founders of the Society seem to have looked upon it rather as a heresy to be written down. As a natural result, the Society has, to some extent, failed to obtain, in the eyes of men of science, full credit for that strict impartiality which with them is the first requisite for successful research.

The above are all the agencies upon which it is needful to dwell. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge has, indeed, a Committee for Christian Evidence; but for some time past their publications have been few, and seem now to have ceased altogether. The Religious Tract Society are publishing a new series, some of which will be of an evidential character; but it is too early to say anything definite as to their value. There are, I believe, but two publications, weekly or monthly, which are devoted to this question—namely, the "Shield of Faith" and the "Champion of the Faith;" the latter of these especially seems to be doing good work; but neither of them has any outside support or means of attaining a wide circulation.



There are, of course, theological reviews, such as the *Expositor*,<sup>1</sup> but they do not reach, and are not meant to reach, any who are not already believers.

Such is a brief sketch of the agencies which exist in England for the defence of truth and the combating of error. Our next step is to inquire whether it is desirable that they should exist at all. Probably there is scarcely any one who will answer this directly in the negative; but practically I am certain that many feel in their hearts a decided objection to any such undertakings. This feeling is, I believe, specially common amongst the clergy, and accounts in great measure for the lack of sympathy which they as a body unquestionably evince in this matter. The feeling itself springs no doubt from natural and, to some extent, praiseworthy ground. They shrink from dragging what to them are the highest and holiest of verities into the arena of coarse and violent controversy. They hold that we should convert the world, not by argument, but by example; that Christianity should win its way by the force due to the virtues and purity of its adherents. Mixed with this is perhaps a natural impatience with those who demand a reason for their faith, and will not accept it implicitly and thankfully from the lips of their appointed guides.

But whatever we may think of these motives, it is not hard to see that the conclusion is a false one. Its upholders have the whole history of Christianity against them. The Founder of our faith bade the Jews judge righteous judgment, and search the Scriptures which testified of Him. He rested His claim on the evidence of His words and works, and not upon His character, although to us that character has become an important part of the evidence. His followers did the like. What are the speeches of St. Paul? What were the daily disputings in the school of Tyrannus? but so many lectures on Christian evidence, given in the face of ridicule, opposition, and contempt.<sup>1</sup> The early Christians changed the religion of the world, not only by exhibiting patterns of virtue, but far more by preaching the Word, in season and out of season, throughout all the regions of the earth. St. Boniface converted the Germans, St. Augustine the Saxons, by going among them and preaching to them the truth as it is in Jesus. It may be said that the Church does the like now in her missionary enterprises to heathen lands. But it is a strange way of maintaining an empire, to be straining after foreign conquests while you refuse to check rebellion at home. Why are the enemies of the faith in East London less worthy of attention than those in India? The former, it may

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<sup>1</sup> The speech at Athens may well be regarded as a model for such lectures.

be said, have Christianity in their midst. They can enter the churches and chapels, they can admire the good works and the virtues of Christian teachers. The same might have been said in later Roman times, wherever Christianity had obtained a definite footing. But this did not prevent the ceaseless and successful efforts of the Church to defend the faith and to convert the pagans. I do not for a moment dispute that almost all the good work done in England for the bodies and minds of men, as well as for their souls, is done under the influence of the religious principle, and would shrivel to nothing if that principle were withdrawn. Nor do I deny that the effect of this fact, in predisposing persons to accept Christianity, may be considerable; but to have any effect it must be realized, and it can only be realized either by those who aid in such works, or those who reap the benefits of them. Now the great mass of the shop-keeping and artisan classes in this country neither dispense nor receive charity. The work done amongst the poor has little interest for them, and they have no means of knowing by whom it is administered. They are, no doubt, aware that the clergy take a great part in such works; but this, as it appears to them, is only what they are paid to do. On such, therefore, the great mass of Christian work makes but little impression, and it is precisely from such that the ranks of Atheism are recruited. Just as Christians must go out from home to the heathen, and preach to them in their own streets and in a way suited to their own needs, so they must leave their churches and chapels to preach to these home-heathen, and must address them in a way suited to their needs—viz., the way of fair argument and direct persuasion, to which, and to which alone, they will listen.

There is another point to be mentioned which prevents the spectacle of Christian virtue and Christian charity from having its full effect in turning the masses to the faith. This is the unhappy state of disunion and dissension which exists among Christians themselves. To one who stands apart from the conflict, it is somewhat perplexing to watch the keen and breathless interest with which the clergy of all parties follow every phase of the conflict between the reformed Churches and Rome; and to contrast this with the apparent indifference and even dislike with which they approach the struggle between Christianity and Atheism. A nation which spends much of its energies in internal quarrel cannot be said to show such a front as will make a lively impression upon the enemies who are without.

If, then, we grant that the direct warfare against infidelity should be maintained, we may pass on to inquire whether the means of doing so are adequate. On this head there can be no doubt whatever. The organization is less than deficient; the

resources less than scanty. The Christian Evidence Society is supported by Christians of all denominations; but its income from subscriptions, donations, and collections, was last year but £1,500, and of this about £500 was due to a special movement for provincial lectures, inaugurated and supported by a single wealthy layman. In the report for 1880 the income from the above sources was £1,009 19s. 1d., and out of nearly 400 subscribers making up this amount I find that ninety-three only were clergymen, and that the sum of their contributions reached the total of £112. This seems but a small pittance for the clergy of all denominations to contribute towards the carrying on the struggle against Atheism. The income of the Guild of St. Matthew is less than £50, so that their contribution is not, from the financial point of view, important. The Victoria Institute have about the same income as the Christian Evidence Society; this again is chiefly derived from laymen, and can only be said partly to be given to theological as distinguished from scientific work.

It is natural that, with so scanty a supply of the sinews of war, the arrangements for carrying on that war should be deficient. The Christian Evidence Society has done good work in combating the propaganda of Secularism among the lower classes; but it has not attempted to deal in any special way with the cultivated infidelity which meets us in the columns of newspapers and the pages of magazines. Moreover, its chief mode of operation, by lectures, is open to the objection that it necessarily reaches but a very limited audience. At one time the Society published a journal, the sale of which, though at first promising, gradually fell off. It was in consequence discontinued, and a movement lately made to replace it was vetoed on the ground of expense.

Those who call attention to a want are always expected to propound a remedy; and though this is no part of my plan, I will not shrink from making one or two passing suggestions. One has, in fact, been alluded to already—viz., the establishment of a high-class journal, issued in a popular form, which shall make the presentation of Christian Evidences and the meeting of Atheistic doubts at least one prominent feature of its arrangements. If it also had another side—such, for instance, as the advancement of popular science—this would be no harm, but rather an advantage. It is said such a journal could not make a profit. I do not believe it. Those who make the assertion know little of the interest which is felt on such topics by the intelligent laymen of our middle and lower classes. But granting it to be true, there are many religious journals which private persons or societies are content to carry on at a loss, for the sake of influencing men towards some particular party or sect. Are there

none such who will risk money for the sake of influencing men (and those the most difficult to reach by any other means) towards the living way of the Gospel of Christ?

There is another suggestion I cannot help making, though I have little hope of its meeting with favour. I allude to the establishment of a Society for the scientific study of theology. In all departments of knowledge except this, it is recognized that some encouragement is needed for original research. To put the matter boldly, original research does not pay. A well constructed handbook, or a brilliant popular exposition of science, may obtain readers enough to give a direct return to publisher and author; but a piece of original work, such as really advances the science, cannot hope to do so unless written by one who has already obtained a high reputation with the general public. In all departments of science this is fully recognized; and the best means of overcoming the difficulty is found to be the formation of special societies. Those who are interested in the science join the Society as subscribing members; its most eminent cultivators form the governing body, and the funds defray the expense of preparing and publishing original papers, which have been read and discussed at the meetings. Such associations are often very flourishing bodies. The Geographical Society and the Institution of Civil Engineers count their members by thousands; while the Geological Society, the Chemical Society, the Zoological Society, &c., are the recognized organs by which these several sciences are nourished and advanced. Theology alone has nothing of the kind. There is no body before which a student, whether of evidential or devotional divinity, can bring the result of his labours for examination and discussion; or which, if it is approved, might enable him to publish it to the world. To appeal to the bookselling trade is as hopeless for him as for any other student. He will be told (and here I speak of what I know) that theological works never pay, unless they are written by men of established reputation, or deal with some subject which for the moment has taken hold of the popular mind. There can be no doubt, I think, that if Butler were now an unknown young man, and were now to write the "Analogy," he would have to print it at his own expense if he printed it at all.

Is it too much to hope that this void might be supplied? It might, perhaps, be said that the differences between theologians are too deep to admit of their thus working in concert. It is a miserable confession, if it be true; but is it true? No doubt in the extreme parties of the Church the heat of theological controversy is as intense as ever; but there are, it appears to me, an increasing number of moderate and enlightened men (well represented among the dignitaries, as well as the rank and file

of the clergy), who are quite capable of discussing points of difference in a spirit of candour and charity. And nothing, I can say with confidence, tends more to foster this spirit than such free and fair discussion. Those who have debated theological questions, even with Secularists of the most violent type, will I am sure bear me out in this view.

The last and most important point which I wish to urge is the advantage that would result from a closer union between the clergy and laity on this matter. For want of such union the idea (entirely unfounded as regards England) has arisen that scientific laymen are, as a rule, disbelievers in Christianity, their studies leading them to see that its doctrines cannot be maintained. I firmly believe that this idea has more influence in promoting infidelity, whether amongst the higher or lower classes, than all the sceptical writings and preachings put together. As a matter of fact, the idea is altogether the reverse of the truth. I could fill pages of this magazine with a list of names, all of acknowledged eminence in some department of science, whose owners I myself know to be sincerely religious men. It would not, however, be right thus to mark out the living; but it may be allowed to speak of the dead. Three eminent names were lately lost from the scientific roll of England, Professor Clerk Maxwell, Professor Rolleston, and Sir Wyville Thomson. Now, all these three were men whose devotion to Christianity was perfectly well known to their friends, and was even mentioned in the Memoirs published after their deaths. I cannot but think it an enduring calamity for the Church that three such men should have been suffered to pass away without recording their several testimony on her behalf. Why this should have been is obvious enough. Men of such calibre are ever slow to speak on subjects beyond their special studies; and no impulse or encouragement from the religious world could ever have reached them.

For the last two or three years it has been my endeavour to bring the testimony of Christian men of science to bear on the religious controversies of the day. In this work I have met with the fullest sympathy and the most active assistance from laymen of all shades of opinion, and eminent in most departments of science. With them the interest in the subject is as keen as their insight into Nature is profound. From a few individual clergymen, some of them holding the very highest positions in the Church, I have also received aid beyond what I could have claimed or expected. There is no doubt as to their appreciating the full importance of the question. On the other hand, I have failed to meet with the slightest encouragement from what may be called the clerical world, as represented by religious societies and similar organizations. One example will suffice.

Among various publications which have been placed in my hands with a view to increase their circulation there were two of special note. One of them was written by the first surgeon in Europe; the other by the first botanist in America. I do not know why I should refrain from mentioning the names of Sir James Paget and Dr. Asa Gray. Both of them are men distinguished for brilliant qualities outside the special departments in which they stand supreme. Both their works were specially marked by such qualities, combined with a reverence of tone and full acceptance of the faith, such as might content the most conservative of theologians. If the Secularists could produce on their side (they cannot) two works of such import, and written by such men, they would cry them at the corners of the streets, they would disseminate them by thousands, and shower them upon the counters of every bookseller that would take them, in every town of the kingdom. But after much effort, I have failed in finding any society, or set of Christians, who were willing to spend a solitary shilling in making these works better known to their fellow-men.

The case, as it appears to me, may be stated very briefly. The main attacks upon Christianity at the present day are admitted to proceed from what professes to be science, whether the science of Physics, of Geology, of Biology, of Criticism, or of History. Such attacks must be met, therefore, by men who know what science is, as well as what theology is. Clergymen, however, with a very few brilliant exceptions, do not concern themselves with science, and are, therefore, incapacitated from the task—a fact which, no doubt, does much to account for their dislike of the subject. On the other hand, the many laymen who are at once scientific men and believers, shrink from posing as theologians. In point of fact, however, the difficulties of the present day have little or nothing to do with theology, if we restrict that term to ecclesiastical dogma and the literature written upon it. Agnosticism and Secularism will not be defeated by any extracts from patristic or modern divinity, or any writings founded upon such, valuable as these may be in their place. A master of science, who is simply conversant with the main principles of divinity, is therefore fully competent to undertake this noble and necessary task. Such volunteers exist by the score: is it not worth the Church's while to enrol them under her banner, and lead them into the battle?

Meanwhile—and I wish I could urge this with a force proportionate to my own conviction—the case for Christianity is going by default. The Church resembles a man who, accused of fraud in a difficult and important matter, refuses to plead, points to his character and his virtues, and declares that these should answer for him. Such a man has no right to complain

should he find himself condemned, even though his judges be very different from the half-educated masses who have to decide on Christianity. And if such a course be possibly permissible, where only the man's own character is concerned, can it be so with a Church, whose condemnation means eternal ruin to souls committed to her charge?

To show that I am upholding no mere fancy of my own, I will quote one of the latest testimonies of Agnosticism. The following passage occurs in the *Nineteenth Century* for April, 1882:—

To turn to the Church for enlightenment in this dilemma is vain. It has no clear and certain teaching to offer regarding the true place of science in the economy of things; and the laity must themselves carve or shape out a new philosophy of life, which will harmonize and give consistency to conduct.

The writer of the above is a Mr. J. H. Clapperton. Of his position in science I know nothing. I do know that there are hundreds of scientific men, certainly more eminent than he, who have perfectly clear views regarding the true place of science in the economy of things, both material and immaterial; and who find "a standard of conduct and a harmonizer of knowledge" in that old philosophy of life which was set forth nearly 1,900 years ago on the hillsides of Galilee. But they are passing from us year by year: and if their place is taken by men of other views and another spirit; if culture and Christianity are divorced in England, as they have been divorced in Italy and in France; then I make bold to say it will not be the fault of science or her followers, but of a Church, who, shrinking from the conflict herself, will have refused the aid of those able and willing to wage it for her.

WALTER R. BROWN.

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#### ART. IV.—BUDDHISM.

THIS article is the substance of a lecture given at Sion College on the 22nd of June last, at the request of the Christian Evidence Society, in consequence of the assertions of Infidels and Secularists to the effect that Buddhism may be considered as equal if not superior to Christianity in its moral teaching and influence over the lives of its adherents. The authority with which such allegations are usually supported is, *as far as it goes*, unimpeachable; it is a portion of the Buddhist Scriptures, but it is only a portion. The remainder, which is neither inconsider-

able nor insignificant, is ignored for an obvious reason, namely, that its contents furnish a complete refutation of such statements.

Our sources of information on Buddhism are the Buddhist Scriptures, which are divided into three parts called *Pitakas* or Caskets; the Vinaya, the Sutta, and the Abhidhamma *Pitakas*, which are accepted by all Buddhists as the *ipsissima verba* of the founder of their religion. It is to the Sutta *Pitaka* that Secularists in England triumphantly point as affording proof of the equal excellence of Buddhism to that of Christianity. In what then does this excellence consist? Simply the inculcation of kindness to all animates, the subjugation of all desires, and annihilation. And this is what entitles Buddhism to be placed on a footing of equality with Christianity!

But this article is intended to supply the convenient omissions of the Secularists, and will take up and examine the other division of the Buddhist Scriptures, the Vinaya *Pitaka*, which deals with discipline, and is therefore of a more practical nature. Before entering on this task, however, it is necessary to a clearer understanding of Buddhism to give a short sketch of Buddha and his times.

The founder of this religion was an Indian prince named Siddhartha, the son of Suddodhana, the King of Māgadha, who reigned in Kapilavastu about B.C. 600. He is generally known as Gotama Buddha, the former name being the family appellation, the latter his official designation, signifying the *Omniscient Being*. This title, however, was assumed at the commencement of his career as a religious teacher. On his way to Benares in quest of disciples he was met by an *ascetic*, who asked him the name of his Superior and Teacher. To this he replied:—

“I am the Universal Subjugator and Omniscient,  
Uncorrupt in all Doctrines.

I have forsaken all: I am free from all desire.

I may declare what I have learned by myself.

I have no teacher: there is none like me:

Even in the divine world there is not my equal.

I am the Rahat in the world, I am the unanswerable Teacher.

I am the perfect Omniscient Being, and reside  
in the cool state Rahatship.”

He then proceeded on his way, and proclaimed to five Bhikkhus or Mendicants the discoveries he had made, and a method of emancipation from the ills of existence. His views were embraced with enthusiasm, and thus was inaugurated that system of religion which has numbered among its adherents untold millions of the human race. Its spread was very rapid; and at no great interval the new religion was adopted by all classes, from the king to the meanest subject in Māgadha: nor was it



confined to the domains of a single potentate, but on the contrary, it extended far and wide amidst the neighbouring principalities.

The student of the history of that period and country cannot but attribute the rise and rapid development of Buddhism to the long-continued existence of *caste*. The fundamental rules of this system of caste determined the superiority of the Brahman over men of all other castes, who were called Kshattriya, Vaiçya or Kshuddra, according to their respective births in the governing, mercantile or menial families of the community. Buddha, at the commencement of his career, declared the necessity of disregarding all distinctions of caste, and accordingly received disciples from all castes into his religion on terms of equality; yet such was the esteem in which he held his own caste that he, not unfrequently, claimed for it superiority over the Brahman. For amongst the innumerable definitions found in the Buddhist Scriptures, we read the following with respect to caste:—"Jāti leso nāma:" "Khattiyo dittho hoti—Brahmano dittho hoti." "Vesso dittho hoti—Suddho dittho hoti." "The meaning of race distinctions—there is the Kshattriya to be seen—the Brahman, the Vaiçya and the Kshuddra." Again, "Yāti: Khattiyi vā, Brahmani va, Vessi va, Suddi va." "Any one (feminine) means, a Kshattriya, Brahman, Vaiçya or Kshuddra woman."

Such a movement as this could not fail to excite the sympathies of the lay-castes against the pretensions of the Brahmans; the result was that multitudes soon embraced this religion and entered the ministry of the new Kshattriya Teacher, who declared that birth was no bar to virtue, nor to the possession of the highest attainable position in the domain of religion and morality.

Buddhism is by no means exclusive. It admits the possibility of good existing in any religion, and even of good independent of religion, but it claims superiority over others, inasmuch as it professes to stand alone in pointing out a method of escape from all kinds of evil for all animates. It is recorded that Gotama, after a long and careful study of the religious systems of his age and country, expressed himself dissatisfied with them on account of the impermanency of the rewards they promised.

On the vexed question of the primary cause of matter and life he was content to remain an agnostic, hence we find that love and obedience to the ruler of the universe are unknown in Buddhism. Its worship is therefore simply an act performed in memory of Buddha, who *was* but now *is not*, and prayer is non-existent; for the mood of the verb in worship is not precative but indicative, thus, *Buddham saranam gacchāmi* means "I go to the refuge of Buddha."

It may be well now to give a short account of the Sutta Piṭaka, that part of the Buddhist Scriptures which Secularists tell us propounds a scheme of religion equal, at any rate, in excellence to that of Christianity. In this division Gotama Buddha appears in the character he delighted to assume: *Ahamasmim tilogoru*, "I am the teacher of the three worlds;" and enumerates his discoveries in ethics, morals, physics, and metaphysics. Here he enunciates what is the distinguishing feature of his religion, *Kamma* the result of action, as the *fons et origo* of all existence, with its attendant pleasure and pain, joy and suffering. According to this theory the *present* is the product of *the past*, and the germ of *the future*, and every creature in the universe by every act of his is welding the weal or woe of the generations which follow; and moreover, each individual is his own god or *genius*, and the life to come must depend solely on the actions here.

The Abhidhamma Piṭaka, or third division of the Scriptures, is of subsequent origin, and of less value than the Vinaya and Sutta Piṭakas. The subject treated of is similar to that of the two others, only amplified and more abstruse. Originally, only two divisions of the Buddhist Scriptures were known, the Dhamma and the Vinaya, which were collected, revised, and fixed, at the so-called second Council at Vaisāli, 383 or 443 B.C., i.e., about 100 years after the death of Buddha. The Buddhists themselves assert that this was done immediately after his death at the first Council of Rājagaha; but whatever the time of compilation may have been, we doubtless have in them the doctrines and commandments of Buddhism, as they were known anterior to the Christian era. They are accepted by all Buddhists as the repositories of the Faith, and infallible sources of authority on all matters connected with their religion. It is quite possible that when these writings have been subjected to further European investigation and learned criticism, fresh attempts will be made to separate the *ipsissima verba* of Buddha from those which probably have originated from his followers; but the absence of very ancient manuscripts will render certainty an impossibility, and we shall doubtless have many conjectures totally at variance with one another. With regard to the Pāti Mokkha or Manual of Disciplinary Confession, which must be recited twice each lunar month, we have the *dicta* of Messrs. Rhys Davids and Oldenburg, in direct opposition. The former is of opinion that it was a subsequent compilation, an abridgment of the laws of the Vinaya Piṭaka; while the latter confidently affirms that this Pāti Mokkha was the original disciplinary code of Buddha, and that the Vinaya Piṭaka was a later—probably much later, emendation and debased commentary. And with regard to *Nirvāna*, the *summum bonum* of

Buddhism, the nature of which has engaged the attention of many oriental scholars, but hitherto with only this result, "*quot homines, tot sententiæ*," it is doubtful whether we shall ever arrive at a certainty, because many of Buddha's assertions on the matter of Nirvāna are contradictory, as are those on the higher nature of man. The belief in Atma or permanent personality had been declared by him to be heterodoxy; yet he has repeatedly asserted his own former existence in his Jātakas, or books of the former births. We have thus irreconcilable differences of opinion about the soul or spirit of man; Nirvāna, therefore, the final goal of the Rahat, is indeterminable.

Now we know fairly well what Buddhism is—theoretically; what are the teachings of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, in which Buddha is simply the teacher and exemplar? We know that he professes to have discovered the causes of the present orders of life with their attendant ills, and the means whereby they might be removed. We know that he asserts that he successfully applied them to himself, and that he announced them to the world in the hope that the most learned and best of mankind would adopt them, and by their unassisted efforts realize their fulfilment. We know also that he declared that Kamma was the unfailing Arbiter of all states of existence, and that there was no escape from this Nemesis but by the complete subjugation of all cleaving to life, which, when done, would introduce the successful aspirant to the calm state of Rahatship. As this is the portico of Nirvāna, it is sometimes called the *Savupādisesa nibbāna*, or the Nirvāna of *parts*, in contradistinction to the great eternal, *Nirupādisesa nibbāna*, the Nirvāna, of *no parts*, which immediately follows the death of that individual.

But when we look at Buddha, as he appears in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, we see him under a new aspect, as the hierarch, ruler, and judge of his body of clerics, who, under the appellation of Bhikkhus, have renounced the world and entered on a state in which the reproduction of the species, and the acquisition of property beyond what is barely necessary for the preservation of life, are inadmissible. It is a state of Ascetism and Seclusion, without any of the elements of corporeal torture, which commonly distinguished the devotees of other religions in those countries. It was considered the best possible aid to the efforts of the individual who longed for release from the sorrows inseparable from every state of existence. Impossible it was not, but nevertheless incalculably more difficult for the Layman to accomplish this deliverance, on account of the claims which the outer world made through his senses; and without doubt the aims of Buddhism would be attained if all the world were to become celibates, and subject to the *Vinaya*, as well as the *Sutta Piṭakas*; and also if all other animates were to cease

from producing their own species, because all known phases of life are undesirable, for they originate in ignorance, they continue inseparably connected with sorrow and pain, and each one ends only to be repeated under similar circumstances. For this reason the man or woman who becomes a Bhikkhu is immeasurably superior to the rest of mankind, because such a one has entered on a course of discipline which will prove a material help in working out the longed-for self-emancipation.

All the laws of the Vinaya were Buddha's own, which were promulgated as occasion required; and it is remarkable that he who posed as the great Censor of the taking of life should have frequently used the verb *Nāseti*, to kill, to indicate that an irrevocable decree of excommunication should be pronounced on a Bhikkhu who had been guilty of one of the four greatest possible breaches of discipline.<sup>1</sup> It was not the custom of Buddha to make regulations for the conduct of his followers until the necessity arose, so that his first disciples—both lay and cleric—were at first without any directions as to the manner in which they should spend their time.

In the Mahā Vagga we are told that other religionists observed the Lunar Festivals, or the days of the Full or New Moon, with those of the other quarters, thus having what nearly amounts to the weekly sabbath, but Buddha's disciples did nothing of the kind until he was exhorted to issue commands to this effect by one of the most famous of his adherents, Bimbisāra, King of Rājagaha, who thought that other systems would prosper, while Buddha's failed by reason of his lack of festivals. Buddha readily complied, and ordered assemblies to be convened on the quarter days of the Lunar Month. The assemblies met, but there was no religious service, because none had been authorized. This gave offence to the laity, who called the clerics *dumb pigs*, and Buddha then commanded the Pāti-mokkha, or the Confessional Service, to be recited on these occasions. In this service the various breaches of discipline are enumerated, defined, and explained, with their several degrees of punishment, suspension, and absolution. Numberless regulations are given with regard to the time, place, and manner of these services; regulations which were rendered necessary by reason of the persistent determination of some of the clerics to evade every command, or prohibition, if a method of doing it without breaking the letter of the law could be discovered.

Buddha established two orders of disciples, Lay and Cleric. The former are called *Upāsako* lay devotee, the latter Pabbajito ascetic, or Bhikkhu mendicant. The lay devotee is a person who

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<sup>1</sup> These four are called Pārājikā offences, and relate to cohabitation, theft, murder, and the false assumption of superhuman powers. *Vide infra*.

has betaken himself to the three refuges, Buddha, the Law and the Church, and resolves to observe the first five commandments which prohibit killing, theft, impurity, lying, and the use of alcoholic drinks; but the cleric, or Bhikkhu, is one who has separated himself from the world on account of Buddha and his doctrines, in order to imitate him in the complete subjugation of the cleaving to existence, and thus eventually arrive at Nirvāṇa. There are two orders of clerics in the Buddhist Church, Sāmanero and Upasampadā, corresponding closely to the Deacon and Priest in the Episcopal Church. The first mentioned, the Sāmanero, must be old enough to scare away crows—*i.e.*, about eight years of age—to receive the first ordination; all his hair must be shaven off, he must put on the orange-coloured robes in the prescribed manner, and falling at the feet of the duly qualified Bhikkhus, thrice declare his acceptance of the Three Refuges. He is then a Sāmanero cleric, and must be attached to some Upasampadā Bhikkhu, to whom he must stand in the relation of son and servant. He must observe the ten commandments, five of which are binding on the Upāsaka, and the other five relate to prohibitions of the eating of food after mid-day, attendance at balls, concerts, and public shows, the use of perfumes and sweet unguents, sitting on high and great seats, and the receiving of silver and gold. If he transgress any of the first five, or revile Buddha, his law or his church, entertain heterodox views, or cohabit with a female Bhikkhu, he must be destroyed—*i.e.*, excommunicated.

In order to be admitted into the second order, the Upasampadā, a chapter of duly qualified clerics must be convened, and an Upasampadā mendicant, who has authority to do so, must thrice request the assembly to admit the candidate to this order of the priesthood. The candidate also must thrice for himself request the same thing, and when by their silence he understands that there is no objection, he must submit to an examination as to his qualifications for the office. If this prove satisfactory, the chapter must be requested thrice that he may be admitted to the second order of the Priesthood by a certain Superior.

When a number of mendicants live together, one of their number must be elected as their Upajjhā, or superior, and to him the others must pay a respectful obedience, as if they were his children, while he must have the status of parent towards them.

On the Uposatha Festival, the day of the New or Full Moon, the assembly must be convened in the prescribed manner, and the Pāti Mokkha or manual of confession read. If any Bhikkhu finds that he has been guilty of any breach of discipline, he must confess it and submit to the penalties prescribed, and at the expiration of the punishment request and obtain reinstatement.

Another important season in the Buddhist Church is the Vas, which lasts three or four months during the rainy season, from June to October. Throughout this season the Bhikkhus may not travel to collect alms, but must remain in a fixed temporary hut, and instruct the people who come to them and bring them the food they require. At the end of this season it is customary to furnish the Bhikkhus with the robes they require for the ensuing year.

We now come to the regulations passed by Buddha of a disciplinary character as we find them recorded at great length in the Vinaya Piṭaka.

There are 227 rules and prohibitions affecting the male Bhikkhus, divided into eight classes, according to the magnitude of the offence committed, or the importance of the subject embraced. They are the four Pārājikās or irremediable breaches of discipline; the thirteen Samghādisesa offences which although serious are expiable: the two Aniyata, or indeterminate faults: the thirty Nissaggiya Pācittiya breaches of discipline which necessitate confession and forfeiture: the ninety-two Pāṭidesaniya offences of less degree than the preceding, but requiring confession: the seventy-five Sekhiyas, irregularities relating to dress, deportment, food, the monastery, &c., and the seven rules to be adopted in settling questions. As thus indicated, the gradation in the above-mentioned classes of offences is from the greatest to the least, and the most heinous offences are included under the first name Pārājikā, which means defeat, and implies permanent exclusion from the order of clerics. This, according to the custom of Buddha, is emphasized by well known and opposite similes—viz., It is impossible to rejoin a severed human head to its trunk and thus restore life; to reunite a withered fallen leaf to its stem and make it green: to unite a broken rock: and the Palmyra, whose head has been cut off, cannot again bear fruit, so the Bhikkhu who has been guilty of either of the four Pārājikā faults can never be reinstated as a member of that order.

I. Pārājikā. The subjects treated of under these four Rules are cohabitation, theft, murder, and false assertion of the possession of virtues and superhuman powers.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>With regard to the first—cohabitation, a long account in the Pārājikā book is given of the venerable Sudinno, the only child of a banker, who, in opposition to the wishes of his parents and young wife, renounced the Laystate and donned the orange-coloured robes of the Bhikkhus. After many entreaties from his parents and wife he consented to cohabit with her in order to preserve the family name; and on being reproved by Buddha, justified his conduct on the ground that no prohibition to this effect had been issued. The latter told him that he was without excuse, because he had acted contrary to the principles of

(1) About twenty pages of the *Pārājikā* book are filled with details of fearful vices which display the state of society in the time of Buddha, and the appalling results that attended his efforts to run counter to the laws of Nature.

It is often said that these sins of the Bhikkhus are not chargeable to Buddha; admitting this, what can be said of the legislation which makes vices almost inconceivably abominable, of less degree in guilt than actions which result in the reproduction of the species?

(2) The second *Pārājikā* regulation, which relates to theft, was first proclaimed and defined by Buddha on his hearing complaints that one of his Bhikkhus had taken Government timber to build a hut without having obtained permission. Accordingly, it was proclaimed that as a thief would be subjected by the king to death, or imprisonment or banishment, so the Bhikkhu who, had been convicted of this kind of theft, was guilty of a *Pārājikā* offence, and, consequently, excommunicated.

The Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus, who were most troublesome to Buddha and famous for their ingenuity in discovering methods of evading his prohibitions, then went to the washermen's gardens and stole the cloths they found there, and when told that this was prohibited by the above-mentioned law, replied that the inhibition related only to property in the jungle, whereas these cloths were stolen in the village. Buddha then included village-property in this regulation. He also defined the value of the thing stolen, declaring that it must be either five *māsakas* or more to make the offence a *Pārājikā* fault (a *māsaka* is stated to be a small coin of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  grains of either gold or silver). Numerous instances are then given of attempts made by Bhikkhus to steal beyond the limits of the prohibition, and as with the first *Pārājikā* offence, they eventually succeeded. In some cases

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the Order, which enjoined the complete subjugation of all carnal desires. Buddha then issued his first disciplinary prohibition, and declared that henceforth if any member of the order of Bhikkhus cohabited with a woman he was guilty of a *Pārājikā* offence, and was permanently excluded from that body. Immediately following this, we meet with details of attempts made to evade this prohibition, and every subsequent enlargement of it, too vile for publication and displaying a state of corruption almost inconceivable. Thus, after the promulgation of the above mentioned law, the record proceeds to tell of bestiality. Then all female creatures were included in the prohibition. Some clerics in every possible way exercised their ingenuity to satisfy their brutish lusts on the living, and, when Buddha's prohibitions followed them there, they turned to dead and inanimate matter with the hope of escaping the extreme penalty. Their efforts were futile, but eventually were crowned with success, for we find full descriptions given of horrible sins which Buddha has declared not *Pārājikā*, but *Samghādisesa*, *Thullaccaya*, or *Dukkaṭa*—i.e., breaches of discipline, remediable after suspension and penance, or evil actions to which no penal consequences appear to have been attached.

a Bhikkhu desirous of obtaining the property of another, would ask a brother cleric to steal it for him ; if he consented, and took the thing specified, both were guilty of a Pārājikā offence ; but if the agent stole a different object, the originator of the theft was not guilty.<sup>1</sup>

(3) When Buddha on a special occasion had delivered a most impressive address to the Bhikkhus in the Vesali on the ills and sorrows of life, they were so influenced by his speech that they desired immediate death, and requested a priest, Migalandiko, to kill them. He complied with their wishes, and then went to the Vaggamuda river to wash the blood from his sword. While there, he was overcome with remorse ; but a god of the chase knowing his thoughts assured him that he was quite mistaken, that the deed he had performed was meritorious, and exhorted him to persevere in the same beneficent course of action. He then went from monastery to monastery offering to carry to the other shore all who had not reached it. This went on till the number of his victims amounted to sixty a day. When this was reported to Buddha he convened an assembly, reproved the offender, and enacted the following law—namely, that if any person knowingly take the life of a human being, he is guilty of a Pārājikā offence and excommunicated.

The Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus, who had become attached to the wife of a lay devotee, who was sick, pictured out to him the pleasures of heaven, and told him that in consequence of his blameless life he was certain to arrive there. He therefore refused to take nourishment and died. Buddha, on hearing of this, expanded the above inhibition to make it include this kind of action.

Many devices were resorted to as before to evade this prohibition, by employing others to commit the murder. Instigation itself was an “evil act.” If the murder were perpetrated as the prompter intended, both the perpetrator and prompter were guilty of a Pārājikā offence ; if otherwise, the prompter was not guilty of any breach of discipline.<sup>2</sup>

(4) On a certain occasion, when some Bhikkhus had met together to observe the Vas season, on the banks of the Vaggamuda river, there was a famine in the land, and they thought that in consequence they would find great difficulty in procuring food, unless they resorted to some device to make the people willing to give. Accordingly, they resolved to make it known that they were Bhikkhus distinguished for their possession of the noblest

<sup>1</sup> About twenty pages are filled with the account of attempts thus made by the Bhikkhus to steal, and of Buddha's decisions as to the degree of culpability or innocence of the person concerned.

<sup>2</sup> Many pages are occupied with the record of cases of administering medicine to women with criminal intent.



virtues attainable by their order, virtues which would certainly enable them to reach Nirvāṇa; and that some of them actually possessed superhuman powers. The people believed them, and furnished them with abundant supplies of food. At the end of three months these Bhikkhus, according to custom, returned to present themselves to Buddha, who asked how it was that they were so fat and sleek, while the rest, on account of the famine, were weak and emaciated. They confessed that they had duped the laity with the assertion of their possession of certain virtues and powers, and met with a severe reproof from Buddha, who now passed his Fourth Pārājikā Enactment, forbidding the false assertion of the possession of the highest virtues and powers attainable by the aspirant to Nirvāṇa. This regulation also the Bhikkhus attempted to evade in many ways, and occasionally with success.

II. The second class of breaches of discipline—Samghādisesa offences—are so called because a complete chapter of Bhikkhus must carry out the punishment and restoration connected with these faults. There are thirteen divisions of offences so named, the first five of which may be denominated sins of self-defilement and approaches to adultery, or actions which are not breaches of the first Pārājikā rule, because, although their tendency lay in that direction, they stopped short of the actual commission of cohabitation. Under each head many varieties of these vices are recorded, each of which was a Samghādisesa offence, or, in some cases, an offence of less importance. It may be doubted whether any other religion in the world has in its authoritative Scriptures such a disgusting record of fearful vices indulged in by the priests of that religion, and declared by its founder to be minor breaches of discipline and easily remediable. If the accuracy of this assertion be challenged, a perusal of the account of the above-mentioned five rules must be made, and a darker picture sought elsewhere. Nor should it be overlooked that although Buddha cannot be held as responsible for the abominable practices of his clerics, yet the fact is undeniable, as we have said, that he classed these vices among the *minor* offences, and declared that any one who had been guilty of any of them might remain a member of the order of Bhikkhus.

The remainder of the Samghādisesa offences relate to the taking of property, suborning false witnesses, rape or adultery innuendos, attempts at schism, abuse, and the participation in games and public amusements.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After the commission of a Samghādisesa offence a Bhikkhu's duty was to confess it immediately, in order that a chapter of the qualified members of his order might be convened, and the punishment be determined and pronounced. If there had been no delay in confessing, the preliminary suspension called Parivāsa was shortened; if otherwise, this first disc-

III. The two Aniyata—undefinable breaches of discipline—are so called because it might not be possible at the time to say to which class—Pārājikā, Samghādisesa or Pācittiya—they belonged. From the illustrations given they appear to signify association with a female in private, in such a friendly manner as to give rise to suspicions that a serious breach of discipline has been committed or contemplated; and if after inquiry it was discovered that such was the case, the offenders were punished according to their degree of guilt.

IV. The next order of offences is denominated Pācittiya, and is divided into two classes—Nissaggiya Pācittiya and simply Pācittiya. They are respectively thirty and ninety-two in number, and the former relate to offences against property, in atonement for which the Bhikkhu must repent and forfeit what he has acquired; for the offences contained in the latter class he must submit to censure and show penitence.

Most of the Nissaggiya Pācittiyas were connected with the robes, cloths, bowls, comforts for the sick, the receipt of money, and the abuse of lawful privileges. In every case the offender was obliged to restore his stolen possessions and show sorrow for his misconduct. Here also acts of filthiness and indecency are described, but no further censure of them is intimated than that implied in the forfeiture of the robes which have been thus defiled.

The ninety-two Pācittiyas relate to lying, ridicule, mischief-making, evil associations, whisperings, backbitings, tale-bearing, giving pain to animals, familiarity with female Bhikkhus, misuse of the furniture, &c., of the monastery, and similar matters, many of which belong rather to the laws of etiquette and good manners than to morality.

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plinary state was imposed for a time equal to that which had elapsed between the commission of the sin and its confession. In some cases it was necessary for other members of the fraternity who were not offenders to take the initiative, and perform several acts preliminary to that of suspension, but this must be done in the prescribed manner. The culprit was then charged with his offence, reproved, reduced to a state of submission, separated from his companions, and temporarily subjected to a sentence of exclusion. While under Parivāsa-suspension he had no rights of fellowship with the innocent Bhikkhus, and could perform none of the official acts which were part and parcel of their privileges. If while under this Parivāsa-suspension the offender were found guilty of a similar fault or remembered having committed one, he was obliged to submit again from the beginning to this state of discipline.

The second stage of punishment was called Mānatta, a state of exclusion from the society of the Bhikkhus for six nights. The disabilities under which he laboured at this time were much the same as those of the Parivāsa-stage; and if in this interval he were guilty of a like offence, he was forced to renew his penance. At the end of this stage the Abbhāna ceremony, that of restoration to all the privileges of his order—was performed by a Chapter of the Assembly in the prescribed manner.

There does not appear to have been any penance imposed nor separation enforced on account of these acts; but when the offender was conscious of any of them, he was required to confess his fault, repent, and promise to amend.

V. The four Pāṭidesaniya rules relate to irregularities about food, and, as the name implies, it was necessary that the breach of discipline should be confessed, and similar actions for the future avoided.

VI. The seventy-five Sekhiya regulations are about dress, deportment, food, &c., of the most trifling character, which, like some of the preceding, were rendered necessary by the almost incredible stupidity and lethargy of many of the Bhikkhus. As an illustration of the extent to which this legislation was carried we find it recorded that, on *permission* being accorded by Buddha, the Bhikkhus caused houses or sheds to be erected for their own use, and that when these houses were flooded in the rainy season, on account of the lowness of the floors, the poor Bhikkhus would not exert themselves to keep out the water until *permission* had been gained from Buddha by the enactment of a law *permitting* raised floors. These were now made, but yet more terrible calamities were in store for the wretched Bhikkhus. Some of their body were constantly falling off these raised floors for the want of a railing to keep them in. This inconvenience, however, was not remedied till *permission* by law had been granted to surround the raised floors with railings. Their troubles did not end here. For considerable difficulty was experienced in mounting the floors, but no Bhikkhu dreamed of making steps to the floors until *permission* was gained from a law made for that purpose by Buddha himself; and even then some Bhikkhus fell down these law-granted steps because they had no law-granted hand-rail.<sup>1</sup>

This review of Buddhism must now draw to a close. It has necessarily been but partial on account of the wide field it covers. It has been a review of the disciplinary laws of Buddha and the causes which led to them. From these we learn how

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<sup>1</sup> It may be briefly stated that similar disciplinary laws were issued for the female Bhikkhus in consequence of their criminal irregularities. This order was most unwillingly founded by Buddha after the earnest solicitation of his foster-mother and his favourite disciple Ananda. The female Bhikkhus were separated from the world, and subjected to almost all the laws affecting male Bhikkhus, to whom they were subjected and inferior. Numerous regulations are given about the relative duties of the male and female Bhikkhus to prevent familiarity and association except for certain well-defined public religious duties. In every case the nun, or female Bhikkhu, was inferior to the male cleric. Thus the female Bhikkhu who may have been 100 years in the Upasampadā order is bound to be submissive and respectful to a male Bhikkhu who may have had but one day's service.

he endeavoured to regulate the actions of his clerics and punish their misdeeds. It is, indeed, a wearisome and painful task to wade through the mass of revolting and frivolous details of the crimes, follies, peccadillos, and innumerable irregularities of Buddha's mendicants, and the laws he made accusing or else excusing them, but this is what must be done to obtain a comprehensive and true view of his religion and character. Hitherto he has been presented to the European reader and student as he appears in the Sutta Piṭaka, in the character of the Discoverer and Preacher of Dhamma and Kamma, Law and Result; but we must also look on his portrait in the Vinaya Piṭaka where we see in him a legislator and ruler of a body of clerics.

If this be done, there can be but one result. If thus put in the balance and weighed he will be found wanting; and although we cannot but admire many of his utterances relating to virtue and kindness to all creatures, yet we are disappointed to find that his greatest doctrines and highest rewards are all negative. He was an agnostic about the origin of life and matter, and the King of Pessimists. He declared that Nirvāṇa, or the cessation of change, thought, and, according to his own views of man's higher nature, even of life itself, was the *summum bonum*, only attained after infinite exertions and countless lives spent in joy and suffering.

It is desirable that his character and religion should be fully known, so far as the laws of decency and propriety will admit of details being given, from his own Scriptures, and the verdict will certainly then be just. He will be acknowledged as one of the greatest reformers of hoar antiquity, who in several countries and in the various stages of the early development of civilization endeavoured according to the lights they had to improve their fellow men and make them obedient to moral law. But they all failed because they could not remove the sins already committed, nor implant a new Nature in man which could engender in the heart a love of virtue for its own sake, and still more a love of God the Author and Giver of all good. This has been done by Jesus of Nazareth, whose religion has in it all the elements of good, and is sufficient for all the requirements of humanity. He is the bright Sun of Righteousness still rising with Healing in His wings, and appears as such to all who fear and love Him whether as nations or as individuals. His rays are now lighting up Eastern and Southern Asia, and the light of Buddhism is waning and paling as do the stars in the incomparably superior glory of the rising orb of day.

S. COLES.

## ART. V.—OUR SUPPORT OF FOREIGN MISSIONS IN 1881.

**E**NGLAND'S liberality in supporting Foreign Missions was fairly maintained during the year 1881; but no advance was made.

Delayed Reports of several Societies being at length issued, in September, 1882, the financial results of 1881 are now fully marshalled for review. To make such a review, year after year, would have been one of the most useful and most legitimate of the duties of a general Board of Missions, if such a body had been called into existence. As, however, this lack has been supplied during the past eleven years, by the labours of a private individual, there is now less need than ever for creating such a Board.

Upon minute inspection, we find that though the muster-roll of British Contributions is scarcely so large as it was in 1880, it nevertheless shows a grand total of £1,093,569. This sum is less, by £15,381, than the previous year's total (the largest ever raised for Foreign Missions); but it considerably exceeds those of 1878 and 1879.

The statistics of Britain's Missionary efforts during recent years, when examined *en bloc*, bear cheering and incontestable witness to the existence of increasing progress, activity, and life. This progress may be all the more satisfactory from the close resemblance of its method to that of a calmly flowing tide. On the margin of an ocean the wavelets recede for a brief interval before and after each forward movement; the tide's onward power and progress are nevertheless sure and certain. We observe that the crest of the wave of contributions reached onward, and still onward, in 1873, in 1877, and in 1880.<sup>1</sup> Very decided and well marked was the progress made in those years. Though the wavelets recede slightly during intervening periods the tide is nevertheless flowing still; *Laus Deo*.

The broad channels into which the tributary streams of British contribution flowed, during the year 1881, may be cited as five in number:—

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<sup>1</sup> Summary of British Contributions to Foreign Missions for eleven years:—

	£			£
1871 . . .	855,742	...	1876 . . .	1,048,472
1872 . . .	882,886	...	1877 . . .	1,100,793
1873 . . .	1,032,176	...	1878 . . .	1,071,944
1874 . . .	1,009,199	...	1879 . . .	1,086,678
1875 . . .	1,048,408	...	1880 . . .	1,108,950
1881 . . .				£1,093,569.

	£	
I. 23 Societies of the Church of England . . .	460,395	
II. 13 Bible, Tract, Education, and Missionary Societies, supported jointly by Churchmen and Nonconformists . . .	153,320	
III. 16 Nonconformist Societies (English and Welsh) . . .	313,177	
IV. 23 Presbyterian Societies, Scottish (16), and Irish (7) . . .	155,767	
Total Protestant Contributions . . .	1,082,659	
V. 2 Roman Catholic Societies . . .	10,910	
Total voluntarily contributed in the British Isles during 1881-2 . . .	£ 1,093,569	

Attention may be drawn, *en passant*, to the last item. The collections of the Roman Propaganda are always quoted in *francs*; and, in that form, its totals have an imposing sound. Thus, in 1881, France figures in the list as contributing 4½ millions—of francs. Stated in a similar way, the British contributions to the Roman Propaganda are written in the imposing figures 218,895*fr.* 80*cs.*, which mean nothing more than £8,686. The popular adage that “extremes meet,” is remarkably illustrated by the coincidence that three very different religious bodies, in the British Isles, gathered each in the year 1881 their *maximum* income for Foreign Missions. The Reports which proclaim this fact, with becoming jubilation and thanksgiving, are those of the FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, the WELSH CALVINISTIC METHODISTS, and the ROMAN CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA.<sup>1</sup>

The fruitful interest in Foreign Mission work, which can sometimes be incited among the lower stratum of the middle classes, is well illustrated in the Missionary Report of the WELSH CALVINISTIC METHODISTS. It states that contributions, far above the average of those usually given by wealthy persons, came from members of that Society who are in very ordinary circumstances; not above the position of working men. One residing in Liverpool contributed £30; another, who

<sup>1</sup> As the statement is in this case of historical importance, it may be useful to many of our readers to have the exact words of the announcement. “The year 1881 has been a truly blessed one for our Association. Owing chiefly to the additional Jubilee offerings, our receipts have risen to the sum total of 6,906,058*fr.* 19*cs.*, exceeding by 886,018*fr.* 53*cs.* those of 1880. This is the greatest harvest of alms that we have yet received, and the . . . comparative table will show, that in every part of the globe the Sovereign Pontiff’s voice has been obeyed.”—*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, May, 1882, p. 111.

dwells at Dowlais, gave £24. That Society, following the example of the **WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY**, encourages a band of juvenile collectors by giving to them prizes of books. Collecting cards are issued to Sunday Scholars a few weeks before Christmas. Keen competition then ensues among the children of each school to obtain the largest collection of the year. A small prize is given to each collector; but those who obtain the largest sums receive books of value. These are called "Christmas rewards," a term which might puzzle uninitiated readers of the Wesleyan Society's cash account.

Far more satisfactory is a system now utilized on behalf of the **CAMBRIDGE DELHI MISSION**, the **UNIVERSITY CENTRAL AFRICAN MISSION**, the **MELANESIAN MISSION** and others. Children in our Public Schools, and in Church Sunday Schools, are incited by collections made among them to take an interest in Foreign Mission Work. Thus, Eton has for several years largely assisted the work in Melanesia, and other Schools now do likewise. From the chapels, or houses, of Tunbridge School, the Surrey County School, Highgate School, and the Leeds Clergy School, nearly £50 was received for the **CAMBRIDGE DELHI MISSION**, during 1881. More than thirty African teachers and scholars are supported, in schools of the **CENTRAL AFRICAN MISSION**, each by a separate Church Sunday School in England. For this purpose, each School must contribute at least £7 per annum. It is cheering to see that as many as thirty Sunday Schools achieve this, on behalf of one Society alone. The custom now happily obtains amongst the supporters of various Missionary Societies, and must have a beneficial effect upon English school children.

Vast improvement has been effected in the method of setting forth the financial affairs of Missionary Societies, in their Reports, since the present writer commenced his annual analysis and summary of their receipts. In England the **SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL** has always been pre-eminent for the lucidity and comprehensiveness of its financial statements. In the **CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S** Report for 1881, several changes of method may be noted, and each is an improvement. The addition of an alphabetical index of the names of all parishes from which contributions come, is a decided boon to that SOCIETY'S members.

In the **WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S** Report for 1881 there is one novel feature of interest and importance. A summary has been made of all the local expenses of collection, which had been deducted from the British contributions before they reached head-quarters:—the Mission House in London. This summary appears upon the General Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year, and is very instructive. It

shows that from a total sum of £108,815, contributed in various districts, expenses amounting to £6,180 were deducted before the money was forwarded to London. That is to say, local expenses of collection consumed  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the general contributions, before they were subjected to any deduction for the cost of the Society's staff at head-quarters.

This Society seems to maintain mission work at its various foreign stations, without curtailment, even when the needful funds are not contributed at home. Consequently, debt and interest thereon become heavy charges. The deficiencies of three years last past burden the Society with a present deficit of £33,308; and the interest paid last year, for borrowed money, amounted to £2,763, or more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the total sum collected in Great Britain. Happy is the Society which has good reason to believe that its supporters will ultimately relieve such deficiencies by means of a "Thanksgiving Fund."

It is worthy of notice, that by showing upon its Annual Statement the entire sums collected, together with a summary of the amounts deducted in the local districts, for expenses, the Wesleyan Society enables its supporters to know exactly how much of their contributions will go to real mission work. The majority of Societies<sup>1</sup> bring into account only the amounts actually received at head-quarters; they render no summary account of the local expenses.

Notwithstanding that the Wesleyan Society thus charges itself with all local expenses and with heavy interest on a deficit, its total home expenses are less than 17 per cent. of its receipts. It thus compares well with many other societies which, ignoring altogether the local expenses, nevertheless expend upon home machinery and appliances 16 per cent. of their receipts (like the CHURCH OF ENGLAND ZENANA MISSION); or 18 per cent. (like the GENERAL BAPTIST, the EVANGELICAL CONTINENTAL, and the SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE CHURCH AID SOCIETIES); or 19 per cent. (like the LONDON SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE JEWS); or 21 per cent. (like the COLONIAL AND CONTINENTAL CHURCH SOCIETY); or 24 per cent. (like the FOREIGN AID SOCIETY); or 27 per cent. (like the COLONIAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY); or 28 per cent. (like the BRITISH SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL AMONG THE JEWS); or 31 per cent. (like the SOUTH AMERICAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY); or even 39

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<sup>1</sup> We need not except from this statement the Reports of the PRIMITIVE METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY and the UNITED METHODIST FREE CHURCHES MISSIONS, which specify all the local expenses in tabular district summaries. They do not bring them into the general account of expenditure. The local expenses tabulated by these Societies as being deducted before the collections reach head-quarters amount to 10 per cent. of the sums contributed.



per cent. (like the TURKISH MISSIONS AID SOCIETY). Small societies must always of necessity be, in proportion, more expensive than large ones.

The actual head-quarter expenses of the WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY bear about the same percentage to the total receipts as do those of the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL, the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, and other large Societies—*i.e.*, between 10 and 11 per cent.

W. A. SCOTT ROBERTSON.

### ANALYSIS OF THE RECEIPTS OF SOCIETIES FOR 1881-2.

#### *I. Societies of the Church of England.*

	From abroad and other sources.	From Invest- ments.	British Contrib- utions.
	£	£	£
1. Church Missionary Society . . . . .	8,977	9,618	202,541
2. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (in addition to £14,328 received through Societies mentioned below) . . . . .	2,193	11,827	106,631
3. London Society for Promoting Chris- tianity among the Jews . . . . .	298	2,910	34,741
4. Colonial and Continental Church Society . . . . .	22,140	173	19,529
5. Church of England Zenana Missionary Society . . . . .	164	49	18,041
6. Society for Promoting Christian Know- ledge, sum paid in aid of Foreign Missions, about . . . . .	...	...	12,000
7. Central African Mission of the Universities . . . . .	361	282	11,311
8. South American Missionary Society . . . . .	2,729	157	8,667
9. Moosonee Diocesan Funds . . . . .	...	...	6,300
10. Spanish, Portuguese, and Mexican Churches Aid Society . . . . .	71	...	5,853
11. British Syrian Schools . . . . .	110	134	4,936
12. Missionary Leaves Association, aiding native clergy of the Church Missionary Society . . . . .	...	4	4,077
13. "The Net's" collections, for Mackenzie Memorial, £995, and other missions . . . . .	...	...	2,278
14. Melanesian Mission . . . . .	...	...	2,181
15. St. Augustine's Missionary College, Canterbury (in addition to its perma- nent endowment) . . . . .	...	731	2,155
16. Capetown Bishop's Aid Association . . . . .	...	...	1,963
17. St. Boniface Mission House, Warminster . . . . .	...	...	1,400
18. Foreign Aid Society for France, Belgium, Italy, and Spain . . . . .	...	3	1,355
19. Columbia Mission . . . . .	30	...	1,299
20. Coral Fund to Aid Schools and Churches of the Church Missionary Society . . . . .	...	21	1,099
21. Colonial Bishopricks Fund . . . . .	2,093	10,490	936

	From abroad and other sources.	From Invest- ments.	British Contribu- tions.
	£	£	£
22. Cambridge Mission to Delhi . . . . .	...	47	693
23. Delhi Female Medical Mission . . . . .	...	...	409
24. Christian Faith Society for the West Indies	...	2,176	...
<i>Estimated Value of other Contributions</i>			
unreported, and of Gifts sent to Mission	...	...	10,000
Stations . . . . .			
<i>Total of Donations, Legacies, and Annual Subscriptions</i>			£460,395
<i>from the British Isles.</i>			

## II. *Joint Societies of Churchmen and Nonconformists.*

25. British and Foreign Bible Society, devoted to Foreign Mission Work, about . . . . .	...	...	73,000
26. Religious Tract Society . . . . .	...	564	18,163
27. China Inland Mission . . . . .	...	...	9,550
28. Indian Female Normal School Society . . . . .	3	...	6,939
29. Moravian (Episcopal) Missions of the United Brethren . . . . .	12,923	758	6,115
30. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East . . . . .	1,012	560	6,080
31. Livingstone Inland Congo Mission . . . . .	...	...	4,969
32. East London Institute for Training Missionaries, proportion for Foreign Missions, about . . . . .	...	...	4,408
33. Christian Vernacular Education Society for India . . . . .	6,085	139	4,363
34. Waldensian Missions Aid Fund . . . . .	...	...	3,663
35. Turkish Missions (American) Aid Society . . . . .	...	...	2,181
36. Trinitarian Bible Society . . . . .	...	...	1,889
<i>Estimated Value of other Gifts and Con- tributions unreported . . . . .</i>	...	...	12,000
<i>Total of Donations, Legacies, and Annual Subscriptions</i>			£153,320
<i>from the British Isles</i>			

## III. *Nonconformist Societies (English and Welsh).*

37. Wesleyan Missionary Society (including £6,260 spent on Missions in Ireland) . . . . .	147,113	4,505	121,635
38. London Missionary Society . . . . .	26,339	4,849	81,299
39. Baptist Missionary Society . . . . .	10,049	2,062	46,624
40. English Presbyterian Foreign Missions . . . . .	189	117	12,607
41. British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews . . . . .	...	...	6,839
42. United Methodist Free Churches Foreign and Colonial Missions . . . . .	7,584	...	5,839
43. "Friends" Foreign Mission Association . . . . .	89	373	5,163
44. Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Missions . . . . .	116	473	5,077
45. General Baptist Missionary Society . . . . .	3,389	...	4,727
46. Primitive Methodist Colonial Missions . . . . .	...	...	3,691
47. Methodist New Connexion Missionary Society . . . . .	980	...	3,111

	From abroad and other sources.	From Invest- ments.	British Contribu- tions.
48. Evangelical Continental Society . . .	£	£	£
49. Wesleyan Ladies Auxiliary for Female Education . . . . .	...	...	2,848
50. Colonial Missionary Society . . . . .	...	45	2,547
51. "Friends" Mission in Syria and Palestine . . .	140	76	2,143
52. Primitive Methodist African Missions . . .	730	44	2,143
<i>Estimated Value of work sent to Mission Stations and other Contributions un- reported . . . . .</i>	...	...	1,884
Total British Contributions through English and Welsh Nonconformist Societies . . . . .			£313,177

*IV. Scotch and Irish Presbyterian Societies.**Free Church of Scotland Missions.*

53. Foreign Missions . . . . .	27,989	2,975	31,764
54. Jews Conversion Fund . . . . .	...	335	7,428
55. Colonial Mission . . . . .	...	63	4,259
56. Ladies Society for Female Education . . .	...	...	3,825
57. Continental Fund . . . . .	...	95	3,763
58. United Presbyterian Missions (Foreign, Colonial and Continental) . . . . .	724	185	35,529

*Church of Scotland Mission Boards.*

59. Foreign Missions . . . . .	8,888	342	13,623
60. Colonial and Continental Missions . . .	...	...	6,019
61. Jewish Mission . . . . .	...	...	4,508
62. Ladies Association for Female Missions . .	...	...	3,343
63. Ladies Association for Educating Jew- ish Females . . . . .	...	...	407
64. National Bible Society of Scotland . . .	...	1,103	15,587
65. Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society . .	937	76	4,742
66. Waldensian Missions Aid Fund, about . .	...	...	2,587
67. Lebanon Schools . . . . .	...	...	864
68. Original Secession Church Indian Mission. <i>Estimated Value of other Scottish Con- tributions . . . . .</i>	...	...	786
Total, through Scotch Presbyterian Societies . . .			£141,534

*Irish Presbyterian Missions.*

69. Foreign Mission . . . . .	1,848	286	4,566
70. Jewish Mission . . . . .	...	...	4,369
71. Colonial Mission . . . . .	100	...	1,890
72. Ladies Female Missionary Society . . .	...	...	1,557
73. Continental Mission . . . . .	...	17	523
74. Gujarat Orphanage Fund . . . . .	119	...	328
75. Mrs. Magee's Indian Education Fund . . .	...	1,281	...
<i>Estimated Value of other Irish Contribu- tions . . . . .</i>	...	...	1,000

Total Scotch and Irish Presbyterian Contributions . . . £155,767

*V. Missions of British Roman Catholics.*

	From abroad and other sources.	From Invest- ments.	British Contribu- tions.
	£	£	£
76. Society for the Propagation of the Faith .	...	...	8,686
77. St. Joseph's Missionary Society and Col- lege of the Sacred Heart (Mill Hill, Hendon) . . . . . }	...	...	2,224
Total Roman Catholic Contributions . . . . .			<u>£10,910</u>

ART. VI.—MR. GARDINER'S CHARLES THE FIRST.<sup>1</sup>

MR. GARDINER is well known to all historical students as the writer who has made the period of the first two Stuarts upon the English throne his special province. As the reader refers to Freeman for all that appertains to the Norman Conquest, to Stubbs for a knowledge of our early constitutional charters, to Froude for the period of the Reformation, to Macaulay for the incidents in the lives of James the Second and William the Deliverer, or to Stanhope for the deeds of the House of Hanover; so does he who desires to make himself familiar with the latest revelations as to James the First, as to Charles the First and Buckingham, and as to the personal government of the "martyr monarch," study the volumes of Professor Gardiner. Our author is a believer in original research, and does not content himself with second-hand references. Busying himself amid the mine of wealth contained in our national archives, he has consulted the State Papers to no little purpose, and has produced historical works which are models for accuracy and sound judgment. Mr. Gardiner lacks the picturesque style of several of his contemporaries, but we feel as we peruse his volumes that we are in the hands of an earnest, a painstaking, and in the main an unprejudiced historian, and these gifts are sufficient to cover any defects as to style that may be apparent in his narrative. The work before us is a continuation of the volumes dealing with the personal government of Charles the First. Here we quit Prerogative for Parliament.

The causes which led to the fall of the monarchy of our first Charles are not difficult to discover. In the summer of the year

<sup>1</sup> "The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I." By S. Rawson Gardiner LL.D. Two Volumes. Longmans. 1882.

1637, the date from which the events recorded in these volumes begin, more than eight years had passed away since a Parliament had met at Westminster. During those years, in spite of threats of war which Charles had neither the nerve nor the means to carry out, peace had been maintained, and with the maintenance of peace, in spite of the despotic acts of the Sovereign, the material prosperity of the country had been largely on the increase. But the higher aspirations of the nation remained unsatisfied. England had been without a Government, in the best sense of the word, as truly as she had been without a Parliament. The events of this period divide themselves under three heads: the ecclesiastical policy of Laud, the fiscal policy of the King, and the resolute conduct of Strafford.

The character of Laud is well known. He was an arrogant, petulant, and fussily-active leader of the sacerdotal party, a bitter politician, a trusted and determined counsellor. Like many men whose talents are not conspicuous for their breadth or brilliancy, he was incessant in the labours he set before him. His energy, says a contemporary, was "miraculous." He would come fresh from the composition of a State Paper to discuss with the dons at Oxford the best means of putting down the irregularities of undergraduates. At one moment he would be sitting as presiding judge in the Star Chamber or High Commission Court, and the next he would be keenly tracking out the disobedient Nonconformists. "We took another conventicle of separatists," he writes to his secretary, with all the glee of a successful sportsman, "in Newington Woods, on Sunday last, in the very brake where the King's stag should have been lodged for his hunting the next morning." Now, he would busy himself with suppressing wakes, or making suggestions for the embellishment of his favourite Oxford; and then he would be hard at work meddling with the churches of the English residents in Holland, with the affairs of Protestant refugees in England, or with the national worship north of the Tweed. "Nothing was too lofty, too distant, or too mean to escape his regulating hand." The chief feature in his policy, however, was his harsh and narrow conduct as an ecclesiastical reformer. He was determined to put down, at all costs, legally or by arbitrary methods, the "puritanical" element which was then leavening the Church of England. He gave orders for the removal of the holy table from the centre of the aisle, that it might be placed as an altar at the east end of the church. He had no favour for the clergyman who refused to teach the doctrine of the Real Presence, and to uphold the Apostolical Succession; and his punishment for the violation of a ceremonial rubric was severe. He was equally strict in regard to the congregations, exacting—and for this none can blame him—reverent behaviour during

the hours of divine worship : men were not to laugh or talk, or to wear their hats during the prayers, or to receive the consecrated elements non-kneeling. Worshippers were to bend their heads canonically, and to turn to the East at the proper moments.<sup>1</sup> Among the State Papers is a document which certainly deserves attention. It is alluded to by Mr. Gardiner, but not so fully as our readers might desire. Sir Nathaniel Brent, the vicar-general, was commissioned by Laud to furnish a report of the result of the visitations he had made throughout the dioceses of Norwich, Peterborough, Lichfield, Worcester, Gloucester, Winchester, and Chichester. Sir Nathaniel's report gives us an insight into the condition of the country, and of the Church ; the offences complained of, and the punishments inflicted, are of the most curious interest. At Norwich we read that "the cathedral church is much out of order, the hangings of the choir are naught, the pavement not good, the spire of the steeple is quite down, the copes are fair, but want mending ;" that "many ministers appeared without priests' cloaks, and some of them are suspected of nonconformity, but they carried themselves so warily that nothing could be proved against them ;" and that the mayor and his brethren were "convented" for "walking indecently in the cathedral church every Sunday in prayer time before the sermon." At Lynn the report states that the three churches were exceeding fair and well kept, but that "there were 'divers Papists' who spoke scandalously of the Scriptures and of our religion ;" "they are already presented for it," says Sir Nathaniel, "and I have given order that they shall be brought into the High Commission Court." At Bungay, Mr. Fairfax, a curate, was "charged with divers points of nonconformity," but he renounced all upon his oath, and "faithfully promised to read the King's declaration for lawful sports." Mr. Daines, lecturer of Beccles, "a man of more than seventy years of age did never wear the surplice nor use the cross in baptism." At Ipswich, "I suspended one Mr. Cave, a precise minister of St. Helen's, for giving the sacrament of the Eucharist to non-kneelants." At St. Edmund's Bury, which was "formerly infected with Puritanism, but now is well reformed," the licence of a young curate was taken away "in regard to his great ignorance, being not able to tell me what *ecclesia* did signify." At Stamford "the ministers were generally in priests' cloaks, and they, with the laity, were all the time of Divine service uncovered, and still bowed at the pronouncing of the blessed name of Jesus." At Oundle a canonical admonition was given to the schoolmaster 'for expounding the ten commandments out of the writings of

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<sup>1</sup> The feeling of irritation against Laud's meddlesome interference with habitual usage, says Mr. Gardiner, was almost universal.

a silenced minister." In the town of Derby several of the clergy were suspended for drunkenness, and for "making very many foul clandestine marriages to the great offence of the country." At Worcester complaint was made of the state of the cathedral, and of the much walking about during the hours of divine service. The vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon was suspended "for suffering his poultry to roost, and his hogs to lodge in the church, for walking in the church to con his sermon in time of divine service," and other misdeeds. At Gloucester it was complained people were "much given to straggle from their own parishes to hear strangers." Thus, in the pages of this report, we see Laud not only zealous in rebuking irreverence and disorderly proceedings, but in encouraging the proper repair of churches and cathedrals. So far so good; but the Archbishop did not stay his hand at irreverence and building frailties; he was resolved to crush evangelicism of all kinds, and to force both clergy and laity to adopt the narrow and intolerant Anglicanism which he was pleased to call the "Catholic" religion. How he carried his views into effect we have but to study the prosecutions he instituted against Peter Smart, Alexander Leighton, Henry Sherfield, William Prynne, and others; which are common facts of history, and which are carefully related by Mr. Gardiner in his volumes upon this period. We think, however, his accounts of these prosecutions would have been more complete had he made more use of the original minute books of the proceedings of the High Court of Commission to be found among the State Papers. In the pages of these minute books occur many curious charges. For example, we read how certain vestrymen were fined ten pounds for their misconduct in publishing a new table of church fees; how one Nathaniel Barnard was fined the sum of one thousand pounds for seditious preaching at Cambridge; how the Lady Eleanor Touchet was fined three thousand pounds for publishing fanatical pamphlets; how John Laverock, clerk, was imprisoned in Bridewell, for preaching in London without a licence. We read further of the punishments inflicted upon men guilty of contempt of court; of preaching after deposition and degradation; of building houses upon consecrated land: we read of cock-fighting taking place before a crowd in church; of persons circulating Popish tracts, and the like. It must be admitted that many of the ecclesiastical reforms which Laud effected were beneficial, but the people saw that the spirit which prompted the Reformer and the Judge was not so much the remedying of abuses, as the right of asserting sacerdotal interference, and the desire to reduce the laity to that state of clerical bondage from which the Reformation had emancipated them. The nation rebelled; and ecclesiastical grievances, complained of but not redressed, were one of

the chief causes which led to the overthrow of the monarchy of Charles.<sup>1</sup>

As was the clerical policy of the bigoted Archbishop of Canterbury, so was the financial policy of the Sovereign. In the one instance the Church was to be supreme, in the other so was the prerogative. Obstinate, narrow-minded, but sincere, Charles resolved to render himself independent of all control. The counsels of his own resolve—of Laud and of Strafford—should be his Parliament, and he needed no other. He would fill his empty Exchequer by a system of direct taxation proceeding from the Crown. He dwarfed all his other exactions by the issue of his memorable writs for ship-money. The servile judges silenced opposition by giving their verdict in favour of the Crown. Crawley declared that it was a royal prerogative “to impose taxes without common consent of Parliament.” “The law,” said Berkeley, “recognized no king-yoking policy; the law is of itself an old and trusty servant of the king’s—it is his instrument and means which he useth to govern the people by. I never read nor heard that *lex* was *rex*, but it is common and most true that *rex* is *lex*, for he is *lex loquens*, a living, a speaking, an acting law.” This bias of the bench did not, however, convince the nation. Voices were raised on every side declaring that ship-money was utterly illegal; it was a tax, and the ancient customs of the realm, recently embodied in the Petition of Rights, had announced with no doubtful tone that a tax could only be levied by consent of Parliament. If the king could raise ship-money without consent of Parliament he need not, it was said, ever summon a Parliament again. The question thus became narrowed to this issue:—Did Parliament form an integral part of the Constitution, or did it not? The nation asserted that it did, and their belief on this point was the second cause which ushered in the fall of the monarchy. The legality which Englishmen then cherished was the legality of a nation which had hitherto preserved unbroken the traditions of self-government. Spoken or unspoken—beneath all the technicalities of the lawyers, beneath all the records of the antiquaries, there remained an under-tone of reliance upon the nation itself. Parliaments had been established to gather into a focus the national resolve. It was a new thing that a

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gardiner writes:—“The notion that Laud and Strafford were leagued together in a conspiracy to lay England at the feet of the Pope is so entirely in contradiction with the facts of the case, that a modern reader is tempted at once to treat the charge as a fiction, deliberately invented to serve the ends of a political party. To give way to this temptation would be to commit the greatest injustice. The conviction was shared not merely by Pym and Hampden, who afterwards opposed the King, but by Falkland and Capel, who afterwards supported him, and its existence, as a conscientious belief, can alone explain the vehemence of anger which it produced.”



king should treat the policy and religion of the nation as if they concerned himself alone. If Englishmen opposed such a sentiment because it was strange, they opposed it still more because it was degrading.

And now a new difficulty arose. By his arbitrary interference in religious matters, his illegal impositions, his unconstitutional courts of law, Charles had aroused a dangerous spirit of disloyalty in the nation. Worked upon by the mischievous suggestions of Laud, the king had resolved to carry out the ecclesiastical policy in Scotland which his father before him endeavoured to establish. He would crush the independence of Presbyterianism north of the Tweed, and force every kirk and assembly from Wick to Berwick to accept the hated Five Articles which James had drawn up. And now, in July, 1637, an order was issued from the Privy Council that an English liturgy was henceforth to be used in all churches and cathedrals of Scotland. The storm of indignation with which the order was received is well known. The congregations refused to listen to the formal words of prayer, and in such places where the minister insisted upon using them he was mobbed and his church half wrecked by the angry assembly. At the cathedral church of St. Giles', in Edinburgh, the dean ascended the pulpit to read prayers; shouts of disapprobation from the women drowned his voice. "The mass," cried one, "is entered among us." "Baal is in the Church," said another. Opprobrious epithets were applied to the dean. Then the Bishop of Edinburgh rose up to still the tumult; he begged the noisy zealots to desist from their profanation of holy ground, but his words conveyed an idea which was utterly abhorrent to the Puritan mind, and the clamour waxed all the louder under the ill-judged exhortation. A stool was aimed at his head, and grazed the shoulders of the dean who sat behind him. At this final insult the magistrates were called upon to clear the church of the rioters, and it was with difficulty the building was emptied. What happened in Edinburgh happened in every town in the northern kingdom. Riots everywhere ensued, and the people, led by the aristocracy and their chief ministers, banded themselves together, and openly opposed the hated innovation. The clauses of the Covenant were framed, and eagerly subscribed to. Resistance so determined created considerable consternation in the Council Chamber at Whitehall. Charles was ready to make concessions, but the stern Covenanters declined to enter into any compromise. They assumed the aggressive. "We are busy here," writes a Mr. Craig, from Edinburgh, to Lord Stewart, "preaching, praying, and drilling; and if his majesty and his subjects of England come hither they will find a harder welcome than before unless we be made quit of the

bishops." To conquer this insubordination Charles, in March, 1639, marched the forces he had collected against the "traitorous Scots." On arriving at Berwick, however, the king thought it more prudent to come to terms with his foes. The treaty of Berwick was signed, but its terms were regarded as null and void by the Covenanters. The Scots refused to obey its clauses, to dismantle their forts, to dismiss their unlawful meetings, or to recognize the royal authority over their proceedings.

The king now applied for counsel to one whose advice was seldom given in vain; he wrote to Wentworth. He wished, he said, to consult the Lord Deputy touching the army; "but I have much more," he added, "and indeed too much, to desire your counsel and attendance for some time, which I think not fit to express by letter more than this—the Scots Covenant begins to spread too far." Across St. George's Channel, Wentworth had ruled the people as they had never been ruled before. He quelled all opposition by the vigour of his punishments; he re-organized the army; he freed commerce from the pirates that had infested the Irish coasts, he levied fines, he raised taxes, he established monopolies, he planted new districts, he introduced the general cultivation of flax; he raised the fortunes of the Emerald Isle to a high pitch of prosperity. Within four years the produce of the customs rose from £12,000 a year to £40,000, and in the fifth year of his power he wrote home that the annual revenue would exceed the expenditure by 60,000 pounds.

My lord deputy of Ireland [writes Sir Thomas Roe to the Queen of Bohemia] doth great wonders, and governs like a king, and hath taught that kingdom to show us an example of envy by having parliaments, and knowing wisely how to use them.

Wentworth, in November, 1639, arrived in London, after a stormy passage across the St. George's Channel, and at once became the most prominent member of that secret Council, composed of Charles, Laud, and the Marquis of Hamilton, which now managed the affairs of the nation. He had been opposed to the first campaign against the Scots, but when the conduct of the Covenanters, subsequent to the Treaty of Berwick, was laid before him he declared for war. His assistance was no lukewarm aid. He advised the king to assemble a parliament; he pledged himself to bring over a large subsidy from Ireland; he proposed a loan in England, and subscribed to it by way of example the enormous sum of 20,000 pounds, equal to £100,000 of our present money. These promises, as Earl of Strafford, he carried out, but Nemesis was swiftly weaving her toils, and soon the king and his mischievous advisers were to fall victims to her vindictive wiles. Parliament met—known in

history as the "Short Parliament"—and was soon dismissed. The House of Commons demanded redress for the grievances it had sustained at the hands of the king; Charles demanded twelve subsidies, and declined to comply with the wishes of the popular Chamber; in return the Commons refused to grant the necessary supplies; and in a hasty fit of passion the king dissolved the Houses. The Short Parliament sat for three weeks, and, so far as actual results were concerned, it accomplished nothing at all. Yet its work was as memorable as that of any parliament in our history, for what it proposed was nothing short of a complete change in the relations between the king and the nation; it announced that Parliament was the soul of the Commonwealth, and asserted what the Revolution of 1688 afterwards carried out, that the House of Commons was the central force of the State. Raising funds as best he could Charles pushed on the war with Scotland; Strafford went north as lieutenant-general, but on reaching Durham he heard of the rout of a detachment of the king's troops at Newburn, and was forced to fall back upon York. Then the end came; a peace was entered into with the victorious Scots; the nation was indignant with the excesses and failures of the prerogative, and the famous Long Parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster.

Upon the subject of the illegal taxation introduced by Charles the volumes of Mr. Gardiner, who is more favourable to the Cavalier cause than several of our modern historians, throws much new light. The outcry against ship-money was undoubtedly one of the main reasons which led to the Civil War. Yet, says Mr. Gardiner, "no unprejudiced person can deny that the existence of a powerful fleet was indispensable to England's safety." The sum demanded by Charles for the equipment of the Royal Navy was no more than the case required; and the charge which "has so frequently been brought against him of spending the money thus levied on objects unconnected with its ostensible purpose is without a shadow of foundation." It is perfectly certain that though the grant of tonnage and poundage was originally made in order to provide the Crown with the means of guarding the seas, the expenses of government had so far increased that if tonnage and poundage had been applied to that purpose on the scale that had then become necessary, the exchequer would soon have been in a condition of bankruptcy. But the question of the hour, as we have remarked, was not whether ship-money was necessary or not, but whether the king had the right, of his own mere motion, to levy the tax. If he had, then the right assumed by him was fatal to the parliamentary constitution of England. The royalists asserted that he had; Hampden and his followers maintained the contrary; and hence the discontent which terminated in civil war. Ship-

money was peculiarly adapted, says Mr. Gardiner, to bring into a focus all the political dissatisfaction which existed in England. The incidence of the tax was felt by all but the very poorest, and the question at issue was capable of being summed up in a few terse words, which would fix themselves on the dullest understanding. As was however to be expected, the grievance of ship-money did not stand alone. "Other complaints," writes our author, "were heard of mischiefs inflicted for the most part on special classes or special localities which were each of them separately of less importance than that caused by the ship-money, but which, taken together, were sufficient to cause a considerable amount of irritation." And these "mischiefs" were as numerous as they were harassing. Ever since 1634 the Forest Courts had been unusually active in punishing those persons who it was alleged had offended against the law by infringing upon the royal forests. The fines set were enormous, and in many cases the boundaries of the forests had been greatly enlarged. The bounds of Rockingham Forest had been reckoned as measuring six miles in circumference; they were now to measure sixty. It was true that the fines paid into the Exchequer were small when compared with the original demands; but they were large enough to cause considerable discontent in the minds of those who believed themselves to be buying off on compulsion a purely imaginary claim. The spirit of monopoly was also everywhere vigorous. The Privy Council of Charles not only believed itself empowered by law to establish new corporations with the sole right of trade, but to regulate trade in every possible way. The making of bricks, the shipping of coal, the manufacture of soap, the production of salt, the building of houses, the business of the brewers and maltsters, vintners and starch-makers, were all in the hands of the few, with the inevitable consequence that the articles, in the absence of healthy competition, were both expensive and inferior. The King, however, received a heavy tax on all production, and he was content.

Mr. Gardiner deals kindly with the character of Charles, and with his estimate of the ill-starred Sovereign, since it is always wise to hear both sides of the question, we conclude our criticism of the volumes before us:—

From whatever side Charles's conduct is approached [writes Mr. Gardiner] the result is the same. He failed because morally, intellectually and politically he was isolated in the midst of his generation. He had no wish to erect a despotism, to do injustice or to heap up wealth at the expense of his subjects. If he had confidence in his own judgment, his confidence was not entirely without justification. He was a shrewd critic of other men's mistakes, and usually succeeded in

hitting the weak point of an enemy's argument, though it often happened that, taken as a whole, the argument of his opponents was far stronger than his own. Especially on theological questions he was able to hold his own against trained disputants. On all matters relating to art he was an acknowledged master. His collection of pictures was the finest and most complete in Europe. He had that technical knowledge which enabled him instinctively to distinguish between the work of one painter and another. He was never happier than when he was conversing with musicians, painters, sculptors and architects. He treated Rubens and Vandyke as his personal friends. But the brain which could test an argument or a picture could never test a man. Nothing could ever convince him of the unworthiness of those with whom he had been in the long habit of familiar intercourse. Nothing could ever persuade him of the worthiness of those who were conscientiously opposed to his Government. There was no gradation either in his enmity or his friendship. An Eliot or a Pym was to him just the same virulent slanderer as a Leighton or a Bastwick. A Wentworth and a Holland were held in equal favour: and some who were ready to sacrifice their lives in his cause were constantly finding obstacles thrown in their path through the king's soft-heartedness to gratify the prayers of some needy courtier. In his unwarranted self-reliance Charles enormously under-estimated the difficulties of government, and especially of a Government such as his. He would have nothing to say to "thorough," because he could not understand that thoroughness was absolutely essential. He would not get rid of slothful or incompetent officials, would not set aside private interests for great public ends, would not give himself the trouble to master the details of the business on which he was engaged. He thought that he had done everything in ridding himself of Parliaments, though in reality he had done but little. He did not see that parliaments had roots in the local organizations of the country, and that as long as these organizations remained intact they would be ready to blossom into parliaments again at the first favourable opportunity.

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### Short Notices.

*The Church Quarterly Review.* No. 29. October, 1882.  
Spottiswoode & Co.

IN this number appear some ably-written articles; all are worth reading, as we think, though here and there, while we read, we are constrained to make a private protest. The article on Mozley's "Reminiscences" would seem to be the work of an eminent ecclesiastical layman, known as well in the House of Commons as on Church Congress platforms. "The Social and Religious Condition of Wales" contains some striking quotations; and those of our readers who were interested in the articles by Canon Powell Jones on the proposed Educational legislation for the Principality may be glad to read this *Quarterly* paper. In regard to the new Greek text, the *Church Quarterly* replies to Canon Cook's volume

lately reviewed in the *CHURCHMAN*; but the reply, it strikes us, is feeble. We quote the following from an article on ants:—

Some ants, we are told, exhibit a more wonderful instinct than the mere storage of grain. They are true farmers. They cultivate their own crops. The *Pogonomyrmex barbatus*, a species inhabiting Texas, is said to extirpate from the ground to a distance of five or six feet from their nests all other species of plants except *Aristida oligantha*, the grains of which they carefully stow away in their barns, and which is consequently called ant rice. Sir John Lubbock corroborates this statement in some measure by the remark that he has himself "observed in Algeria that certain species of plants are allowed by the ants to grow on their nests." That in the actual process of harvesting their grain the ants have learnt the use of division of labour was observed by some very ancient naturalists. *Ælian* describes how one party perform the operation of reaping, and another that of carrying, the former severing and throwing down the spikelets of corn "to the people below," τῶ θήμῳ τῶ κάτω. This statement has been corroborated by Mr. Moggridge, who has seen "ants engaged in cutting the capsules of certain plants, drop them, and allow their companions below to carry them away."

The English ants do not store up grain, but they show an equally remarkable proof of foresight, or of what would be foresight if it were not, as we believe, the result of an instinct, and involving no knowledge of the consequences. It is well known that different species of aphides provides food for ants. The aphides secrete a sticky sweet juice, which they emit on being stroked by the antennæ of the ant, and which the latter instantly devours. Sir John Lubbock has added to our previous knowledge of the singular relations between the ants and their domestic animals—their "cows," as they have been called—by showing that ants collect the autumn-laid eggs of aphides and carry them into the shelter of their nests, where they tend them with the greatest care through the long winter months. In March the young aphides are brought out and placed on the young shoots of the plant which serves as their natural habitat as well as their food. In the case observed the ant was no other than the common English yellow meadow ant (*Lasius flavus*), and the plant from which the eggs were removed, and on which the young live stock were deposited, was no other than the common daisy.

**Botany and Religion.** Illustrations of the Works of God in the Structure, Functions, Arrangement, and General Distribution of Plants. Fourth Edition. By J. H. BALFOUR, A.M., M.D. Pp. 420. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1882.

The first edition of this excellent work, dedicated to the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, appeared several years ago. For some time the pious and learned Professor's book was out of print. The present edition, which we heartily recommend, has been revised and enlarged. In his preface Dr. Balfour says:—

The number of woodcuts has also been increased. It is hoped that this work will thus be both fitted for the purpose of serving as a popular introduction to Botany, and at the same time for directing attention to some of the wonderful adaptations in the vegetable kingdom.

**Alone in Crowds.** By ANNETTE LYSER. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Stories by Annette Lyster, these last two years, have been widely read. With many gifts for writing Tales, not the least of which is a light and graceful touch, this young author has done good work; her writings:

are attractive and wholesome, with an elevating element, and realness of tone. "Alone in Crowds" relates experiences on a lonely island, in Ireland, and in the English Borderland: some of the incidents are improbable.

*Sermons preached in Toronto.* By GEORGE WHITAKER, M.A., Rector of Newton Toney, Wilts. Rivingtons.

Mr. Whitaker was formerly Provost of Trinity College, Toronto, and Archdeacon of York, in the diocese of Toronto; and most of these sermons were preached in the chapel of Trinity College. Many pages of the ex-Archdeacon's book we have read with pleasure; and we may quote as a specimen passage an extract from the sermon on *Guarding the Deposit*:—

Once more, brethren, let me present to you that which appears to many a further and most cogent reason for unflinching steadfastness and faithfulness to our high trust. I refer to the remarkable position in which the Church of England has stood ever since the Reformation, in respect of all other Christian bodies throughout the world; and more than ever at this day stands, by virtue of her own wide extension and of her intercommunion with other branches of the Church Catholic, holding the same faith and observing the same order with herself. George Herbert, in the seventeenth century, gave beautiful expression to his profound sense of her strangely unique position; while the hopes and responsibilities attaching to this position have been recognized, in very striking terms, by the Romanist, Joseph de Maistre, in the early part of this century. The note of warning and encouragement, the invitation to trembling hope and expectation, to patient abiding in the place where God has set us, humbly preparing ourselves to do His bidding, and careful, above all things, not to forfeit, by any act of impatience or self-will, that vantage ground which has been so wonderfully assigned to us—this note, I say, has been again sounded, a few months since, in England, by a distinguished prelate of our Church. His words are: "If there be any guiding hand in the progress of history, if there be any Supreme Providence in the control of events, if there be any Divine Presence and any Divine call—then the position of England, as the mother of so many colonies and dependencies, the heart and centre of the world's commerce and manufacture, and the position of the English Church, standing midway between extremes in theological teaching and ecclesiastical order, point to the Church of this nation, with the very finger of God Himself, as called by Him to the lofty task of reconciling a distracted Christendom and healing the wounds of the nations."<sup>1</sup>

For the sake, then, of this inspiring hope, under the sense of this overwhelming responsibility, let us as members of that vast communion, whose worship ascends to God from well-nigh every portion of our globe, resolve by His help to "guard and deposit" which He has committed to our trust, and to stand stiff in the safe paths of duty and obedience, if haply our eyes or our children's eyes may be blessed by seeing this great "salvation of God."

*Studies on the Old Testament.* By F. GODET, D.D. Edited by W. H. LYTTELTON, M.A., Rector of Hagley, and Canon of Gloucester, Pp. 343. Second Edition. Hodder & Stoughton, 1882.

Professor Godet's writings are so well known that few words are necessary in noticing a second edition of his "Studies," whether on the Old Testament or the New. Dr. Godet is a learned eloquent expositor, suggestive and spiritual. The work of translating, by the Hon. Mrs. Lyttelton, has been remarkably well done. A single paragraph may be quoted on Isaiah liii. The Professor writes:—

All the rationalistic subterfuges by which this description is applied to the Jewish nation suffering for the heathen, or to the company of the prophets suf-

<sup>1</sup> Sermon of the Bishop of Durham, on the opening of the S.P.C.K. rooms, Northumberland Avenue, November 3, 1879.

fering for the nation, are overthrown by this single word the *Man of sorrows*, which can only be applied to a person. M. Renan, from whom we have borrowed a part of this translation, evidently feels this. Accordingly, he applies this passage to some one of those unknown righteous men whose blood crimsoned the streets of Jerusalem at the taking of that city. Read and judge. The sin of the world expiated, the designs of God accomplished, eternal intercession made by — some righteous man put to death by Nebuchadnezzar ! This interpretation is the note of despair.

*Griffin Ahoy ! A Yacht Cruise to the Levant, and Wanderings in Egypt, Syria, the Holy Land, Greece, and Italy, in 1881.* By General E. H. MAXWELL, C.B. Pp. 326. Hurst & Blackett, 1882.

This is a very readable book, and from almost every portion of it one could give an interesting extract. General Maxwell set sail from Falmouth with a party of friends, in the yacht *Griffin*, January, 1881. A fine barque-rigged yacht of 315 tons, with auxiliary screw, the *Griffin*, is built as strong as a gunboat, and is very fast: the crew, says our author, were captain, first and second mate, and seven able-bodied seamen, as fine a set of fellows as you could meet anywhere. The engineer had three men under him in his department ; there were cook, steward, and other servants, male and female, with the owner's gamekeeper, M'Gregor, whose bagpipes were often heard on the wide Atlantic Ocean.

*A Pilgrimage to the Shrine of our Lady of Loreto.* By GEORGE FALKNER. With Illustrations from Engravings and Photographs. Manchester: J. E. Cornish.

In this most tastefully executed volume Mr. Falkner gives a narrative of his impressions in a recent visit to Loreto, adding the result of some historical inquiries. From an artistic and literary point of view the book deserves hearty praise. Concerning the famous "shrine," with its pious fraud stories, the author's remarks are pertinent; he adds that the evidences of poverty and laziness which present themselves around Loreto do not speak much for its moral or social influence on the people.

*A Commentary on the Revised Version.* By W. G. HUMPHRY, B.D. Pp. 474. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, & Co.

Some such work as this was really needed : and for writing it, probably, no man was better qualified than Prebendary Humphry. He was one of the Company of Revisers, and has long been esteemed a scholarly, judicious, and deeply reverent writer. His expository or explanatory comments we have tested, here and there, with satisfaction ; they are suggestive, unprejudiced, and of much ability. The volume will prove exceedingly useful. It is designed chiefly as a companion for the English reader who studies the Revised Version with a view to his edification or instruction ; but many students who have a fair knowledge of Latin and Greek will be thankful for Mr. Humphry's aid. To theological students generally, indeed, this commentary will prove an enjoyable companion. We should add that it is admirably printed.

1. *John Huss.* By A. H. WRATISLAW, M.A.

2. *Judea and her Rulers, from Nebuchadnezzar to Vespasian.* By M. BRAMSTON. S.P.C.K.

These two volumes of "The Home Library" of the venerable Church Society, like the other volumes of the series, are well printed in clear type, bound with a neat cloth cover, and cheap. The contents, so far as we have examined, are sound and good. Mr. Wratislaw gives the gis'



of recent publications in Bohemia, Erben (1868), Palacký (1869), and Professor Tomek (1875).

*Bright and Fair.* A Book for Young Ladies. By the Rev. GEORGE EVERARD, M.A. Nisbet & Co.

This admirable little book is a companion or sequel to "Strong and Free," which we recommended some months ago as the very best book for young men, in its way, so far as our knowledge goes. With "Bright and Fair" we are greatly pleased. The esteemed author is eminently practical, though at the same time he is strongly and staunchly doctrinal; what he writes is sound, and, if we may so say, *sensible*. The little book before us is beautifully printed: it deserves a very large circulation.

*Plutarch's Lives.* Vol. IV. London. George Bell & Sons, York Street. Covent Garden. 1882.

We have noticed the three preceding volumes of this ably-executed work, and gladly call attention to the volume before us, which completes it, and contains an index. The translation is partly by the late Mr. George Long, and partly by Mr. Aubrey Stewart, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. These four volumes belong to "Bohn's Standard Library."

*Be Kind to Your Old Age.* S.P.C.K.

In this capital little book (very cheap) we have "a village discussion of the Post-Office aids to thrift." The discussion has enough *story*-thread to make it interesting. The subject is important as regards both artisans and peasants.

*The Union Jack.* Vol. III. By G. A. HENTY. Sampson Low & Co.

This is a handsome volume, full of stirring tales of adventure by land and sea; a most acceptable present for boys in general. We have thought that in a magazine like the *Union Jack* something beside fiction should appear; and again in noticing vol. ii. we gave a hint to this effect. We notice with pleasure that in the new volume "the programme will be altered," and "a new departure in literature for boys will be taken."

From the Religious Tract Society we have received, too late for worthy notice in our present number, *Sea Pictures*, by Dr. MACAULAY, and the Annual Volumes of the *Boys' Own Paper* and the *Girls' Own Paper*: handsome gift-books, well illustrated, in every way attractive, and wonderfully cheap. We were among the first to welcome the issue of the *Boys' Own Paper*, a magazine undeniably needed; we have watched its progress with interest and satisfaction; it has done, and is doing, great good service. When the monthly number has been read by the boys of the Rectory, it is eagerly welcomed by the elder lads in the parish school; its pages are always bright, wholesome, and informing. With *Sea Pictures*, a companion of the well known volumes, *Swiss Pictures*, and pen and pencil "pictures" in Egypt, Palestine, and other lands, we are greatly pleased.

In the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* appears a paper on "Caste in Mission Churches," by the late Rev. JAMES VAUGHAN.—Miss GORDON CUMMING writes in the *Leisure Hour* on "Mysteries of the South Pacific."—*Friendly Greetings* (R.T.S.) is quite up to its usual mark.—In the *Quiver* appears a paper on "Pastor Harms;" and Canon Boyd Carpenter contributes a study on "Cain."—The *Antiquary* (E. Stock),

which well maintains its high reputation, contains several interesting articles.

From Messrs. Hildesheimer & Faulkner (41, Jewin Street, E.C.), we have received specimens of their new Cards—Christmas, New Year, &c. The catalogue of the competitive designs exhibited by this firm at the Suffolk Street Galleries, in August last, will serve to show with what enterprise they began their task for the present season. The judges for the prizes were Mr. Millais, Mr. Marcus Stone, and Mr. G. A. Storey. Of the specimens which we have received it is hardly possible to speak too highly—a reviewer's store of adjectives, in fact, with so many choice cards before him is soon exhausted. To particularize a few:—No. 783, "Memory and Hope" (£75 prize), is a charming picture, as is also No. 785. No. 738 (£100 prize) is an exquisite landscape. No. 728 (£50 prize), "Puppies and Kittens;" No. 800, Christmas Roses, Azaleas, &c.; No. 798 (£100 prize), are really pictures of the highest class of art.

Three attractive and interesting tales, good gift-books, with pretty covers (S.P.C.K.), are *A Brave Fight*, *Out of the Shadows*, and *The Good Ship Barbara*. The last named story is written by Mr. S. W. SADLER, R.N., whose *Slaves and Cruisers* was recommended in the CHURCHMAN a year ago. In that portion of the *Good Ship Barbara*, says Mr. Sadler, "where the scene is laid on the West Coast of Africa, it has been pleasant to recall memories of many years spent in the cruising squadron, during what may be termed the palmy days of the slave trade. . . . It has fallen to the lot of the author to be present at the capture of no less than thirty slavers." Naturally, his descriptions are *real*; and we have a very readable tale, with a good deal of exciting matter. *A Brave Fight* is a story about the Rev. William Lee, of Calverton, near Nottingham. It is certain that the art of "Frame-work Knitting" was Mr. Lee's invention; but little is known of his life, and nothing of the steps through which this country clergyman was led to the construction of a machine, which, considering the date of invention, 1589, was a marvel of genius and patience. Of Inventor Lee's life there are two versions the one "ending happily," the other sad. Our author, the Rev. E. N. HOARE, M.A., Rector of Acrise (whose *Brave Men of Eyam* we recommended last year), relates that Mr. Lee was "disappointed in love," died a pauper, and was buried in a nameless grave. *Out of the Shadows* may be called "a love story;" it may teach young women many good lessons. We quite agree about having a Rogation service.

Under the fanciful title *Brothers of Pity* (S.P.C.K.) appear several cleverly written "Tales of Beasts and Men," by the author of *Mrs. Overthway's Remembrances* and other well-known books. We do not like the "Brothers of Pity" Tale; the ideas to our mind are not harmonious; something, at least, *jars*. Children, no doubt, bury their pet birds and beasts in quiet garden corners, with funeral ceremony, and so forth; and possibly to them this Tale may appear "all right."

From the S.P.C.K. we have received two additional volumes of "Diocean Histories;" *York* by Canon ORNSBY, and *Oxford* by the Rev. E. MARSHALL, M.A., F.S.A.; both volumes are readable and informing.

A very cheap *Bible Student's Handbook* has been published by Messrs. Ward, Lock & Co. It contains a good deal of matter, and is doctrinally sound.

*A Baker's Dozen* (S.P.C.K.) is a pleasing and well-written story. Dorothea takes charge of thirteen young folks, children of relatives; her tact, good temper, and self-denial are well brought out; and the boys' scrapes are not only amusing but instructive. The tone is good. Little

Mabel's asking the pompous Sir George to tie up her sister's boot-lace is a charming picture.

A second edition of *Diet for the Sick*, by Dr. RIDGE (J. & A. Churchill), has been called for. It contains many valuable hints. A little book and cheap.

## ON "THE CLAIMS OF THE CONVOCATIONS OF THE CLERGY."

*To the Editor of THE CHURCHMAN.*

SIR,—Being allowed by your courtesy a few pages in which to examine the learned arguments of Mr. Craig, Q.C., on "The Claims of the Convocations as to the Prayer Book,"<sup>1</sup> I fear I must limit myself to the discussion of his view of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, the limits of space forbid more.

I will, in the first instance, assume the version given of the proceedings of the Parliament 1 Eliz. to be correct; then test its constitutional character; then show what consequences flow from it. I will then inquire what grounds of historical evidence exist for questioning its correctness. We are told, p. 440:—

*It is neither necessary nor constitutional to go back beyond the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity. The great principle of that Act was, that, then and for the future, the nation, by its Parliament, undertook the duty of prescribing the manner, the forms, and the terms, in which the public worship of the Almighty should be conducted, in opposition to the notion of allowing the ecclesiastical servants of the nation . . . to prescribe to the nation how Divine worship should be conducted, and how all other Divine offices should be performed.*

We are further told that, "*upon this Elizabethan settlement everything since has depended*;" and an argument is maintained against the necessity of the concurrence of the Convocations to "legislation affecting the order of Divine service, or to the means of enforcing the existing national rights as to the conduct of it," on the ground that this would give them a veto, and that such veto would "practically amount to the whole legislative power;" by which "*the whole Reformation might be undone*." This is stated with the air of a *reductio ad absurdum*. The italics are not mine in the passages cited.

I Let me, then, test the character of this alleged "Elizabethan settlement," by comparing it with other documents of unquestionable authority, from the standpoint of constitutional law. Henry VIII. bears generally in our history the character of the most arbitrary of our monarchs since King John. In this arbitrariness he was allowed, or rather invested, with the fullest license by his Parliament, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 3, giving his proclamations the force of Statute; but it never presumed to give them the force of Canons, nor to arm him with any power of encroaching on the spirituality of the realm. A report of the Convocation of the Lower House of Canterbury,<sup>2</sup> which I shall have occasion further to quote, says of him that:—

He never passed any important Act, or published any important document affecting the religious mind of his people, without, at least, declaring himself in harmony with the clergy in their Convocations, and with the Catholic Church.

<sup>1</sup> Contained in the July, August, and September numbers of THE CHURCHMAN, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> July, 1879.

I will give a few extracts which show what the royal declarations on this behalf were.

The preamble<sup>1</sup> of 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12, declares that—

the king has full power to give justice in all causes . . . without restraint or appeal to any foreign prince or potentate; the body spiritual of the realm having power, so that when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, it was declared and interpreted by that part of the body politic called the Spirituality, now being usually called the English Church, which hath always been and is for knowledge, integrity and number, sufficient to declare and determine all doubts without the intermeddling of any exterior person.

Now this preamble leaves the Spirituality to determine "causes of the law divine, or of spiritual learning," including, necessarily, those which arise out of the "manner, forms and terms of Divine worship." But if "the nation by its Parliament undertakes the duty of prescribing that manner, &c.," then the right of deciding those causes becomes nugatory, because the Parliament might constantly remodel that "manner, &c.," of the subjects presented for such decisions, and we should reach the absurdity of courts in perpetual conflict with the law which they had to administer. In other words, the acknowledged right of the Spirituality in respect to "causes" is futile and illusory, unless the right be allowed of framing the rules on which those decisions are to proceed. It remains, of course, with the Legislature to give those rules the force of temporal authority.

Further, the Act known as "The Submission of the Clergy," by the concessions which it makes of assembling only by royal writ, and not enacting canons without royal consent (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19) the more clearly establishes what it reserves—viz., the constitutional right of the Spirituality, with such royal writ and consent, to legislate for the Church. The restraints thus imposed on the exercise of the power prove the inherency of the power itself. King Henry was not such a dotard as to seek to restrain the excesses of a power which was non-existent, or which belonged not to the body which he was restraining, but to a totally different body, external to it. If the power alleged had existed in the Parliament, these Statutes of Henry VIII. were simply the greatest nonsense that ever wasted the time of a deliberative body.

That no such notion as that of investing Parliament with the absolute power of Church legislation was present to the mind of Henry VIII. and his advisers, is further manifest from the same Act, sec. 7, which recognizes existing Church law, so far as not contrary to existing statutes or prerogative, as still in force, subject to a Commission of Review then appointed, consisting of thirty-two members, of whom one-half were bishops and clergy. This branch of the Reformation—that of Church law—engaged the labours of those reverend and learned persons during the remaining years of that monarch; and was, on the express petition of the Lower House of Canterbury, in 1547, resumed under Statute 3 and 4 Edward VI., 11, by a precisely similar commission, acting under the supervision of Archbishop Cranmer. Their labours issued in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, of which Strype says, that it would certainly have become law had King Edward VI.'s life been spared. The whole had originated in the consent of the clergy to the plan of revision of Church law in 1532, was, as I have said, revived by the clergy in 1547—that is, as soon as ever Edward came to the throne, and had thus the full consent and concurrence of the Spirituality. By 1552 the project only

<sup>1</sup> I have somewhat abridged and modernized the phraseology, but with a substantial difference.

waited for the assent of the Crown, for which it has waited ever since. Now if the absolutism of Parliament is a true doctrine, here were twenty years of learned labour, protracted through several successive Convocations and Parliaments, utterly wasted. These Church laws would, with the royal assent, have obtained the force of law at once, and needed no Statute of the realm to confer their proper validity upon them. But if the doctrine which I am controverting be true, the whole proceedings, alike on the part of the Crown, its Commissioners and the Convocation, becomes a tedious absurdity. The facts prove, as plainly as facts can speak, that Parliament then, and up to the end of King Edward's reign, claimed no such power; and that the claim would not have been conceded, had it been made. I pass over the Philip and Mary period, as founding its Acts virtually on the assumption of the Pope's spiritual authority over the realm, and therefore out of the present question.

It remains, then, that the Elizabethan Statute, on which this novel theory is wholly built, was, if enacted without the consent of Convocation, utterly without justification in precedent; and so far from striking the key-note of the constitutional doctrine on the subject, was, if passed under the conditions represented, wholly unconstitutional.

I will cite some other *dicta* of King Henry VIII. on the same subject which confirm the same view. He himself explained to the Convocation of York his own sense of the Supreme Headship of the Church which he claimed, as follows :—

As to spiritual things . . . forasmuch as they be no worldly or temporal things, they have no worldly or temporal head; but only Christ, that did institute them; by whose ordinances they be ministered here by mortal men, elect, chosen and ordained, as God hath willed for that purpose, who be the clergy.

"Spiritual things," then, in this monarch's view, were ministered by the "ordinances" of "the clergy." This is quite consistent with the concurrence of Statute being necessary to give them the force of temporal law, fortified by temporal penalties; but quite inconsistent with the power of Parliament to supersede them and substitute at will its own "ordinances" for theirs. The former is my view, and in the latter, I believe, I have not mis-stated Mr. Craig's.

Again, in propounding to the clergy in their Convocation the question of his divorce from Anne of Cleves, the same monarch says, 1540 :—

We who are wont to abide by your judgment in all other weightier matters concerning this Church of England, which affect Ecclesiastical government and religion . . . have thought it meet . . . that explanation and communication should be made to you, . . . so that we may lawfully venture under the authority of our whole Church . . . to do and effect that . . . which you may decree to be lawful according to the laws of God.

According to the view which I impugn, King Henry was wholly wrong in his rule of "abiding by the judgment" of the Spirituality "in weightier matters which affect ecclesiastical government and religion." He ought on that view to have gone straight to Parliament on all such questions, and told the Spirituality that the matter was to be settled there. On the contrary, in the Act for declaring void his marriage with Anne of Cleves, 1540, it is expressly recited that the clergy in "a Synod universal of this Realm" had so decided.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the "Ten Articles" of 1536, the "Institution

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<sup>1</sup> "What is the sacred Synod of this nation?" Mr. Craig asks on p. 441. "This nation," he adds, "has had no such Synod since the days when Papal legates were allowed to hold councils here. The English constitution, since the Papal power in England ceased, knows only one national Synod—namely

of a Christian Man," 1537, and the "Act of the Six Articles" of 1539, bear indelible marks of the action or authority of Convocation. The preamble of this last recites the "consent of the King's Highness," the "assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and other learned men of the clergy in their Convocation," and the "consent of the Commons in Parliament," as concurring in its enactment. The Act 32 Hen. VIII., c. 26, says that—

All decrees and ordinances, which, according to God's Word and Christ's Gospel, by the king's advice and confirmation by his letters patent, shall be made and ordained by . . . the whole clergy of England, in and upon the matter of Christian Religion and Christian Faith, and the lawful Rites, Ceremonies, and Observations of the same shall be in every point thereof believed, obeyed and performed . . . upon the pains therein comprised ;

with a reservation of anything repugnant to existing Statute. Now, since this right of the Spirituality, here so plainly set forth, remained intact up to 1540, as this Act shows, it is incumbent on the opponent to show when they lost it, so as to create a totally new point of departure in 1559. This has not been done, and I believe cannot be done. And this strong antecedent presumption would suffice to rebut any contrary presumption arising from the later Act of Elizabeth, even if there were nothing to carry the presumption further in the intervening twenty years, and if that Elizabethan Statute were correctly represented. But, on the contrary, the Edwardian Statutes of 1547 (Communion in both kinds) and 1548-9 (c. 1, First Prayer Book, and c. 21, Marriage of Priests) tell precisely the same story. In 1549-50 (Ordinal), a Commission of Bishops and clergy, all members of Convocation, have their acts legalized beforehand. In 1551-2 (Second Prayer Book) the concurrence of Convocation is not expressed, but Heylin ("Hist. Ref.," p. 107) says, they had considered the matter, and Wilkins, iv. 68, states that they were sitting during the debates in Parliament on this Act. In our present Act of Uniformity (14 Car. II. c. 4,) it is recited that the Prayer Book of Elizabeth, which was this same "Second" book, with a few changes (the most important taken from the "First" book), was compiled by the "reverend bishops and clergy;" and the journals of the Convocation of Canterbury, which perished a few years later, were extant when that recital was made. We are therefore entitled to assume its truth.

Now, if instead of the liberties of the Church, those, say of the City of London had been in question, and such a catena of authorities had existed in their favour, I am persuaded that no lawyer would have thought for a moment of disputing the weight of evidence in their favour. It is only that the Church is politically weak, whereas a great city is strong, which opens the door to controversy on the subject. Hallam<sup>1</sup> records that, "In almost every reign (up to the Revolution) the innate tone of arbitrary power had produced more or less of oppression;" but the Church has been oppressed throughout; and, except during the great Civil War, more since the Revolution than before. But throughout the whole of the Reformation struggle, the action of the Crown was arbitrary and oppressive to the Church. Let me notice a few of the graver instances of tyranny. I am not sure that I have the numbers exact; but the following will be found to be a fair approximation to those of the bishops deprived in three successive reigns.

It is more convenient to begin at Elizabeth and work backward. She found fifteen (some say sixteen) bishops in possession of their Sees. All

Parliament." That Papal power ceased in England by the successive Statutes of 1529-34. This was six years later, 1540. Thus Mr. Craig, I take it, flatly contradicts 32 Hen. VIII. c. 25, as cited above.

<sup>1</sup> "Constitutional History," William III. ch. xv.

but one rejected the oath of supremacy, and were ejected. Her sister had previously (including four who were burnt as heretics) deprived fourteen, not reckoning I know not how many who fled to the Continent. Edward VI.'s council had deprived at least four, chiefly on some plea of disobedience to arbitrary power; and each of the Tudor queens reinstated a balance of those ejected by her predecessor.<sup>1</sup> It reminds one of the wanton violence of a child, who, ignorant of the laws of the game, places chessmen on the board only to sweep them off in batches by a literal *coup-de-main*. It should almost seem as if the object of the Executive had been to degrade the episcopal office by putting a direct premium upon time-serving and hypocrisy. Next to setting the office to sale, nothing could more effectually discredit it; and the unhappy results of this violence have left their mark on the Church ever since, in a popular distaste which the *congé d'élire* perpetuates. And it is one of the results of this violent exercise of the prerogative which is not only claimed as normal, but exalted into an overruling precedent. The Elizabethan Statute was passed when the episcopal bench had been thus wrecked by royal power. The Crown by its own violence deprives the Spirituality of its constituted leaders, and then turns round and takes advantage of its own wrong, by regarding the Spirituality as incompetent to its normal function for want of them; and so procures the passing of a Statute which is doubly invalid; once as a temporal Statute, because it had not the consent of the spiritual peers, and again, because it deals with matter with which it was, by every precedent, unconstitutional to meddle, without the Convocations having previously advised.

Indeed, the more violent the strain of the prerogative which is apparent in any Tudor Act, the better material it seems to furnish to forge an ecclesiastical precedent. The Statute of Elizabeth stands between a long chain of earlier enactments on the one side, and the noteworthy later enactment of 1661 on the other, which alike flatly contradict its alleged principle; and yet we are told that it virtually overrules them both, and is the real corner-stone of the national establishment; and that it is needless to look either behind it or before.

II. I pass on to test the position which I assail by the consequences which practically flow from it. That view is, virtually, the supremacy of Parliament for spiritual purposes; not such a supremacy as was vested of old in the Crown—corrective and visitatorial—but absolute, initiative, and directive. If Parliament has constitutionally done what we are told it has once, it may do it again, and repeat it any number of times. It may enact any new test, or any number of tests, for the spiritual allegiance of its "ecclesiastical servants." It may erect the Lord Mayor of London or the Coroner of Middlesex into a supreme ecclesiastical officer, and when the "ecclesiastical servants" demur to obey, it may cashier and displace them. It may melt down beliefs, liturgy and ritual into a featureless mass, for or against which there is nothing to be said, save that it expresses the popular whim. The sagacious reader will perceive that some of these consequences are extravagant;<sup>2</sup> but they are, therefore, the better illustrations of an extravagant assumption. The more extreme the divergence from what is traditional and accepted, the better it exemplifies the absolute omnipotence of Parliament. I defy any man to show that such consequences do not follow legitimately

<sup>1</sup> Thus, Bishops Barlow, Coverdale and Scory assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Parker.

<sup>2</sup> Still, this is distinctly the tendency of our modern Parliament (which is not *repente turpissimus*, any more than an individual) as shown in Mr. Albert Grey's Parish Boards Bill.

from the theory which I impugn, or that any remedy exists by which they may on this theory be averted. On the contrary, the seeming *reductio ad absurdum*, referred to above—that if you give the Spirituality a concurrent voice you give them a veto, which is practically equivalent to the whole legislative power, is obviously incorrect.<sup>1</sup> Had the Crown practically the "whole legislative power," when it vetoed—i.e., refused assent to a Bill presented by Parliament? On any but a religious subject such an argument would never be advanced. Still less admissible is the apparent assumption that by this means "the whole Reformation might be undone." Whenever that is in danger, the Legislature have the remedy in their own hands, by disestablishing the Church. As against the claim which I am controverting, the Church has no remedy whatever if it be once admitted.

III. I must briefly show the real nature of the Act of Elizabeth's Parliament. Fuller states ("Church History," v. p. 188):—

Upon serious consideration it will appear, that there was nothing done in the reformation of religion save what was acted by the clergy in their Convocations or grounded upon some act of theirs precedent to it, with the advice, counsel and consent of the bishops and most eminent Churchmen, confirmed on the post-fact, and not otherwise, by the civil sanction, according to the usage of the best and happiest times of Christianity.

I have already shown that the testimony of 14 Car. II., c. 4, expressly extends this comprehensive statement of Fuller's to the Prayer Book of Elizabeth in particular; and in whatever sense that recital is to be understood it is sufficient for my purpose.

The Rev. J. W. Joyce, to whom I am indebted for the above quotation in his book, "The Sword and the Keys," second edition, p. 25, cites a remarkable confirmation of this view, in a document from the State Paper Office in a known handwriting, which dates it approximately 1608. He says: "If genuine and authentic,"<sup>2</sup> it "tends directly to corroborate" his position; but suggests no suspicion of its genuineness &c. Some of its terms are:—

The Book of Common Prayer, published primo Elizæ . . . was re-examined with some small alterations by the Convocation, consisting of the same bishops (the list of whom is hereinbefore given) and the rest of the clergy in primo Elizæ, which being done by the Convocation, and published under the Great Seal of England, there was an Act of Parliament for the same book. . . . Not that the book was ever subjected to the censure of the Parliament, but being agreed upon and published as aforesaid, a law was made by the Parliament, for the inflicting of a penalty upon all such as should refuse to use and observe the same.

Thus, if the statement of the Restoration Parliament is trustworthy, the above-cited view of the Elizabethan Statute falls to the ground. I must leave your readers to judge which of the two they prefer to accept. According to the same view, "nothing could be more honourable than the . . . relations" in which the "ecclesiastical servants" are placed; only I suppose they are to be taught to know their place, and not presume to question the high prerogative of their Parliamentary taskmasters. Magna Carta knows nothing of "ecclesiastical servants." Its first clause is "*Ecclesia libera sit*;" and I venture the opinion that, on the

<sup>1</sup> So there is a veto, either of the Crown or the Imperial Legislature, on the Legislature of the Dominion of Canada, and perhaps others; but no one could say that such veto was equal to a power of legislation, much less to the whole of that power.

<sup>2</sup> I understand Mr. Joyce to draw attention by this phrase to an authority, *prima facie* of great weight, not previously adduced; and therefore open to challenge, if any challenge can be sustained against it.



contrary, nothing is more likely to lead to a strike among those ill-used underlings than an attempt to enforce those "relations" as stated on pp. 440-1. The standard of candidates for Holy Orders has lamentably fallen since a time that I can remember; and nothing is so likely as this to accelerate its fall and perpetuate its prostration.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

## THE MONTH.

SIR Stafford Northcote has been cordially received in Scotland: he urged that the Egyptian expedition was unnecessary. The Prime Minister at Penmaenmawr argued that the war had been waged from a love of peace; for a military anarchy had been pulled down. This argument Mr. Gibson at a Conservative meeting compared to a man's justification for beating his wife.

The Irish Land League seems to be dying of starvation.

The Bishop of Manchester, without waiting for official intimation that the three years have expired since the monition was first issued, with regard to Mr. Green, has informed Sir Percival Heywood, the patron, that the incumbency of Miles Platting is vacant. Mr. Green's supporters have pledged themselves yet further to resist the law.

At Bristol an address was presented to the Congregational Union, signed by the Dean, and a large number of leading Clergymen and Laymen.

The Rev. G. Arthur Connor, Rector of Newport, Isle of Wight, has been appointed Domestic Chaplain to the Queen, in place of Dean Wellesley, and also Dean of Windsor.

The Rev. John Reeve, Canon of Bristol, has entered into rest. The canonry left vacant has been conferred upon the Rev. J. Percival, President of Trinity College, Oxford, and formerly head master of Clifton College. Another "Liberal" head of a College, Dr. Jowett, has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

The Rev. Randall T. Davidson, the esteemed and able Chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury, writes in the papers concerning the Church Deaconesses Home, conducted under his Grace's sanction at Maidstone. (See the *CHURCHMAN* for August, 1882, p. 393.)

At the Oxford Diocesan Conference, six representatives were elected (with the cumulative vote, we gladly add) for the Central Council, an amendment being rejected by 182 to 109. Mr. Henry Wilson moved that "it appears to this Conference desirable, in the interests of the Church, to promote the dissolution of the Church Association and the English Church Union," which was carried by a large majority.

## THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

The twenty-second meeting of the Church Congress, held at Derby, was in many ways successful. It had nearly 4,000 members. As a rule the meetings were interesting and orderly: many of the speeches and papers were of a high order; and the Bishop made an excellent Chairman.

The subject "Neglect of Public Worship" was opened by the Bishop of Liverpool. In a very valuable paper, read with earnestness and power, his Lordship laid the main lines of the subject with his usual clearness:—

"It is a great fact which, I fear, admits of no dispute, that the working classes of England, as a body, are "conspicuously absent" from the public worship of God on Sundays. Census after census in our large towns has lately brought this painful fact before the public mind.

"This state of things, we must all feel, is eminently unsatisfactory, and deserves the best attention of a congress. But it is much more than unsatisfactory. It endangers the very existence of the Established Church of England. We cannot do without 'the masses.' The Church whose adherents are a minority in the land will not be long allowed to retain her endowments and her connection with the State in this age."

"But the absence of working-men from public worship," continued the Bishop, does not arise "from the spread of systematic infidelity among them." Secondly:—

"I believe it is a complete delusion to suppose that the working classes in England have any inherent dislike to the Established Church, and, if left to themselves, prefer the dissenting chapel. I believe nothing of the kind. I grant that our poorer brethren are very apt to judge the Church by the parson, and if he is not a satisfactory *persona ecclesiæ*, to take a dislike to the body which he represents. If, for instance, he is a thoroughly worldly man, "a Nimrod, a ramrod, or a fishing-rod," who neither does his duty as a preacher or a pastor—or, if he is one who in his zeal for ceremonial does things which they think are Romanism—it is very likely they will forsake the Church and stay at home, or go to chapel."

Thirdly, the old Gospel has not lost its power. The Bishop then made two positive suggestions—(1) More *direct lively preaching*<sup>1</sup> of the Gospel. (2):—"If we want to bring the working classes to Church, *there needs throughout the land a*

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<sup>1</sup> The Bishop said:—Our clergymen, as a body, do not pay sufficient attention to the *way of putting things*. They forget that it is not enough to have good tools, if they do not handle those tools in the right way. Will any one tell me that Whitfield last century, or Moody in our own time, would ever have assembled myriads of working men, if they had only read cold, tame, orthodox, theological essays, couched in the first person plural number, full of "we" and "we," and destitute of warmth, vivacity, direct appeal, or fire? I will never believe it. But surely, if their style of address arrests and attracts the working classes, it seems a thousand pities that it is not more generally adopted.

*great increase of sympathy and friendly personal dealing with them on the part of the clergy."*

In a thoughtful, persuasive paper, the Bishop of Bedford gave some practical suggestions:—

I had no doubt at all [said the Bishop] that much of the neglect of public worship is to be traced to the dull, dry, dreary preaching which has too often prevailed. . . . Speak from your heart to the hearts of your people in language they can understand, and listeners will come. But I want rather to speak of the Prayers—taking the word popularly, of the service which precedes the sermon. I do not think it has always been the great aim to make the service intelligible, reverent, and congregational. Without great care a clergyman very easily lapses into an indistinct, over-rapid, indevout manner of saying words with which he is very familiar.

In a paper on the Harmony of Science and Faith, Professor Stokes (Cambridge)<sup>1</sup> said:—

To those who believe that the order of Nature is in accordance with the will of a Supreme Being, it must be axiomatic that there can be no real opposition between what we learn from the study of Nature

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<sup>1</sup> The theory of ancestral derivation and the survival of the fittest is one which from its nature can hardly, if at all, be made a subject of experimental investigation, or even of observation in the records of the past.

The theory, I need hardly say, is highly ingenious; but any variation which we can actually observe goes but an infinitesimal way towards bridging over the interval which separates extreme forms, such, for example, as an elephant and a mollusc. Indeed, Darwin himself, as I am informed, was of opinion at first that we required at least four or five distinct centres to start with.

As to the origin of life itself, it was not intended on this theory to account for it, and the experimental researches of our foremost scientific men are adverse to the supposition of its production by spontaneous generation. Granting the origin of life by a creative act, we are not very closely concerned, theologically speaking, with the mode of creation. . . . But there is one point in which I think theology is more deeply involved, and respecting which it becomes a serious question whether there is any real scientific evidence in opposition to what seems at least to be the teaching of revelation: I allude to the creation of man. . . . Our whole ideas respecting the nature of sin and the character of God are, as it seems to me, profoundly affected according as we take the statement of Scripture straightforwardly, which implies that man was created with special powers and privileges, and in a state of innocence from which he fell, or, as we suppose, that man came to be what he is by degrees, by a vast number of infinitesimal variations from some lower animal, accompanied by a correspondingly continuous variation in his mental and moral condition. . . . The creation of man and his condition at creation are not confined to the account given in Genesis. They are dwelt on at length, in connection with the scheme of redemption, by St. Paul, and are more briefly referred to by our Lord Himself in connection with the institution of marriage.

Now, against these statements so express, so closely bound up with man's highest aspirations, what evidence have we to adduce on the side of science? Why, nothing more than a hypothesis of continuous transmutation, incapable of experimental investigation, and making such demands upon our imagination as to stagger at last the uninitiated.

and what we may be taught by a direct revelation from that Being. We cannot suppose otherwise without impugning the truthfulness of God. Any apparent opposition must therefore arise from some deficiency in the student of science, or in the student of revelation, or in both.

The *Guardian* justly remarks:—

There was in Derby a manifest current of opinion in favour of a more systematic and official incorporation of the laity in Church work and parish administration than has yet found place in our system. . . . That Mr. Albert Grey's Bill will ever pass in its present shape we should think most unlikely. But we have little doubt that the ecclesiastical affairs of our parishes will eventually follow the line of their civil concerns. They will, to a far greater extent than now, be managed by elective bodies; and, under proper conditions and safeguards, we have no doubt at all that such a change would prove both wholesome and conservative.

Mr. Grey's address was admirable; and it produced a marked effect. It is probable that some of the speeches protesting against Church Boards made not a few listeners perceive the need of some such measure as Mr. Grey's.

The Working Men's Meetings were unusually well attended, and the speakers, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Liverpool and Bedford, and others, were listened to with respectful attention. Large bodies of working men at the Midland Railway Station and in the premises of leading manufacturers were addressed by Bishop Ryle and other dignitaries.

The subject of the Diaconate was ably discussed. An interesting and suggestive paper was read by the Rev. E. R. Bernard. The Dean of Ripon,<sup>1</sup> the Rev. Jackson Mason, Mr. Sydney Gedge, Canon Medd, the Rev. W. O. Purton, Canon Woodhouse, and others urged the institution of an order of permanent deacons.

The question of the Central Council was introduced in an interesting paper by the Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, M.P. Canon Howell Evans (Oswestry) spoke well. The concluding speakers were Archdeacon Emery and the Rev. W. O. Purton, Rector of Kingston-by-Sea. Mr. Purton said that he had followed the Archdeacon at the Leicester Congress, and was glad to be able at Derby to point to the progress of this movement in the last year; the success of it, he added, was, in a great measure, due to the tact, largeheartedness, patience, and ability of the Arch-

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<sup>1</sup> The Dean of Ripon said that the Church of England, with all her advantages, was undermanned and underpaid, for we had parishes with seven, eight, ten, or even fifteen thousand souls, committed to the care of one clergyman, with perhaps the assistance of a curate, provided by the Pastoral Aid or the Additional Curates' Society. Mr. Purton dwelt mainly on one point in Mr. Gedge's animated address, the question of money and men. The country he said has the endowments, and the towns have the masses of the people. For the increasing population, clergymen cannot be had.

deacon, whose Diocesan Conference work had been so signally successful.

One meeting at the Congress was stormy. At that meeting the Hon. C. L. Wood, the President of the E. C. U., spoke with plainness. The hon. gentleman pleaded for an optional use of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. Canon Hoare, called on unexpectedly, replied in a spirited and stirring speech. A more effective "bit of debating," to use the *Guardian's* words, no Church Congress has ever heard: "Many who did not agree with the speaker altogether admired the courage and readiness with which he grappled with his antagonist."

<sup>1</sup> The honoured Canon said:—"I wish to say that I think that this debate is a most important one for the Church of England. (Cheers.) I think that the speech of Mr. Wood, to which we have just listened, is one of the most important speeches that I have ever heard delivered at a Church Congress. (Cheers.) We used to be told that we Evangelicals were but poor Churchmen. We used to be told that what was originally called the Tractarian movement, but which has since been called the Ritualistic movement, was an effort of pious and devoted men to rise above our poor Churchmanship, and to bring out in better development the true principles of the Church of England. (Cheers.) We always, with that happiness which accompanies a clear conscience—('Hear, hear,' and laughter)—maintained that we were the true representatives of the Church of England. (Great cheering.) We acted upon the principle and its truth. But we have still borne a certain amount of reproach, and we have not been able to overcome the old prejudices. This day, however, we have been told by Mr. Wood, the President of the English Church Union, that our beautiful English Church Service is meagre: that there is nothing more meagre than our existing Liturgy; that our Holy Communion Service—in which we have taken so much delight—is a mutilated, an inferior, and a defective service. (Cheers, and 'No, no.') I say 'Yes,' and this great assembly has heard too what Mr. Wood has said. (Cheers.) We have been told to-day that we are to go back to the Liturgy and to the Office of 1549. . . . We have learned something at this Church Congress. (Cheers.) We know where we are. We go home to-day knowing with what a power and an intention it is we have to contend. (Cheers.) We know what Mr. Wood has said. He has told us as plainly as possible that the object is to bring back the Church of England from the Reformed Church of 1552; but to stop just a little by the way in the refreshment room of 1549—(cheers)—and then we are to plunge head-foremost right into the Use of Sarum. (Great cheering, and cries of 'No, no; never, never.') Now, then, my lord, what shall we say to this? Shall we have, or shall we not have it? (Cries of 'No, no; never, never.') What, I ask, shall we say to this? Shall we stick by the blessed truths that we have received, and for which our Reformers died? (Cheers, and cries of 'Yes.') Shall we cling to the dear old Office-book, from which we have hundreds and thousands of times poured out our whole hearts before God? (Cheers.) Shall we unite heart and soul as witnesses for Christ's coming there to His holy table—(cheers, and 'No, no')—and holding there communion with Him? (Cheers.) Shall we begin by half-and-half measures of a retrograde character, until we go right back to Rome? (Cheers, and cries of 'No, no; never, never.') My lord, I wish now to say no more; but I wish to thank Mr. Wood for having spoken out so plainly on this subject, and for thus having let us know this day what are the real intentions of the English Church Union." (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

# THE CHURCHMAN

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DECEMBER, 1882.

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## ART. I.—STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

THE treatment of varied readings found in the copies of Holy Scripture, the importance of an accurate text, the interpretation of words and idioms were the care of Augustine in the second book of his "Christian Learning." In the third book he proposes to examine modes of solving the ambiguities of the Bible, which may arise either from the use of words of uncertain meaning, or from figurative language. It will tend to more confidence in our own methods if we discover that no greater certainty, no surer traditional authority were known to the great teacher of the Fifth Century than to ourselves. With yet greater satisfaction we may find that while on the essentials of Christianity there has been little variation, the patient study of devout minds—the cultivation of science and learning—and the teaching of the Holy Spirit through these many centuries, have made the light of the nineteenth century on the sacred page less wavering and more clear and steadfast than that of the fifth.

Following the guidance of our teacher, we are first warned (c. ii. 2) to be careful in matters of punctuation and pronunciation. We are so accustomed to the traditional punctuation of our Authorized Version that its divisions exercise great sway over minds not destitute of some tincture of scholarship, while the ordinary reader is in bondage to chapters and verses and even to commas. Yet, perhaps, most persons who have used Commentaries at all must be aware that many fallacies and many variations lurk round commas and periods. To go no further than the familiar instance in Heb. x. 12, shall we punctuate it thus: "This man after he had offered one sacrifice for sin for ever, sat down on the right hand of God," or thus: "This man

after he had offered one sacrifice for sin, for ever sat down on the right hand of God?" The example Augustine gives is stigmatized by him as a heretical perversion of St. John i. 1. The order of the English words would not permit the arrangement he forbids, but there is nothing in the mere sequence of the Greek and Latin versions to prevent it. It runs thus, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was. This Word was in the beginning with God." Our interest in this chiefly lies in the comparison of methods. We should consider the grammatical exigencies of the sentence, the weight to be given to the position of nouns, verbs, and articles, the logical relation of the several words. We should also in differing degrees be influenced by the comment of former ages. To Augustine it is enough to say that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity excludes the punctuation in question. It is obvious that such a mode of arbitration is unsound and fallacious. We must not first settle what are the doctrines of Scripture, and then decide that the reading or the punctuation which to us seems most positively to set forth those doctrines is genuine. The first question is, What is the authentic Scripture? The second question is, What does that Scripture teach? But where no great doctrine is involved Augustine adopts the more grammatical process, which he illustrates from Phil. i. 22-24, where he deduces the right division of the clauses from a consideration of the connecting particles.

Akin to the question of punctuation is that of pronunciation, in cases where a difference of intonation or accent may change the force of a sentence or the meaning of a word. It is curious to observe that the nineteenth century and the fifth are precisely in the same position with respect to the familiar passage, Rom. viii. 33, 34, which is discussed by Augustine under this head. Our Authorized Version and the Revised are agreed in taking the responsive clauses in those verses without an interrogative:—

Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect?

It is God that justifieth.

Who is he that condemneth?

It is Christ that died.

But Alford and many others take the responses interrogatively, thus:—

Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect?

Shall God who justifies them?

Who is he that condemns them?

Is it Christ who died?

In this question Augustine decides in favour of the interrogative response on the grounds both of doctrine and rhetorical correctness.

In our own day the educated hearer sometimes instinctively says to himself, as he listens to the reader of the lessons, "that man does not know his Greek Testament." In the Latin Church of old there seems to have been yet greater liability to blunder. For example, the reader comes to Ps. cxxxix. 15: "Non est absconditum a te *os* meum. [My bone, English version, *substance*, was not hid from thee.] He is perplexed. There are two Latin words either of which that *os* may be. He must betray by his pronunciation his idea of the word. Either he will read it short, *os*, a bone, or he will read it long, *ōs*, a mouth. Augustine sends him to the Septuagint to learn that the first of these two is right. He adds a curious remark. There was an ancient form *ossum* which in his day had become vulgar. He would prefer the vulgarism *ossum* to the usual form of the word, *os*, if thus the meaning of the passage might escape perversion. Another trap he notes into which the unfortunate Latin reader, unapt in his Greek Testament, has many a time fallen from that day to this. The word *prædico* comes full before him. Alas, there are two of them! There is *prædico*, I predict, and there is *prædico*, I preach or declare. Ignorance is hardly "bliss" to the reader in such a case as this. However, Augustine thinks that either the context or a reference to the original will clear away most of such uncertainties.

Leaving these verbal ambiguities which are discussed, no doubt, often enough in the Bible class, though they have little ground in one who is fairly versed in Hebrew and Greek originals, we are brought (c. v. 9) to more difficult and more important investigations.

The interpretation of the figurative language of Holy Scripture, or the preliminary inquiry whether a figurative meaning may be admitted, presents the most weighty anxieties. Here we are warned of the danger of taking literally that which is meant figuratively. "The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life." "It may well be called the death of the soul," says Augustine:—

When the understanding which raises it above the brutes is subjected to the flesh by following the letter. If he who hears the word Sabbath can think of nothing beyond the mere weekly recurrence—if he who hears of a sacrifice cannot raise his thoughts beyond the material victim or the presentation of fruits—what a mental servitude is this! What a miserable slavery to take the signs for the realities, and to be unable to lift the mental eye above the corporeal, created thing to drink in the eternal light!

In some sense, doubtless (c. vi. 10), the patriarchs of old were in bondage, having the signs rather than the realities of heavenly things. Still (c. ix. 13), it was a bondage not without



spirituality and freedom, since there was an apprehension of something beyond the sign itself. But since our freedom has been sealed by the resurrection of our Lord we are no longer burdened by the observance of the ancient rites, though their meaning has been opened to us. "But instead of many signs, we have some few, most easy of performance, most august in significance, most holy in observance. These hath the Lord Himself and apostolical discipline delivered to us. Such is the sacrament of baptism, and the celebration of the body and blood of the Lord."

"To take signs for realities, then, is bondage. But to interpret signs unprofitably is to fall into error."

But these are only general remarks. Is the ancient teacher able to give us satisfactory rules for guiding us in the discrimination of a true spiritual interpretation? He thinks he can. Reduced to its elements, his reasoning (c. x. 14, 15, 16) seems to be this: Scripture gives to us precept and doctrine. In doctrine, it "asserts nothing but the Catholic faith," narrating the past, predicting the future, describing the present. But always so as to strengthen love, and to root out lust, to which end all its precepts are directed. Hence, if there be anything in the Word of God which in its literal sense cannot be referred to the verity of the faith, or to that which is moral and honourable in life, we may recognize it as figurative. Augustine forgets not to warn us here that defects of education, evil customs, or erroneous opinions, may so pervert our judgment that we may fail to draw this line truly, taking that to be figurative which is, in fact, literal, simply because it does not harmonize with our own standard. And here, indeed, seems the weakness of this supposed rule. Is it not, after all, rationalistic? Does it not come to this?—The reader of Scripture has the rule of life and doctrine in his mind—by that rule he is to judge the Word. If the literal sense will agree with that rule, well, if not, a figurative sense must be sought. Scripture needs a sterner, closer, more rigorous treatment than this. It is the WORD of GOD. None but God may judge the things of God. Augustine himself has already in the former chapter given us the only trustworthy criterion (2 c. vi. 8): "The Holy Spirit has so arranged the Scriptures that the obscurity of one passage is explained by the clearness of another." Nor does he fail in the present book (c. xxviii. 39) to draw back from any merely rationalistic method of interpretation:—

When we have arrived at a meaning [says he] which presents uncertainties not soluble by sure testimonies of Holy Scripture, it remains for reason to do its part in making it clear, even if it be a sense perhaps unknown to the original writer. *But this method is perilous. We walk much more safely by the divine Scriptures.* When we would

search these darkened by metaphor, either that will be brought out which cannot be questioned, or if question arises it will be settled by testimony evolved from the same Scripture.

The diligent searcher into the harmonies of Scripture shall best learn the congruity and usefulness of some literal things at which beforetime he may have stumbled.

In years long afterwards this rule of Augustine, taken apart from the rest of this interesting treatise, was capable of a use which nullified the whole. When "the Catholic Faith," or "the Verity of the Faith," had been confused with the whole mass of mediæval teaching, it would become necessary to pronounce many very direct portions of Scripture figurative, as being opposed to the doctrine of the Schools. It may not be useless to notice in connection with this that little beyond the main doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation was understood when men spoke of "the Catholic Faith," in the fifth century. That venerable document, the Athanasian Creed, which reflects so strongly Augustine's teaching, illustrates this fact, whether the Creed belong to the fifth or to the eighth century: "This," it says with absolute explicitness, "this is the Catholic Faith." What? Not that which Trent, Augsburg, Geneva or Lambeth may have written. But the great mysteries of the Godhead in its Triune existence, and of God manifest in the flesh. "This is the Catholic Faith." Whatever else that creed may be, it is a perpetual witness to a faith greater and wider than any individual Church alone can ever testify. And when Augustine in this part of his treatise repudiates any interpretation of Scripture that will not cohere with "the Catholic Faith," he is thinking of nothing narrower than this.

The examples by which Augustine illustrates the working of his rule for classifying language as figurative, will not give more confidence in its accurate working than at first sight appeared. It seems rather to evade than to solve difficulties, which, to the modern inquirer, suggest moral hesitations. "Harshness or apparent cruelty in deed or word ascribed in Scripture to God or His saints (c. xi. 17), unless it be plain denunciation against sin,—or things said or done which seem sinful to the unskilled, whether attributed to God or to saintly men, are wholly figurative." It is an answer which would hardly satisfy modern objections to Jael's conduct, that it was simply to be understood as a figure illustrating the necessity for slaying every lust which finds entrance within the heart of a child of God. It would scarcely be admitted that Sisera could be reduced to an abstraction not much more substantial than Giant Despair in Castle Doubting. Nor, again, would Augustine's discussion of

the relations of David to his wives be thought very satisfactory either in detail or in the final result.

But is it not the true explanation of some confusion in this part of the treatise, that the *interpretation* and the *application* of a passage of Scripture are not clearly distinguished? Great strictness in interpretation, great, yet cautious and reverent, freedom in application seem to unite most accurately the varied uses of the Word of God. It has been observed in the former article, on this work of Augustine, how the revulsion from mediæval laxity led our venerable translator Tyndale to demand a close literal understanding of the Word of God. Yet he is careful not to narrow the application. For he tells us when the literal sense has been fully elucidated:—

Then go we, and as the Scripture borroweth similitudes of worldly things, even so we again borrow similitudes or allegories of the Scripture, and apply them to our purposes: which allegories are no sense of the Scripture, but free things beside the Scripture, and altogether in the liberty of the Spirit. Which allegories I must not make at all the wild adventures, but must keep me within the compass of the faith, and ever apply mine allegory to Christ and to the faith.

It is an acute observation of Waterland,<sup>1</sup> that "They who judge that the Fathers in general do interpret John vi. of the Eucharist, appear not to distinguish between interpreting and applying." On considering the language of Augustine in the passage under review, it may be asked whether the Fathers themselves sufficiently made that distinction. It might also well be asked whether modern preachers are as careful as they ought to be in this matter. It is a very serious thing to assume that our own applications, however Scriptural in themselves, are really the meaning of the passage before us. Carelessness in this important matter may lead on the one hand to corruption of doctrine, as it did in the Middle Ages—or on the other hand it may lead by repulsion to the narrow dictum<sup>2</sup> of the Master of Balliol:—

It may be laid down that Scripture has one meaning—the meaning which it had to the mind of the prophet or evangelist who first uttered or wrote, to the hearers or readers who first received it.

Bishop Butler,<sup>3</sup> by anticipation, answered this shallow assertion long ago:—

To say that the Scriptures and the things contained in them can have no other or further meaning, than those persons thought or had who first recited or wrote them; is evidently saying that those persons were the original, proper, and sole authors of those books, *i.e.*, that

<sup>1</sup> "Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist," chap. vi.

<sup>2</sup> "Essays and Reviews," p. 378.

<sup>3</sup> "Analogy," Part II. ch. 7.

they are not inspired; which is absurd, whilst the authority of those books is under examination; i.e. till you have determined they are of no divine authority at all. Till this be determined, it must in all reason be supposed, not indeed that they have, for this is taking for granted that they are inspired, but that they may have some further meaning than what the compilers saw or understood.

If an opinion may be ventured on so weighty a subject, and amidst the utterances of great and venerable men, it would be this: Granting that *interpretation*, properly speaking, has often been so unduly stretched as to rob Scripture of the glory of its definite message from God—granting, nevertheless, that the *application* of Scripture seems hardly to recognize bounds, embracing as readily the concerns of the nineteenth as of the first century.—Whence comes this extraordinary fecundity of the Bible? There is no other book or collection of books in the world capable of such wonderful development from year to year, in every language and among every people. Must it not be that it contains, sometimes on the surface, sometimes deeply concealed under the surface, the true principles of human nature and its relations to God and to eternity? If so, the only safe mode of handling a passage must be to penetrate, if we may, to the inner fundamental principle. Then may we safely branch out into the multiform applications to human and divine things, evermore distinguishing the central principle, which is divine, from the human application, which by its diversity shows its capacity of error. This seems to be the real meaning of what Tyndale wrote about one literal meaning of Scripture, as distinguished from Dr. Jowett's cramped limitation. The one sees God, the other sees man in the words. The one meaning of the Infinite Mind may have harmonies running through all the ages. The one meaning of man must find continual boundaries.

These distinctions, and the dangerous consequences of neglecting them, were not present to Augustine. It was enough for him to rejoice in the fruitfulness of Holy Scripture (c. xxvii. 38):—

When from the same words of Scripture, not one but two or more meanings are deduced, even if the meaning of the original writer be undiscovered, there is no danger, if it can be shown from other passages of Holy Scripture that such interpretations are in harmony with the truth. Perhaps the author saw in his own words the meaning we have given to them. Certainly the Spirit of God, Who wrought through him, foresaw that the idea would occur to the reader. Yea, He also provided that it should occur to him since it rests upon the truth. Could divine Providence have made a more abundant and fruitful supply in the Word than that the same passage might be understood in many ways, all approved by the attestation of other words not less divine?

This is pious reflection, but it is not philosophical discrimination, critical accuracy, or theological carefulness.

One more distinction (ch. xvi. 24) requires notice:—

If a passage be preceptive [says Augustine] forbidding crime or vice, or commanding a useful or beneficent deed, it is not figurative. But if it seem to command a crime or vice, or to forbid an act of utility or beneficence, it is figurative. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man," saith Christ, "and drink His blood, ye have no life in you." He seems<sup>1</sup> to command a crime or vice. Therefore it is a figure, teaching us that we must have communion with the passion of the Lord, and sweetly and usefully lay up in our memory that His flesh was crucified and wounded for us.

Perhaps, if we believed in transubstantiation, we might manage to put a meaning on these words which should not seem incompatible with our faith. Yet is not the stronghold of that dogma, at least as far as it claims any footing in Scripture, the demand for a literal interpretation of this passage, and of the words of institution: "This is my body?" Yet, says Augustine, of the one before us: "It is figurative, else the thing were a crime. The mental and spiritual fact is that which is intended."

We cannot pause much longer over this discourse on the figurative in Holy Scripture; but in justice to Augustine it must be noted that, while he rather evaded than answered difficulties in the conduct of Old Testament saints, by resolving them into a figurative mist, he was not unconscious that their platform of morality was beneath that of the New Testament standard. He says (c. xxii. 32):—

Though all, or nearly all, of the actions recorded in the Old Testament are to be taken not only literally but figuratively also, yet with regard to those which are to be read literally, if the actors are praised, while the acts themselves are not in accordance with Christian morality, let the reader strive to understand the figurative instruction, while he avoids the example in his own life. For many things in those days were matters of duty, which would now come of lust only.

How much more profound is the remark of Bishop Butler:<sup>2</sup>—

I thought proper to say thus much of the few Scripture precepts which require, not vicious actions, but actions which would have been vicious had it not been for such precepts; because they are sometimes weakly urged as immoral, and great weight is laid upon objections drawn from them. But to me there seems no difficulty at all in these

<sup>1</sup> "Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere: figura est ergo, præcipiens passioni dominieri communicandum, et suaviter atque ubiliter reconddendum in memoria quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit."

<sup>2</sup> "Analogy," Part II. ch. ii.

precepts, but what arises from their being offences: i.e., from their being liable to be perverted, as indeed they are, by wicked and designing men, to serve the most horrid purposes; and, perhaps, to mislead the weak and enthusiastic.

Our Lord has given the clue to the right interpretation of these things when he said of a part of the law of the Old Covenant, Moses, "for the hardness of your heart wrote you this precept." Many things of old time were adapted to an immature morality, and an undeveloped civilization. Revelation was *gradually* unfolded in all its parts. The key-note is always the same, but its modulations and harmonies swell upon the ear with even more full and richer chords as the ages pass. How should a full morality, any more than a full theology, stand forth before men until Christ was revealed? They cannot be severed now. They could not have existed before.

The lax ideas of interpretation entertained by Augustine lead to this very limited conclusion (ch. xxiv. 34):—

The principal matter for investigation is whether the passage be literal or figurative. Once ascertained to be figurative by the rules previously laid down, it is easy to turn it in every direction until we arrive at the true meaning, especially when experience strengthened by practical piety is brought to the task.

Surely our difficulties would begin to be felt most strongly where those of Augustine end. We should be anxious not to import our own ideas into Scripture. We should desire not to deal with it arbitrarily. This, as we have already seen, does not appear to trouble him, provided the meaning may be somehow extracted from the words, and does not run counter to Holy Scripture.

Finally, on a review of the subject, which has been discussed in two numbers of *THE CHURCHMAN*, can it be said that this great theologian and illustrious Father stood upon a platform of advantage unknown to ourselves? He was nearly 1,500 years nearer the fountain head than ourselves. Had he stronger grounds of certainty, more sure means of information, clearer knowledge of the truth than are open to us? His personal and doctrinal relation to Holy Scripture was manifestly identical with that enjoined in our Sixth Article. If we feel ourselves differing from him in this respect, it is always on a point of detail, never on a fundamental principle. These considerations may be reassuring to some minds, and to all must bring many satisfactory and thankful reflections. Above all we shall feel ourselves in harmony with the venerated author in his closing remarks (ch. xxxvii. 56):—

Students of these venerable books, who would learn the various kinds of expression in Holy Scripture, together with its usual modes

Rome to carry out its designs in those provinces had been so far fruitless, owing to the resolute attitude assumed by the people.

The haughty Gregory VII. now (eleventh century) ascended the Pontifical throne. No sooner was he seated in the Papal chair then he began to employ all the zeal and energy of his character for the promotion of uniformity of worship in all countries professing Catholicism. He was well aware that in order to do so in Spain, it was necessary to abolish altogether the ancient National "use," in those provinces where it still prevailed, and establish the Roman form in its place. To this end he addressed sundry letters to Sancho V. of Navarre, and to Alfonso VI. of Castile. The latter monarch had married a French princess, Doña Constanza, and both Alfonso and his Queen were eager to satisfy the Pontifical claims, being influenced in that direction by the monks of Cluny, to whom they had handed the control of their consciences. The Romish rite was in consequence introduced into Burgos in the year 1077.

This, however, did not take place without considerable resistance on the part both of clergy and people, so much so that it was decided to submit the question to the *Judicium Dei*, or judgment of God, the favourite method of settling controversies in the Middle Ages. Two knights were chosen, one of whom was to fight for the Roman Liturgy, on behalf of the King and the Pope, the other for the Gothic, on behalf of the clergy and the people. The Mozarabic champion, whose name, Juan Ruiz de las Matanzas, has come down to us, overcame his opponent, and the point at issue was apparently settled in favour of the ancient Liturgy. But in spite of this decisive victory the objectionable rite was forced upon the Burgolese, not, however, without murmurs from the clergy and laity who beheld with dismay their ancient traditions trampled upon and set at naught.

Such was the state of the question when (May 25, 1085) the reconquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI. took place. Soon after this fatal blow to the Arab dominion in Spain, Alfonso, firm in his intention to suppress the national rite, began to use all his endeavours towards promoting the establishment of the Roman form in his newly acquired city. But the difficulties in the way were so great that, contrary to all the rules of chivalry, the matter was, by agreement between the king and the clergy, again submitted to a fresh trial for final decision.

The ordeal this time was to be by fire, and the missals themselves were now to be the champions. An immense pile of wood was built up in the Zocodover, the old Moorish square in the centre of the city, where the Toledan Arabs used in former days to celebrate their victories and triumphs in many a joust

and chivalric encounter. The King, surrounded by the flower of his nobility, and the Queen, attended by her ladies, were present to witness the approaching ceremony. The famous French Archbishop, Don Bernardo, was also there; and crowds of people were collected, anxiously awaiting the issue of the trial. On a signal from the King, the Archbishop placed the two breviaries on the pile, which, on being lighted, was instantly in a blaze. Deep silence prevailed around; nothing was to be heard but the crackling of the wood, and the hissing of the flames. On a sudden, as the story goes, the Gothic missal leaped forth from the blazing pile, and fell intact at the feet of the king—not a leaf being so much as scorched. The Roman book, on the other hand, was reduced to ashes in the fire. The king—so the story continues—arose, and followed by his courtiers, proceeded to his palace—the ancient building constructed by Wamba, and restored by the Arab kings of Toledo. The Queen, the Archbishop, and the other attendants, retired slowly from the scene. Amazement, not unmixed with fear, was depicted on their brows. The people, on the other hand, were elated beyond all bounds. They felt convinced that their cause had carried the day in spite of every obstacle. In this, however, they were mistaken. They had yet to learn that the caprice of a despot is not to be so easily defeated. Although their cause had triumphed, although Heaven seemed to favour the Liturgy they revered, and out of which they taught their children, although, too, the voice of popular indignation reached even the steps of the throne itself, Alfonso VI. was none the less determined to disregard the cherished wishes of his subjects. His recent victories over the Moors had doubtless inspired him with confidence, and he felt no inclination to incur the displeasure of the Papacy, whose support he had secured. He feared also to offend his wife Constanza, and to make enemies of the monks of Cluny, his spiritual advisers. Soon, therefore, after the event above recorded, he issued a decree abolishing the Gothic rite, and substituting the Roman form in its place. Thus, the influence of Rome prevailed. Spain became the chosen son of the Church, and the way was gradually paved for the introduction of the odious Inquisition. An independence which had lasted well-nigh from Apostolic times was lost. The national cult was dead, and Spain sunk eventually into a condition of torpor and inactivity, from which it has only begun to recover in recent years.

Out of this event arose, in that land of proverbs, the famous saying, *Allá van Leyes, donde Quieren Reyes* ("There the laws go, where kings show"), which seems to give utterance, in accents of despair, to the outraged feelings of the people.

The Mozarabic Christians were, however, allowed to retain six



churches in Toledo—viz., St. Eulalia, St. Sebastian, St. Marcos, St. Lucas,<sup>1</sup> St. Justa, and St. Torcato—and large privileges were conceded to them by Alfonso, who seemed thereby to wish to atone to some extent for his despotic conduct. But Time, that devourer of all things, caused the rite to decay, and to lose its importance even in the churches set apart for its celebration. At last a few solemnities were all that remained.

Then it was that Ximenes, who did not wish that this respectable relic of antiquity should be altogether lost, and who perhaps was not sorry to show some sign of spiritual independence of the Vatican, caused the chapel referred to at the beginning of this paper to be founded in the Cathedral of Toledo. He also had the Liturgy printed, and he instituted an order of chaplains for the performance of the service. It is only in this chapel that the ancient rite is now celebrated.

Having thus lightly touched upon the leading events in the history of this curious survival, it only remains to add a few remarks on the Liturgy itself.

Cardinal Ximenes, as has been stated above, caused the Liturgy to be printed; but, as the manuscript he used is considered to have been of a comparatively late date, it is not easy to ascertain now what parts of the service are or are not really ancient. Roman Catholic writers have gone so far as to ascribe this Liturgy to the apostles who converted Spain. But although we may not unreasonably refuse to subscribe to this assumption, its claims to antiquity must be admitted to be considerable. There seems, moreover, good reason to conclude that it was framed originally, whether by one hand or more is uncertain, in independence of the Roman Church. On examination, various points have been discovered closely establishing its connection with the Liturgies of the Oriental Churches.

The Liturgy also contains prayers by Leander, Isidore, Eugenio, Ildefonso, and Julian, famous Visigothic luminaries, which were added when the Gothic king, Recared, and his subjects forsook Arianism and embraced Catholicism.<sup>2</sup>

The service is now but indifferently attended, and has become to all intents and purposes a thing of the past. A Reformed

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<sup>1</sup> In this church an ancient picture may still be seen representing the trial by fire of the two missals. The Virgin de la Esperanza is depicted as presiding over the ceremony, and a number of cavaliers in Moorish garb are also present.

<sup>2</sup> Those curious in liturgical matters are referred to the following works for full information on the subject:—Migne, vol. lxxxv., "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities;" Palmer's "Origines Liturgicæ;" "Compendio del Toledo en la Mano," by Don Sixto Ramon Parro, as well as the larger work, "Toledo en la Mano," of which the "Compendio" is an abridgment; "Tradiciones de Toledo," by Señor Eugenio de Olavarria y Huarte, &c. &c.

Spanish Church has, however, recently sprung into existence; and the compilers of a new Liturgy, to be used in the service of that Church, have taken the ancient Mozarabic Liturgy as the basis of their operations. Thus, like a phoenix rising from its ashes, the old "use," or at all events some portions of it, may be destined to live on in Spain, and in the great Spanish colony of North America, for some time longer.

F. R. McCLINTOCK.

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### ART. III.—CHURCH COURTS.<sup>1</sup>

**T**HIS subject is emphatically *the* Church subject of the day. Round it all the forces which, now for many years, have been engaged in the great Ritual struggle are collected. Here is the main point of attack and defence at the present time. Much more than a matter of merely historical interest is involved. The union of Church and State, and even our conception of the nature of the Church of England, cannot but be affected most seriously by the settlement of what is the proper constitution of the Ecclesiastical Courts. The magnitude of the issues at stake is pleaded as at once the sole and the sufficient justification for the following pages.

I had no notion, when I prepared the paper which I read at the recent Church Congress, that Canon Trevor, who preceded me on the same subject, intended to occupy the audience with a review of my little book on Church Courts. Had I known this, I should probably have been tempted to take a different course; but, as it was, I thought I should best fulfil my task by trying to bring before the Congress one or two practical matters of common sense rather than controversy, and by repeating in public a suggestion which I had already made as a witness before the Royal Commission, with regard to the revival of the study of English Ecclesiastical Law (not merely Canon Law, as I have been supposed in some quarters to mean) at the Universities. But as it might be assumed that, because I did not reply to Canon Trevor's criticism, no reply was forthcoming, I am anxious, having regard to the importance of the matter, to avail myself of the earliest opportunity of saying what I have to say by way of rejoinder. Indeed, I am not sure that the subject is not more fitly treated in the columns of *THE CHURCHMAN* than on a Church Congress platform. I

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<sup>1</sup> "Church Courts." A Paper read at the Derby Church Congress, by Canon Trevor, D.D.

confess to a shrewd suspicion that I should not have been allowed to say at Derby what I am going to write in my study-chair. Judging by the treatment accorded to subsequent speakers, I should probably have been howled down. Now, as I do not like being howled at, and do not find that it either stimulates my powers of memory or improves my reasoning faculties, I am not sorry to be amongst my books, where the howls, if there should be any, cannot penetrate, and where I can at least bestow upon the subject the attention it demands.

All who had the fortune to hear Canon Trevor deliver his paper must feel grateful to him for the good fun he was able to extract from a somewhat dry topic; and it is to be regretted that in the newspaper reports many spontaneous sallies, provoked by the enthusiastic applause of the audience, have not found a place. To a comic history of the Ecclesiastical Courts Canon Trevor's paper would form a valuable contribution; and, if he could be prevailed on to complete what he has so worthily begun, he might feel certain that his book would take a high place amongst literature of its class.

I have, however, to look at Canon Trevor's paper from quite a different point of view—to regard it as a serious contribution to the discussion of a serious subject.

Canon Trevor defines my theory thus: "It is for the Church to decree rites and ceremonies; the enforcing of the decree she leaves to the State. She keeps the doctrine in her own hands, and confides the discipline to the Crown." For the purpose of his paper, which only concerns itself with discipline, this is a sufficiently accurate statement of my view; but, to prevent mistake, I desire to point out, in passing, that as to doctrine, Canon Trevor has misunderstood me. The principle which throughout my book I have insisted on is that, while the discipline of the Church is in the keeping of the Crown or State, matters of substance and doctrine are under the *joint* control of Church and State. "The power of *altering* is vested in Church and State jointly; the duty of *maintaining* is vested in the State alone." Canon Trevor only deals with the latter half of this proposition. He denies that the Crown or the State is supreme over the discipline of the Church. Let us examine how he treats the question.

In the first place he does not attempt to deal directly with the evidence on which I ground the proposition in dispute. That evidence is entirely historical, and goes to show that from the Reformation till the present day the State has, in fact, exercised complete control over the discipline of the Church. I gather from Canon Trevor's paper that he does not admit the force of this evidence, but still he does not directly challenge it. I am not surprised, for his method of dealing with Statutes and

other documents and their construction is so novel and peculiar that he probably feels it would not meet with general acceptance. Certain parts of certain Acts of Parliament impress Canon Trevor as of first-rate importance. He forthwith introduces the rule of the Medes and Persians, and these particular enactments become in his eyes unchangeable. Subsequent statutes, no matter how plainly inconsistent with them, have no repealing effect; they are dismissed as "side-winds," and the obvious meaning of their plainest clauses is stigmatized as a "gloss." Of course the difficulty of such a mode of argument consists in selecting the particular laws which we thus dignify. Canon Trevor, as the inventor of this theory, possesses, perhaps, the best right to act as its high priest; and he does so. Thus, 24 Henry VIII., ch. 12, with its "famous preamble," belongs to the Median and Persian variety, while 25 Henry VIII., ch. 19, is only a "side-wind," and its ordinary construction a "gloss." His treatment of these two leading Reformation statutes is so good an illustration of his method that I am tempted into a little more detail. It will be remembered that these two Acts together dealt with appeals. Their short effect, so far as the Courts were concerned, was this (24 Henry VIII., ch. 12): "The Restraint of Appeals" provided that in matrimonial, testamentary, and tithe matters no appeal to Rome should be allowed. All such cases were to go from the Archdeacon to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, "there to be definitively and finally ordered, decreed, and adjudged according to justice, without any other appellation or provocation to any other person or persons, court or courts." In any matter of the class named "touching the King," the appeal was to be to the Upper House of Convocation. This Act does not affect *spiritual* matters at all. 25 Henry VIII., ch. 19, "The Submission of the Clergy," abolished *all* appeals to Rome, and enacted that *all* matters (using the widest words) were to be dealt with according to the plan laid down in 24 Henry VIII., ch. 12, except that, "for lack of justice," an appeal was to lie from the Archbishop to the King in Chancery (the Court of Delegates). Nothing can be plainer than the combined effect of these provisions. The partial arrangement of 1533 is expanded in 1534, so as to embrace all ecclesiastical matters, and supplemented by the addition of a final appeal to the Crown. This is the common-sense construction of the words used, and this is the construction acted on at the time, and from that time to the present.

Canon Trevor, however, has quite a different view. 24 Henry VIII., ch. 12 (the limited scope of which, by an unfortunate oversight, he misses), defined for all time the course of ecclesiastical appeals and the finality of the Court of the Archbishop: "The right of appealing to the Pope is taken away."

Canon Trevor is so absorbed in that ravishing preamble that he does not notice that by this Act it is only taken away in matrimonial and testamentary and tithe cases. Then he comes to 25 Henry VIII., ch. 19. This statute, curiously enough, is made to have done nothing at all. It cannot undo the work of the former statute, because—I hardly know why—except, indeed, that it is a “side-wind.” At any rate, it did “but restore the ancient law of the land as settled by the Constitutions of Clarendon in A.D. 1164.” These were not originally Canon Trevor’s words, but he has adopted them for a purpose for which they were not intended. It seems odd that the Parliament of Henry VIII. should busy itself, at a time of great change too, in passing Acts merely repeating and emphasizing the laws of Henry II. as to matters in which, according to Canon Trevor, Parliament had no legislative power. But let us recur to these Constitutions of Clarendon. I give the passage in Canon Trevor’s words:—

“If the Archbishop should be slack in doing justice, resort was to be had to the King, by whose command the cause was to be terminated in the Archbishop’s Court and proceed no further.” This reference by the King to the Archbishop means that “he may require him to reconsider the case.” If we are to read 25 Henry VIII., ch. 19, as equivalent to this, it must mean that the King in Chancery—i.e., the Court of Delegates—could “reconsider the case.” Accordingly, we are told, “the only change is that instead of remitting the cause to the Archbishop’s Court, the King is to issue a separate Commission on each appeal to persons of his own selection.” Here Canon Trevor gets into a great difficulty, and pursues two lines of argument mutually destructive. First, he says, “for lack of justice,” does not refer to a regular appeal, but to special cases of irregularity. He does not mention the words of the Act giving the Court “full power and authority to hear and definitely determine every such appeal, with the causes and all circumstances concerning the same.” We are assured that nothing more was meant than the jurisdiction now exercised by prohibition and *mandamus*. But if that be so, how can 25 Henry VIII., ch. 19, be identical with the Constitutions of Clarendon? According to these Constitutions, when there is a “slackness of justice,” the King can have the case determined in the Archbishop’s Court, and it is admitted by Canon Trevor that this points to a re-hearing. I suppose to avoid this inconsistency we are presently invited to pursue a different line. The appeal is a real appeal, but the Commissioners, it is found, with the help of the *Reformatio Legum* (quaintly termed a contemporary *exposition*) mean “select Bishops or the Synod.” By an amazing effort of historical intuition, Canon Trevor has ascertained that “this was the old practice of the Archbishop’s Court.” “The Archbishop sat

alone, or with three or four of his co-provincial suffragans; if the case was important enough, he summoned the whole Synod." In fact, the provision about the King in Chancery was a round-about way of referring to the full Court of the Archbishop. But Canon Trevor has surely forgotten that we are considering an appeal from the Archbishop's Court. It is inconceivable that all this elaborate legislation should aim at nothing more than to enable a litigant to appeal from the Archbishop's Court to the same Court again, or, to put it as favourably as possible, to make an appeal to the full Court practicable. Of course, if Canon Trevor's theory of the Provincial Court is correct, no Statute was necessary to enable the full Court to be assembled.

If I have succeeded in making myself intelligible, the absurd contradiction in which Canon Trevor's singular selective method has involved him, ought to be plain. This is the most important example, and it must stand for the rest.

Now let us return to Canon Trevor's criticism of the proposition that the State is supreme over the discipline of the Church. It may, perhaps, strike the reader to inquire why so much trouble is expended in attempting to show that the Reformation Statutes accomplished nothing, but were nearly all "side-winds," merely affirming pre-existing laws. The answer is simple. Canon Trevor has not only to dispose of the Court of Delegates as the Court of Final Appeal, and the immediate ancestor of the Judicial Committee; he has to show that all these Statutes dealing with Courts were nullities, for otherwise, as they were mere Statutes without any ecclesiastical sanction, they would be instances of the very principle he is combating. It is for this purpose that I have relied on them in my book. The only sort of direct answer which Canon Trevor offers to my argument is to minimize the effect of these statutes. Hence his efforts to show that they merely re-stated principles already acknowledged. But even so, he cannot get rid of all of them. His favourite 24 Henry VIII., ch. 12, at any rate accomplished something, so according to one of his two theories of construction did the Act of the next year. It is really amusing to observe how impossible Canon Trevor finds it even in stating his theory not to contradict it. Thus he says, "The Act proceeds to enact that appeals," &c. "The Archbishop's Court is restored to its authority." "The Statute 25 Henry VIII., ch. 19, "did not restore," &c. All which phrases, if they mean anything, mean that by Acts of Parliament the State exercised a control over the Church Courts, and modified their constitution.

But although Canon Trevor fails, and if he will forgive my saying so, fails rather ignominiously over the direct historical evidence, he has another string to his bow. The argument on which he places his principal reliance is this:—He says my

theory of State control over Church discipline cannot be true, because it is inconsistent with the very conception of a Church Court. He adds that this inconsistency is "self-evident," but that is a mere rhetorical expletive, for he proceeds to argue his point with some elaboration. Now what does Canon Trevor mean by a Church Court? I do not think he knows very precisely, for his explanations have a curiously confused tone about them. We are first told.—"A Church Court has no jurisdiction over persons or property; it proceeds *pro salute animæ* by purely spiritual censures; its authority is exhausted in excommunications." If any temporal effect is to follow it must be by the law of the land administered by the "secular arm." Now it is, I should have thought, "self-evident" that such an institution as Canon Trevor describes is no Court at all. The prelate, or his official, may sit in what he pleases to call his Court, fulminating his excommunications against those whom he may suppose to deserve them; but for all practical purposes he is as powerless as John Bunyan's Pope, who sat grinding his teeth and biting the nails at the pilgrims, but was unable to move by reason of the rheumatism and old age. Unless there is some power in the Court to summon persons before it, and some means to compel their attendance, the judicial determination of any question between individuals is impossible. Accordingly Canon Trevor himself admits this a little further on. "The powers of such a Court are twofold—first and principally the spiritual authority of the prelate's office in the Church, and secondly, the legal jurisdiction accorded him by the State." Here we get on to well-known ground. Canon Trevor is only following many high authorities in saying that the Judge of a Church Court exercises two sets of powers, a jurisdiction in *foro conscientiæ*, which he derives from the Church, and a jurisdiction in *foro exteriori*, which he receives from the State. Thus Archbishop Bramhall ("Schism Guarded," chap. ix.) :—

We must know that in Bishops there is a threefold power; the first, of *order*; the second, of *interior* jurisdiction; the third, of *exterior* jurisdiction. The first is referred to the consecrating and administering of the Sacraments; the second to the requirements of Christians in the interior court of conscience; the third to the requirements of Christian people in the exterior Court of the Church.

But let it be understood that a *Church Court* possesses both sets of powers. Canon Trevor would no doubt say that without the first there is no *Church* about it. I say that, without the second, there is no *Court*.

In fact, without the express sanction of the State no Court can exist lawfully. Canon Trevor quotes the Judgment of the Privy Council in the Colenso Case, and certainly it is very

relevant, though not quite in the way he supposes. It will perhaps be remembered, that Bishop Gray's condemnation of Bishop Colenso was declared to be ineffectual because the Letters Patent purporting to give Bishop Gray power to hold a Court were in this respect void.

No Metropolitan or Bishop in any colony having legislative institutions can by virtue of the Crown's Letters Patent alone (unless granted under an Act of Parliament or confirmed by a Colonial Statute), exercise any coercive jurisdiction, *or hold any Court or Tribunal for that purpose.*

The general principle is thus laid down in the same Judgment:—

It is a settled constitutional principle or rule of law, that although the Crown may by its prerogative establish Courts to proceed according to the Common Law, yet that it cannot create any new Court to administer any other law; and it is laid down by Lord Coke in the 4th Institute, that the erection of a new Court with a new jurisdiction cannot be without an Act of Parliament.

Archbishop Bramhall, in the work already quoted, asks, "Who can summon another man's subjects to appear when they please, and imprison or punish them for not appearing without his leave?"

We have arrived therefore at this:—Every Church Court exercises some power derived from the State, and no Church Court can exist except by permission of the State. The principle which I have advocated in my book is that the State possesses the right to mould and modify these Church Courts. Canon Trevor is shocked. He says, "This is what modern legislation has brought us to! When I was ordained there was not a single Court, and never had been one answering to any part of this theory." Now I do not forget that the issue between me and Canon Trevor at this moment is not as to facts, but as to whether the nature of a Church Court negatives my theory. I will therefore only observe in passing that to justify Canon Trevor's energetic denial we must leave out of view the Final Court of Appeal (both the Delegates and the Privy Council) and we must ignore the whole body of Acts dealing with Church Courts from the Reformation downwards. But to return. I think Canon Trevor is a little hasty in saying that the principle he disputes is so novel as to have been introduced "within his own recollection." I shall show, I hope clearly, not only that there is no novelty about this theory, but that it was pre-eminently *the* Reformation theory of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and further, that it was held in more recent times by the High Church divines, to whose views those of Canon Trevor correspond.



First, as to the Reformation. Canon Trevor states very glibly, as though he were running over a series of undisputed propositions, the theory of *inner* and *outer* jurisdiction. But I suppose he knows very well that our Reformers did not hold this theory at all. I do not say that it had no supporters amongst the Reformers, but I do most positively affirm that it was not the principle acted on or professed in the Reformation settlement. A very much higher view was taken at that period of the duties and powers of the Crown than is now fashionable amongst High Churchmen. A Christian prince was considered to have the same authority in matters of religion as was exercised by the Jewish kings. He was the source of all rule and jurisdiction in the Church no less than in the State. His functions were distinguished from those of the spirituality by no refinements about the court of conscience and the external court, but by the broad division of preaching the Word and administration of the Sacraments on the one hand, and all rule and authority on the other. Thus, the 37th Article states the principle in the clearest manner:—

We give not to our princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments, but . . . that they should *rule* all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal.

So anxious were the Reformers to leave no room for question as to their meaning that they took pains to use the very strongest terms to describe the plenitude of the Royal Supremacy. We find the illustration of a fountain continually made use of. All ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority are said to flow from the Crown as from "one primæval fountain." Thus was it sought to emphasize in words the principle which was certainly adopted in practice. Now it follows, as a matter of course, that if all the powers exercised by the ecclesiastical judges came from the Crown, then the Crown is supreme over the Church Courts, and over the discipline administered by them. Accordingly we find this stated in the most unmistakable manner.

Thus, in 37 Henry VIII., ch. 17, (the Statute which enabled married laymen to be ecclesiastical judges) we find it recited that:—

Albeit the said (Pontifical) decrees, ordinances, and constitutions . . . be utterly . . . abolished, . . . yet, because the contrary thereunto is not used nor put in practice by the archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons, *who have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, but by, under, and from your Royal Majesty, etc.*

And then the Statute goes on, without any synodical sanction be it remembered, to alter the status of the ecclesiastical judges.

Again, 1 Ed. VI, ch. 2, enacted that the writs and processes of the Ecclesiastical Courts were to run in the name of the King instead of that of the particular prelate. The preamble states (amongst other things):—

Seeing . . . and that all courts ecclesiastical be kept by no other power or authority, either foreign or within the realm, but by the authority of his most excellent Majesty, etc.

I quote this Statute as quite conclusive on the view taken at the time it was passed. Like all the other Reformation Statutes, it was repealed by Queen Mary. When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne it was not revived, not because there was any change of opinion as to the extent of the supremacy, but because it was not considered advisable that the Ecclesiastical Courts should use the Queen's name. We see, therefore, that the theory of which Canon Trevor fancies he remembers the origin, is as old as the Reformation, and was then generally adopted. The ecclesiastical judges, whether prelates or their officials, were regarded as charged by the Crown, with a jurisdiction emanating wholly from the Crown. If we admit the Reformers' view of the source of the powers exercised in Church Courts, Canon Trevor's objection to the principle of State control, that it is contrary to the nature of a Church Court, falls to the ground.

But I do not wish to ignore the fact that although the Reformation theory of spiritual jurisdiction was what I have stated, that theory has not been agreed to by many of the leading Divines of the Church of England in later times. In many respects a great gulf separates the leading Churchmen of the sixteenth century from those of the seventeenth. It is not my business to discuss how this happened, I only know that so it was. I have recently seen this marked change referred to and discussed in a very ably-written and interesting work, entitled "*Romanism, Protestantism, Anglicanism.*"<sup>1</sup> The theory of a Bishop's jurisdiction being of two kinds—the inner, from God, and the outer, from the King—which Canon Trevor makes the basis of his argument, was no doubt held by many of the great Divines of the Stuart period. But admitting this, I do not see how the case against me is much advanced. Canon Trevor seems to think that it is a necessary consequence of the existence of the "inner jurisdiction" that the State cannot have control over the Church Courts. But I think he is again jumping to conclusions too hastily. We have seen that it is admitted that a part of the powers exercised by the Ecclesiastical Court came from the State; and further, that no Court can sit but with

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<sup>1</sup> "*Romanism, Protestantism, Anglicanism.*" Kegan Paul & Co. By "*Oxoniensis*" (a layman).

the sanction of the State. Is it very unreasonable to expect that a tribunal so largely dependent on the State for its existence and its authority should allow the State to make laws and regulations binding upon it? I suppose Canon Trevor will say that it is perfectly unreasonable. He will probably add—he generally does—Erastian. But that is not the view of the very men from whose works he has learnt about the inner and outer jurisdiction. I will quote two.

First. Bishop Saunderson, in his celebrated book on "Episcopacy," p. 31 :—

That there can be no fear of any danger to arise to the prejudice of the Royal power from the opinion that Bishops are *jure divino*, unless that opinion should be stretched to one of those two constructions, viz., as if it were intended either, 1. That all the Power which bishops have legally exercised in Christian kingdoms did belong to them as of Divine right; or 2. *That Bishops living under Christian Kings might at least exercise so much of their power as is of Divine right after their own pleasure, without, or even against, the King's leave, or without respect to the laws and customs of the realm.* Neither of which is any part of our meaning.

Secondly. Bishop Stillingfleet ("Eccles. Cases," ii. 50) :—

In the ordinary jurisdiction of bishops, there are two things especially to be distinguished—

I. The original right belonging to their office, which they have from Christ, the Founder and Head of the Church, the Fountain of spiritual jurisdiction.

II. The authority to execute such a jurisdiction within the realm, and the rules and measures of exercising it—which are prescribed by the laws of the land—to transgress the bounds so prescribed is an offence against the Crown and royal dignity.

I think these extracts will be sufficient to satisfy the reader that even adopting Canon Trevor's own theory of episcopal jurisdiction, the inference which he draws from it is not just, at any rate in the opinion of the men whom Canon Trevor professes to follow. The result is that, whether the powers wielded by a Church Court came from one source or two, the State has entire control over its constitution and administration.

I have now answered, to the best of my ability, the main arguments of Canon Trevor's paper. There are many minor matters which I should have liked to notice if I had not already written more than I intended when I began. I can therefore only refer to a few points. Canon Trevor cites from Coke's 4th Institute a passage to the effect that—"certain it is that this kingdom hath been best governed and preserved," when the ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdictions were kept distinct—as though it tended to show the independence of Church Courts. The quotation is altogether irrelevant for this purpose. Coke is

speaking, not of principles, but of actual facts, and he says, what of course is obvious enough, that the two sets of Courts actually existing get on best when they do not meddle with one another. According to Coke's view both are equally the *King's Courts*.

Canon Trevor lays great stress on the supposed similarity of the Judicial Committee to the High Commission Court. But, except for the purpose of raising a cheer, there is nothing in the point. When he says that "the Crown set up a quasi-Papal tribunal in the Court of High Commission," Canon Trevor shows as slight acquaintance with the history of this tribunal as his previous remarks betray with reference to the Privy Council. What are the facts? The High Commission Court was a Parliamentary Court, created under 1 Eliz., ch. 1, sec. 18. It gradually superseded all the regular Ecclesiastical Courts, including the Court of Delegates, and dealt with all Church matters as a court of first instance, the decrees of which were final. The quarrel of the nation with it was not that it unduly exercised the Royal Supremacy. Its parliamentary origin would have been a sufficient answer to such a charge. Coke (4th Inst., 341) argues that the Crown could by virtue of the Supremacy have granted a "Commission of Review" to rehear a case decided by the High Commission. It was the excess of its Parliamentary powers that constituted the offence of the High Commission Court in the eyes of the lawyers, while the people detested its tyrannical procedure and cruel exactions. It will be seen, therefore, that the causes which led to its overthrow were quite distinct from any which may be supposed to apply to the Judicial Committee. It is simply absurd to say that the "precedents" of the latter "are drawn from the illegal and pernicious tyranny of the Tudors and Stuarts in the extinct Court of High Commission."

In the same category of platform garnish I include tall talk about the Inquisition, and maledictions on lawyers. In these latter Canon Trevor's paper is especially rich. "The lawyers not to lose a profitable trade," &c. "It floods the Church with litigation, to the profit of the lawyers and the scandal of religion." "To soothe the bigotry of the lawyers." "Carefully shutting out the lawyers." These are some of the expressions by which Canon Trevor evinces his disapprobation of a profession, the members of which are, I hope, not quite so mischievous and sordid as he thinks. He possesses a happy knack of using strong language effectively, and these illustrations of his wit were most warmly appreciated by his audience; but I do not think I need encumber the pages of *THE CHURCHMAN* by attempting to reply to, what I trust I may be forgiven for calling, mere sky-rockets.

LEWIS T. DIBDIN.

#### ART. IV.—TWO YEARS' JOURNEYING IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

IN THE CHURCHMAN of June, 1881, appeared a review of Major Serpa Pinto's work, "How I Crossed Africa." Major Pinto was one of the three officers sent out by the Portuguese Government, with the best wishes of his Majesty the King, Dom Luiz, to explore and survey in the South-west regions of Africa. The gallant Major's comrades were Messrs. Ivens and Capello, officers of the Royal Portuguese Navy. The expedition left Lisbon in July, 1877. The main object, according to the work before us,<sup>1</sup> was a survey of the river Cuango in its bearings with the Zaire and with the Portuguese territories on the West Coast, together with the region which comprises to the S. and S.E. the sources of the rivers Zambese and Cunene, and extends northwards as far as the hydrographic basins of the Cuanza and Cuango. In traversing some 2,500 miles of African soil, Messrs. Ivens and Capello say, they really covered a greater distance than lies upon the direct route between Benguella and Sofala. Although they did not "cross" the continent, they certainly have done good service; they had to make their way through the basin of the Congo, which, according to Mr. Stanley, is the most pestilential region in Africa; and their maps, with astronomical and other tables, supply proof of the thoroughness of their work. They pay a warm tribute to Mr. Stanley, whose descent of the Congo-Zaire relieved them of a dangerous task.

In Benguella, the place where "the illustrious explorer, Cameron, terminated his adventurous journey," the Portuguese explorers finished the organization of their staff. Benguella is a centre of Portuguese authority, and through it is carried on an extensive trade. Its custom-house revenues amount to £25,000. The imports are arms, powder, cotton goods, and other similar products. From the interior are brought in wax, india-rubber, and ivory; also gums, resins, skins, feathers, and fibres. In the streets may be seen, day after day, some four or five hundred Ban-dombes, Bailundes, Bihénos, and Ganguellas; some of these are not much given to trade, but make themselves useful as carriers. The life of a Portuguese merchant in Benguella is a busy one; the caravans which come in, the products that are brought forward, the prices reckoned current, and his negotia-

<sup>1</sup> "From Benguella to the Territory of Yacca. Description of a Journey into Central and West Africa, comprising Narratives, Adventures, and important Surveys of the Sources of the Rivers Cunene, Cubango, Luando, Cuanza, and Cuango, and of great part of the course of the two latter." By B. Capello and R. Ivens. Translated by Alfred Elwes, Ph.D. Two vols. Sampson Low & Co. 1882.

tions with the natives, absorb his time. Now-a-days the "commercial travellers," or *aviados*, are few; the trade is almost exclusively carried on by the natives themselves. The Bihénos are the chief habitués of the market; they are very shrewd, and will haggle for two or three hours with a merchant before they are satisfied with a bargain.<sup>1</sup> They take the European wares into the interior, and barter them at convenient marts, bringing back the produce of remoter regions.

It was November, 1877, when Pinto, Ivens, and Capello, set forth on their two years' wanderings. The long line of carriers who accompanied the Portuguese expedition, men, women, and children, all intoned at the same time the chant of the march, and with a guide at the head, the troop disappeared over the brow of the eastern hills. Thirteen miles from Benguella they made their first halt. A few days further on they were entertained by a Portuguese landowner; in fertile ground cotton flourishes well; there are extensive plantations of sugar-cane, and the production of *aguardente* is large. The women of the Ban-dombes, we read, are generally dirty and repulsive; their hair is surcharged with clay, or rancid butter, and the faces of some are painted with white or red stripes. The Ban-dombes are extremely superstitious; but of real religion, like other tribes, they have no notion.

Quillengues, a division of the vast district of Benguella, is a stopping-place for the caravans; its climate is said to be "bearable." Maize, beans, manioc, potatoes, ground nuts, sugar-cane, melons, &c., all are met with in abundance. Wild beasts commit great havoc among the flocks and herds. Bananas, orange trees, pineapples, and lovely shrubs meet the eye on every side. From this fertile region the travellers, recovered from fever, set forth on January 1st, 1878. One night they were suddenly awakened by a hoarse roaring: there was no mistaking the voice of the king of the forest; a very heavy breathing, however, was heard within their enclosure; and although at first they fancied the intruder was one of the donkeys, it proved to be a huge buffalo, alarmed most likely by the lion's roar. The donkeys, it seems, were a continual cause of trouble and delay. They were wont to flounder in a bog, or jam themselves and their loads between two trees, or rush into standing maize. Of the half-dozen brought from Benguella, five were drowned in crossing streams; and only one reached the Bihé

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<sup>1</sup> The following prices are established on the seaboard:—

One pound of ivory (standard), 6s. 9d.

One pound of wax, clear, 9½d.

A quarter-hundredweight of india-rubber, 38s. 3d.

A panther's skin, 9s.

country. The carriers, it seems, esteemed roast donkey a delicious dish; they were always pleased when one of the creatures died.

On the 8th the travellers reached the Portuguese settlement at Caconda. The rainy season had now set in; and the first care of the heads of the expedition was to secure shelter. At Caconda, a pleasant place, many Portuguese traders have dwellings. If only connected with Benguela by a regular road, we read, this elevated district would become very prosperous: sugar-cane, cotton, coffee and rice, as well as corn, might easily be raised. At Caconda our authors met with José de Anchieta, the eminent Portuguese naturalist, whose love of science had detained him in Africa for twelve years. To this "modest and untiring" explorer, it may be noted, they dedicate their second volume.

In a trip of thirty miles to the river Cuene, the explorers saw large herds of *galengues* (*Oryx gazella*) with long straight horns; also *palancas*, with enormous curved horns; also buffaloes, deer, and zebras. Lions, panthers, and leopards are frequent; in the Cunene are hippopotami and crocodiles. The stork and the crane were seen, and rats of various species in astonishing quantities.

At Caconda, the leaders of the Portuguese expedition separated. Major Pinto chose a more northward route to the Bihé; at that place the separation of the travellers was final, the gallant Major journeying across the continent to the Indian Ocean, while Messrs Ivens and Capello travelled in a N. E. and N. direction, returning southerly and westerly to the Atlantic. The prime motor of the separation, we read, was the interest of science. It seems to have been a mistake to send out an expedition without a head. Of the Ganguellas, whose territory lies on the route to the Bihé, Messrs. Ivens and Capello write in praise; ingenious workers in iron they easily make or repair locks, bolts, gun-barrels, assagais, knives, hoes, &c.; they are extremely inclined to music. In the Ganguella region the entomological fauna has representatives of almost every species:—

Black ants with large heads and huge mandibles,<sup>1</sup> and others of various shapes, cross one's path in perfect armies, making a special

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<sup>1</sup> On p. 82 we read:—"Upon the road we met an enormous column of *bisondes* (black ants), with huge heads shaped like those of a bull-dog, which, as the natives affirmed, were returning from war. These insects fix on their prey with such tenacity that it is only by severing their heads from their bodies that they will let go their hold; they are therefore greatly feared by the natives. . . . The object of their warlike incursion in the present instance appeared to have been a colony of termites." Long red ants are even more dangerous than the dreaded *bisondes*. On p. 19, vol.ii., we read of a strange species of black ants, nearly half an

whirring or humming sound, like that of the beetle in its flight. Numerous tribes of termites, which the natives style *Sala-lé*, were busy reconstructing their dwellings, recently destroyed by the abundant rains of the season, and literally covering the ground with their vermilion cones. Myriads of gnats, mixed up with butterflies, locusts, and other insects, darted and fluttered through the air in every direction, in company with the small African bees, which were white with the flour of the manioc they had been stealing from the *senzala* hard by.

On the 8th of March the travellers reached the Bihé; they were hospitably entertained by a Portuguese merchant, whose well-cultivated kitchen garden was surrounded by orange, lemon, and citron trees. Of the Bihé and the Bihénos, their account corresponds with that of Pinto (THE CHURCHMAN vol. iv. p. 194).

On the 19th of May the travellers broke up their camp, and on the 10th of July they arrived at Cangombe, where they were received by the great chief N'Dumba Tembo. His Majesty said that he believed the coming of a white man would bring them good fortune: he had told the Bihénos, who came for wax, to request the whites to visit them, but in vain. N'Dumba Tembo promised the carriers which the travellers required; and, after a few days, the expedition was divided into two parts, Ivens travelling on the west bank of the Cuango and Capello on the east. The surveying work was thus more fully done. On October the 18th they were reunited at Cassange, the rendezvous, on the eastern limit of the Portuguese territory.

The climate of Cassange is very unhealthy; and the Bangala,<sup>1</sup> although well versed in trade, are warlike and turbulent. Fetichism is supreme. Horrible cruelties are practised, and some of their ceremonies are most revolting. "The fertility of the natives in creating horrors," we read, "is something in-

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inch in length, which emitted a most pestiferous ("stinking") smell when they were destroyed.

On p. 281 we read of the honey-bird or Indicator (*Cuculus indicator* of naturalists) guiding the natives to a store of honey. An ant-hill, the presumed abode of termites, was pointed out; and one of the blacks driving his foot into the mound a swarm of bees immediately issued from the orifice. Burning bundles of dry grass, the natives obtained layers of comb; wax, honey and larvæ disappeared down their voracious jaws. The Indicator did not wait for a share of the plunder.

Mentioning the fondness of the Bangala for spirits our travellers write:—"When completing some zoological collections for despatch to Europe, we brought out and put upon our work-table some bottles containing reptiles and other animal specimens preserved in spirit, which owing to the length of time it had been in bottle, was so thick and unsightly that we determined to change it. Two days afterwards, however, noticing a very disagreeable smell, we hunted for the cause, and found, to our astonishment, that one of the bottles was completely dry, two of our fellows, we learned upon inquiry, having sucked out the contents."



credible. One would imagine that they were conceived in a fit of delirium, so foul are they and unnatural."

On the 19th of December, Ivens and Capello set out for the Cuango; and after nine days of fatiguing trial they reached that river, which was bordered by high grass. Their plight was pitiable: weakened and depressed by fever, without shelter, they were exposed to a furious tempest, with torrential rain; the water was soon up to their ankles: at intervals could be heard the beat of a war-drum. After a time they perceived a semicircle of armed natives approaching them. The black hordes brandished their bows and arrows, their assagais—six feet long—and other weapons, the while they kept on shouting with threatening yells. On the opposite bank of the river, also, appeared warriors, so that to advance or retreat was equally difficult. "Let us try and talk to them, senhors," was, plainly enough, the best advice; and an interpreter, waving a piece of gingham as a flag of parley, called out, "Friends, what harm are we doing?" The end of it was, the Sova, taking them to be traders, persisted in his opposition: "No, the whites should not cross the river" (*Cá ná bín-delle ca-pondola ocu-pita*). That most anxious night, wrapped in their dripping coats, the travellers could get but little sleep; in the pestilential air the fever grew worse; and their followers were almost unmanageable through fright.<sup>1</sup> To retreat was the only prudent course; and on Jan. 6, 1879, they again found themselves at "that wretched hole," Cassange.

At Cassange they took six weeks' rest. And here, at the close of their second volume, our sketch of their journeyings must stop. On March 20th they made the fortress of the Duque, where they were cordially received by the Portuguese chefe; on May 25 they reached the extreme limit of the Hungo;<sup>2</sup> on June 9 they reached their extreme northern point, on the border of an arid and silent desert; here they suffered much from lack of food, and decided to return south and west; on

<sup>1</sup> One of their carrier lads, that night, was stung by an immense scorpion, which the travellers caught alive. The repulsive creature belonged to one of the perfectly black varieties, and was nearly four inches long. The poor boy cried out as though, he said, a hundred needles were being driven into his flesh; clutching his wounded arm, he rolled over and over on the ground in agony; after half an hour he felt intense cold, inflammation following. Rejecting the several expedients proposed by the natives, S. Capello made two gashes in the form of a cross, and washed the parts repeatedly with ammonia.

<sup>2</sup> The Ma-hungo men do not plait their hair at all, but either leave the wool alone, or shaving portion of the head, adorn the sides with blue glass beads. They cut away the two front teeth to the gum, and sometimes the two lower ones also. They anoint their bodies with oil and clay. Both men and women smoke incessantly. *Nicotiana tabacum*, with a large lance-shaped leaf, abounds; also another quality. The men of the Hungo—and often the women—take snuff immoderately.

June 27 they again found themselves at the Portuguese outpost, the Duque. On October 11 they made the town of Dondo, and steaming by Cungu they reached Loanda on the 13th.

The story of how they got out of their difficulties on the borders of the desert district is well told.

Somma, an intelligent and active *mu-sumbi*, with three or four more, was instructed to make his way to the south in search of game, or anything else in the shape of food, while José, the guide, was desired to go northwards to see if he could meet with the habitations of man. We ourselves were meanwhile to keep watch and ward with the reserves over our goods, and wait for tidings from the scouts.

When they had departed we set to work to construct an encampment, and scour the neighbourhood in search of edible roots. As the quest was perfectly unsuccessful, we were fain to content ourselves with cold water and such scraps of flour as we could gather from the sack after it was turned inside out like a glove. Then we entered in our diary the laconic phrases which we literally transcribe :—

*Portuguese African Expedition.*

May 26th, 1879.

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Aneroid, 2,349ft.

Temperature, 84° Fahr.

An awful day. Camped on a mount near the confluence of the Cu-gho and Fortuna. Completely cleared out of provisions. Very down and glumpy. Country deserted. Not a soul yet met with. Hungry, feverish, and sick. Horary for longitude :—

☉ at 2<sup>h</sup> = 53.31. H = 1<sup>h</sup> 50<sup>m</sup> 28<sup>s</sup> 30<sup>t</sup>. Azith. = 369.9.

☉ mer. = 67.97.

What next? We must wait.

It was the only thing to do, so we did it with resignation, while counting the minutes and listening to catch the slightest sound. But in the immense solitude there reigned a sepulchral silence which we ourselves scarcely ventured to break.

Meanwhile the sun ran his imperturbable course; passed through the stages from brilliant yellow to deep orange, and, nearing the horizon, irradiated the patches of cloud which floated beneath the azure vault of heaven, shot a few grand rays through a rent in the dense vapour, and then, in disappearing, carried with him our last lingering hopes!

"Nothing," we murmured sadly to each other; "otherwise they would have returned."

Night fell, and brought with it increased depression. Extensive fires in the east and the moon, which then rose, seemed to augment the solemnity of the prospect.

Hours passed over, when we were aroused by the report of a gun. It was Somma, with his party; and, shortly after, another report warned us of the arrival of Fortuna. They brought us, unluckily, no comfort; they had found no cultivation, no track, not a vestige of a human thing. The forest, they said, was all around us, but they had sought in vain for a path which could hint of its ever being traversed.

In José, now, lay the sole hope that was left us, and our readers

may believe that we did so with intense anxiety. His route had been northwards, and in that direction we looked and watched.

As early as four in the morning we were on the lookout. We had tried to sleep, but in vain; we had been listening the night through. The morning breeze, as it fanned our fevered temples, was an immense relief; but we were faint and sick for want of sustenance.

The sun reappeared, and lit up all the landscape; but to us it brought little relief as we regarded the worn and haggard looks of our companions in misfortune. As for ourselves, wrapped in our great-coats, seated on the ground, and our backs supported by the open trunks, we wound up our chronometers and recorded the readings of the thermometers, and, having thus performed our duty towards science, restored the instruments to their places, and once more gazed out upon the country.

There was nothing new in it; there was no change from the day before; the same valleys and the same woodland met our eyes, and the same silence reigned over all.

As time sped on, it became urgent upon us, we knew, to take some resolution, to make some effort, unless we intended to wait, with arms folded, for the approach of death by starvation. But what was that resolution, what that effort to be? To return? We were far from any inhabited place; by the road we had come it would take us two long days, and how were they to be got through, fasting, while we had already fasted so long? To go forward? Whither? Amid the frightful obstacles we beheld from our point of observation? And José? Could we, ought we, to abandon him? A thousand times no! Remain we must, and to remain we resolved, further determining to use our efforts to draw fish from the river and to scour the woods in search of game.

The idea was no sooner uttered than it was seized upon with avidity, and once again did the encampment display a semblance of motion. Anything that could serve for a net was hastily rummaged out; lead was cut into little pieces to make small shot for birds; some of the hands set to work to manufacture snares, and parties were in the very act of setting out for the river, when from the forest, in a north-west direction, the report of a couple of guns turned us for the moment into statues!

"It is José!" was the universal cry.

And as we looked, we saw José and his companions emerge from the wood with a firm and elastic step, which was in strong contrast with our own weakness.

From two hunters they found José had obtained, by barter, food sufficient for their present needs; manioc root and dried fish to men who had been next door to starvation was not to be despised; but the supplies were scanty.

The Cuango lay, to a certainty, in an east-north-east direction; and they resolved to push on, at all events, a little farther:—

Ill-luck appeared to pursue us upon this terrible journey, and with cruel irony placed food, so to speak, within our reach only to snatch

it away. As we plodded along, one of the carriers reported that he had seen upon the left, various dark, moving objects, which he took to be *palancas*.

We at once started in search, working round to leeward of the spot, so as to prevent their getting scent of us. In a few minutes we came in sight of them, and could observe their beautiful heads peering between the grass. They were large female antelopes, hornless, with long necks, elegant in shape, with very light and lustrous skins, having the appearance at first sight of a herd of wild asses. On our nearer approach, something caused them to take the alarm, and hesitating for a moment in restless attitude, they darted away with all speed. . . .

This last misfortune seemed to deprive our crew of what little courage was left them. Ten hours, which appeared as many months in length, had elapsed since we left the banks of the river Fortuna, and still there was no evidence of human habitation. Surely, we thought, one more day of such suffering will decide our fate, and the caravan, already demoralized, must perish of inanition. The very Ban-Sumbi, the most robust of our men, were sinking beneath the strain put upon them, and we expected at any moment they would throw down their loads and refuse to carry them further. The young niggers hobbled along, bent like men; the women, in most instances, overladen with their infants, the perspiration pouring from them as they walked, took every opportunity of stopping by the way, more willing to resign themselves to their fate, if it brought them rest, than to go on seeking for what they deemed undiscoverable. We ourselves, though carrying no loads, did not suffer less than any other of our people. A general debility had taken possession of our entire organism, rendering it difficult for us to stand upright, owing to the indescribable pains in the back and loins.

To dwell at any length on these troubles, say our travellers, must seem to some persons a mistake, and quite undignified. To the man who has never had the misfortune to pass entire days of hunger and thirst with the temperature at 86° of Fahrenheit; who has never suffered from intense fever, aggravated by the anguish of dysentery, the terrible itching caused by parasites; who has never felt the excruciating suffering caused by scorbutic wounds in the legs and feet, so that the pressure of the boot is almost intolerable; the relation of travelling pains and penalties may appear wearisome and undignified. But Mr. Stanley's language about the "tortures" he suffered is not much stronger than that employed by Messrs. Capello and Ivens. Their narrative of the details of their misery at the end of May and beginning of June, is a tissue of suffering from fever, hunger, thirst, and struggles in an "awful desert."

In regard to Missionary work, our travellers quote the remarks of Major Pinto (CHURCHMAN, vol. iv. p. 201). Moreover, they are of opinion that the rivalry of Christian bodies tends to

increase the power of Mohammedanism. They suggest "the establishment of an international Catholic association, which would, by means of a general plan having identical bases, administer spiritual bread to the natives of the dark continent." If the representatives of Christian nations could thus agree to work in harmony, they would be able, these Portuguese travellers believe, to frustrate the efforts of the Arabs.

The region mainly explored by these travellers is, in some respects, one of the most interesting in Africa; its hydrographic system, as many readers of Livingstone's journeys will remember, is extremely complicated. Livingstone, in his first journey, wrote of the bewildering nature of the watershed; a very little, sometimes, would turn an affluent of the Congo into a feeder of the Zambesi.

For many years this region has been a favourite field for German explorers. They have been successful; but in communicating the scientific results of their explorations they did not, so far as we know, write lengthy narratives. In March, 1879, it seems (vol. ii. p. 61) Messrs. Ivens and Capello met Dr. Max Buchner. "We were seated at the entrance of our hut, when there suddenly appeared to our astonished eyes an European gentleman, mounted on an ox, and attended by two or three negroes." Dr. Buchner, a German explorer, introduced himself, and was hospitably entertained.



#### ART. V.—LITURGICAL IMPROVEMENTS.

LET the Church be careful, lest, while discussing other things of very considerable importance, she omit the practical question of Liturgical alterations and improvements.

This is a practical question, and ought to be dealt with speedily, so far, at least, as relates to the production of more "Offices." The need for additions is great, indeed. No earnest and observing clergyman, who tries to work his parish thoroughly, can be in doubt about it.

To this hour thousands who attend church know not how to find the needful "places" in the Prayer Book. This could be very easily remedied, although never remedied hitherto. Thousands attend church, but their voices are never raised in one act of worship. They appear as if their share of worship consisted in placing their bodies within the walls of a church, while others said or sung whatever was uttered.

The Prayer Book could easily be much enriched, and, by

simplification, also much improved; and, probably, even these things could be secured to a very considerable extent without legislation.

Certainly, the clergy have wisely ceased to regard the Act of Uniformity as the awful bugbear which it was thought to be some fifty years ago, when the very utterance of the term would hush an aspirant into silence, and continue others in the slumber which they loved. The Act of Uniformity may have been necessary in the times when it was passed, and under the sad conditions which suggested it. It has been improved and modified, as everybody knows. But I believe it was never intended to be what of later years it has been made to be—namely, a direful hindrance to any clergyman who simply, in his earnestness, desired to adapt the actions of the Church to the needs of the period.

The old Evangelical of fifty years ago perceived this, and wisely acted accordingly. He was in due time scorned and ridiculed as a law-breaker; but, after a while, the Ritualist and the earnest "High Church" Missioner both found the needs of the case, and appear by their proceedings to have discovered that the old Evangelicals were not so wrong in their instincts as they had been represented to be. Of late years we find celebrations of Holy Communion in which a large portion of that Office is omitted, without consulting law, bishop, or rubric; but it may be presumed that this has been tacitly allowed by the Bishop's perceiving the necessity of the omission under certain circumstances. Yet, if this is allowed, surely the omission of the long introductory portion of the Baptismal Offices may be omitted with at least equal propriety. If, *e.g.*, the public baptism of infants commenced with the third prayer, and were thus shortened about one-third, it could, perhaps, be introduced at the time appointed, although even then it would be abundantly and needlessly long.

As to the *administration* of Holy Communion, it is of great importance to shorten the lengthy period occupied in this part of the Office. They who desire to render the Holy Communion a mere celebration, at which hundreds may worship, while few partake, may see the policy of retaining matters as they are. But they who adhere to Christ's own injunction—"Take, eat, drink ye all of this," and who regard the act of eating and drinking to be just as essential in this sacrament as the *application* of water is in the other, will recognize, on consideration, the importance of the proposal. The number of communicants must increase rapidly everywhere, and it is of high importance to render the service shorter. This is done now by a bold act of omission. It could be done with far greater propriety by a very small change, which involves no principle or doctrine, but which

would hinder all undue lengthening out of the time occupied in the Communion. It is wearisome to many of the communicants, and wearying to the clergyman or clergymen officiating, to repeat two long sentences at the administration of the bread, and two more long sentences at the administration of the cup. If for these were substituted the very words of Holy Writ—"The Communion of the body of Christ," "The Communion of the blood of Christ," this would both shorten the time of administration very sensibly, and would secure the utterance of very comforting truth to every one communicated.

There is happily a revival of the practice of observing New Year's Day, and the Church feast day and the close of the year, with marked solemnity. It would be manifestly a wise thing to provide a suitable Collect for each one of these occasions.

Then, too, a study of the structure of that prayer of which Jesus said, "After this manner pray ye," will reveal that the mode of structure of our Offices should be characterized by Adoration of God, Submission to His Will, and Desire for the advancement of His Kingdom, before any prayer about ourselves.

This is not quite so fully manifest as it ought to be in some particulars. And it would be an effort in the right direction towards this, if at all the great Church Festivals a proper anthem were substituted for the *Venite*, just as is done now at Easter Day. The late Dean of Westminster (Dr. A. P. Stanley) did this (as the Cathedral Psalter testifies), and he claimed that he and any "Ordinary" could do this lawfully.

There is no doubt that the Act of Uniformity never was, and never was intended to be, half so stringent and severe even before modern alterations of it, as certain stiff Churchmen (interpreting everything on Shylock's principle) persuaded themselves and many others it really was. Such modes of interpretation generally end as Shylock's.

What need can there be for the clergy to apply to their Diocesan for leave to substitute other Lessons in place of the ordinary Lessons, or to select special psalms for special occasions, so long as the remarkable note between the two Books of Homilies is extant, and so long as in the Diocese of Lincoln the whole matter is so beautifully managed without this? The truth is that too many are not loyal to their Bishop in this matter, but alter psalms and lessons *without* informing him, on the allegation, when questioned concerning the proceeding, that it was certain the Bishop would not deny them. But there are greater things than all these possible and desirable.

Let any man who has the opportunity go to Antwerp Cathedral, and observe there on every weekday afternoon, the quiet assembling of a number of peasantry in an appointed part of the Cathedral, for private prayer probably, in the beginning, but

not for this only. Wait and watch. A layman comes in and reverently conducts a well-known service there in the Flemish tongue, and in which the people therefore can and do heartily join. Well, we need much lay agency, chiefly by unpaid and educated men, for they will do it best, especially anything inside the church. But we also need the labours of lay agents, paid and unpaid, learned and even unlearned, to do mighty and great works for God outside the building.

All these are wanting, and all can readily be obtained. None certainly ought to be employed within consecrated Church buildings except those who are duly licensed (as sub-deacons or teachers) by the Bishop. Much strife is made by many about the non-imposition of hands when so setting apart these men. But hands are laid on children in confirmation, so that there seems needless alarm in this particular.

But if laymen are to be employed in Church work, even outside the Church building, they greatly need a Book of Offices specially prepared for them and for the object in view, so constructed as to allow a place for brief *extempore* prayer when it seems necessary, and so expressed as to lead on to the higher offices of the Church services within the consecrated building, in the sacraments, prayers, and other offices, as being the ultimate aim, on earth, of all this outside lay agency work.

From lack of these things the Church has suffered. Many of her most devoted members have yearned after them. Will the longing never be supplied?

For forty years and upwards there has been a yearning for an occasional extra Sunday Service. It ought to have been given long ago. But now, before the compilers supply it, let them visit Freiburg, in Baden, on one of the occasional days on which a special service is used there. These are the Epiphany, Corpus Christi, Sunday in the Octave of Corpus Christi, and S. Michael's Day. Let the visitors witness the Service of the Confraternity Sanctissimi Corporis Christi. Let them examine its admirable construction for *united, hearty, public* worship. Let them hear it, and witness the devotion of which it is capable, and with which it is used. Then let them prayerfully set to work and give the Church here at home a service as equally full of beauty, as it may easily be, but free from idolatry and superstition, and they may rest assured that a great privilege and honour has been conferred upon them.

God grant the Anglican Church such a service as this would then be. It would be a blessing to the nation indeed, and a great power to the Church.

But how large is the work still then remaining! Why should our Sunday Schools continue to be the only organized disorganization in the world? Dame schools, village schools, and every kind of



day school have been shaped into form, wherein now all teaching is given by system, and plan, and with punctuality. But practically in Sunday Schools it is not so. The Church of England Sunday School Institute has done much, and probably will do much more; but Sunday Schools need almost a revolution ere they can meet the double revolution in the day schools of (a) omission of distinct and distinctive religious instruction; and (b) the introduction of thorough systematic graduated teaching. If this latter were well introduced and used in all our Sunday Schools, and if the lessons were duly examined, with the teachers, by the clergyman some time before they used them, the Sunday School would then take its proper position in the Church. Four, five, or six sets of graduated lessons are needed for every Sunday School. The highest but one of these ought to have for its object to secure a whole year's training for Confirmation. The highest set should be for the confirmed only, and should give some theology and a little Church religious history.

Then Rogation Days ought to be thoroughly revived.

The need of a very carefully constructed Office, to be used at the institution of every minister, is greatly felt, and ought to be without delay provided. It ought to differ in many particulars from any other Office, and the parishioners, led by a layman, ought to take an active part in the conduct of it. In fact, it should be more of a service conducted by the people for their minister than of a service conducted by the minister for his people. Carefully constructed and heartily carried out, it would be the means of at once introducing priest and people to each other in the best way possible.

Family prayers, too, are much needed, *constructed on responsive principles*. Ember seasons need something more than we now have, especially if one day in each were made a quiet day of devotion for a parish, or a deanery, or once annually also at the cathedral of the diocese.

It would be well if the Church would recollect that nearly every phase of schism originated in the earnest pursuit of some important truth which the Church almost failed to exhibit. The pursuit of that one truth may have carried its followers too far; but the Church ought never to have lost the exhibition of any one truth. Amongst these the solemn, silent hour of meditation has been much forgotten, until the Society of Friends restored it, and it would be wise if the Church appointed certain times for meditation within the sacred edifice, with occasional intervals for short exhortations, and prayers, and hymns.

Happily the need of many additional services has been recognized and declared. The Bishop of Norwich may be regarded as a very high authority on the subject. Known, in whatever parish he ever had charge of as its pastor, as amongst the most

diligent, orderly, and methodical of workers and organizers, as well as for the fidelity of his attention to all sorts and conditions of men, and for the faithfulness of his preaching, his opinion as a parish priest ought to be valuable. And when to this is added the experience of a quarter of a century, as a faithful, wise, and most devoted Bishop, the judgment of such a man is worth all respect and attention. And his Lordship's statement is that "many additional services ought to be introduced." Such evidence is simply conclusive. But, as he adds, "The question is, how to do it?" Now, on consideration, it does appear that very many of the things that are wanting, can be provided by the Bishops and Convocation.

Of course, so long as the Convocations of the two Provinces remain separate in every way as they are at present, they will not have much influence, because they will remain powerless for good. And, indeed, unless they unite (in practice, at least), they will hardly continue to exist much longer, although their ceasing to exist would be a great catastrophe. But even if the Houses of Convocation are bent on suicide, or resolved to die of inanition, the Bishops alone can provide a large proportion of the things that are wanting.

There is scarcely one of the things wanted, except the Additional Service for Sunday, which the Church could not secure and use without any reference to Parliament, or infringement of the Act of Uniformity, interpreted not by the Pharisaical spirit of a Shylock, but by the wise and loving mind of a Portia.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I have said very little about alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, and for reasons which I cannot give better than by quoting a declaration which I made at the Church Congress at Derby. It is as follows:—  
Many years have passed since I endeavoured, so far as my small influence enabled me, to urge upon the Church the importance of making a few alterations in her Book of Common Prayer. I thought that they would have been grateful to some myriads of her children, acceptable to many conscientious Dissenters, thoroughly in accordance with real catholicity, and quite free from the compromise of any one truth. I have now served three apprenticeships in Church Congress, and during that period I have also had the care of three important parishes. The result of the observation, inquiry, and experience of these twenty-one years is, that my judgment, right or wrong, remains unchanged in regard to this subject. I believe, however, that the Church lost a good opportunity some twenty years ago of making a few alterations, which in the present aspect of the times would be quite impossible now. I deeply deplore this, even as some, perhaps many, with equally good faith rejoice at it. But whether we weep or laugh, it seems to me to be beyond question that no changes can now be attempted in the Book of Common Prayer, except only those which adapt the use of the services to the necessities of the present time.

The wants of the Sunday School could all be provided by the Bishops, or through their consultation, arrangement, and approval, within another year.

The like may be said of many special services. No one can hinder the production of a Book of Offices for laymen to use, *outside* the Church at least, even if not *within* it.

Already ministers are instituted in the Diocese of Lichfield by a special service in church, and there is, it is believed, no legal difficulty whatever to the publication and use of a well drawn up service for the purpose. It is high time that these wants were fully supplied; and I will add, in spite of the unpopularity of the proposal, that a Book of Common Praise (a title which I suggested some twenty years ago) were printed for Church use.

If only the Church recognized her high calling by the assertion of holy deeds, and of provisions for the wants of her children, rather than by too much mere declamation about this, and would *act* because she *feels herself to be* the Church Catholic of this land, and would prove her *status* by her *performances*, the day would not be far off when she would be known by her manifested spirit of prayer and praise exhibited in almost every conceivable method, as well as by the chastened purity of all her doctrines.

Men love the term Catholicity. Are we fond of what it really means?

For Catholicity consists not in a cold and strict uniformity, but rather in orthodox varieties gathered up by true charity and bound together in one bond of loving unity.

If the Church of England be the pure, and scriptural, and one true branch in this country, of God's Universal Church on earth, which I confess to believe her to be, she will be very careful not to give one needless cause for schism or disunion, and she will do anything and everything within her power, not involving any true principle, to provide whatsoever Christians need, or can reasonably desire as a means of worship, or as an act of devotional ritual. The sooner the attention of the Church shall be fixed on these subjects, the better will it be for her, and for the well-being of the people.

GEORGE VENABLES.

Great Yarmouth Vicarage,  
Nov. 4.

## ART. VI.—THE GREAT COMET OF 1882.

THE appearance of a comet like that which made its perihelion passage on the 17th of September last, and is still visible in the south-eastern sky in the early mornings, is a sufficiently rare occurrence to attract the attention even of those who are not systematic observers of the heavens. According to a very high authority on such a subject, the late Sir John Herschell, a "*great comet hardly occurs on an average more than once in fifteen or twenty years; though,*" he adds, "*as sometimes happens in matters of pure accident, or in the course of chances, it not unfrequently happens (and we have recently had it remarkably exemplified) that two or three great comets follow one another in rapid succession.*" And so far at least as living memory extends, these words, penned in 1863, will be found in close accordance with the facts. If we exclude from this list (for reasons which will presently appear) the comet which is now visible, there have been only six comets, since the beginning of this century, that can claim to rank as *great* comets—viz., those of 1811, 1835, 1843, 1858, 1861, and 1862. That which will probably be best remembered by the present generation is the comet of 1858 (Donati's), which was so conspicuous an object in the evenings of September and October of that year. There are, however, many still living who can remember the comets of 1843 and 1835, and a few who can recall that of 1811, probably the finest that has appeared within living memory.

It is not surprising that a phenomenon which occurs so rarely, which is so unlike any of the heavenly bodies with which we are familiar, and which presents so strange and, in many cases, so sublime a spectacle to the eye, should excite universal interest and give rise to many strange speculations and baseless fancies. And accordingly we find that history abounds with accounts of the excitement and alarm produced by the appearance of comets in the early and Middle Ages. For in those days the appearance of a great comet was looked upon in the light of a portent, as a sign of some great change impending in the political world, of the death of a king, the outbreak of a war, or some other event that might seriously affect the destiny of a nation. It is a matter of history that the abdication of the Imperial throne by the Emperor Charles V. was occasioned by the impression produced upon his mind by the great comet of 1556. He regarded the comet as a sign from Heaven, sent to warn him of the approach of death, and of the need of preparation for the eternal state into which he was soon to enter. And it would be easy to adduce other instances

of the same kind, showing the deep impression created by the appearance of a great comet in early times.

Thanks to the spread of truer views of the nature of the material universe, and of the relation in which man stands to the Creator and Governor of that Universe, the appearance of a comet is no longer the occasion of superstitious fears of this kind. But the spread of knowledge, while it has thus removed one cause of fear, has tended, at least in the case of those who are imperfectly informed on such subjects, to inspire another. It has relieved men's minds of the superstitious dread occasioned by the appearance of a comet in former times by showing them that a comet is after all only a member, a very erratic member it is true, but still a member of the great solar system, governed by the same general laws as the planets and their satellites, and moving in an orbit which, when once its elements have been satisfactorily determined, may be computed with almost as perfect accuracy as that of the earth itself. While doing this, however, it has at the same time suggested another cause of fear by indicating certain consequences of a physical kind which might result from the collision of one of these erratic bodies with our earth, or with the Sun. When, in the year 1832, it was announced that a comet would actually cross the earth's orbit, and that at a point not far from where the earth would be passing at the time, something like a panic seized upon the public mind, and though it soon became known that the earth would pass the point indicated a full month before the comet would reach it, it was by no means an easy task to allay the apprehensions that had been aroused, and it is said that not a few persons actually died of terror.

As there is no suggestion that the comet with which we are now concerned is likely ever to come into contact with our earth, we need not speculate upon the consequences of such a collision, though it may be reassuring to those who have any misgivings on the subject to know that in the opinion of Sir John Herschell, "had a meeting taken place, from what we know of comets, it is most probable that no harm would have happened, and that nobody would have known anything about it." But *there are* reasons, and very strong reasons, for supposing that the comet which is now visible will ere long come into collision with the sun: and it will be the object of the present article to explain, as briefly as may be, 1st, What are the grounds for believing that this will take place; and, 2nd, What consequences, if any, affecting our earth are likely to result from it.

(1.) The grounds for believing that the comet which recently made its perihelion passage will before long fall, or be drawn into the sun, though resting on abstruse and elaborate calcula-

tions, are in themselves so simple that I do not despair of making this plain to the least scientific of my readers.

Mention has already been made of the great comet of 1843. It was remarkable for the immense length of its tail, which extended from the horizon to the zenith, or halfway across the sky. But it was also remarkable for the exceeding closeness of its approach to the sun, its distance, when at its perihelion, or nearest point, being less than a tenth of the sun's diameter. Now, the first thing that is done by astronomers on the appearance of a new comet is to compute its elements, as they are called, or, speaking unscientifically, to determine from actual observation all the particulars of its position and movements in the heavens which are required to enable them to calculate its orbit and the probable time of its return. The next thing is to search the records of former comets, in order to ascertain whether the elements of the new comet are the same as those of any that has already appeared, in which case it may be assumed to be a reappearance of that comet. When, then, the elements of the comet of 1843 had been satisfactorily determined, and were compared with those of previous comets, they were found to bear a striking resemblance to those of a comet which had been observed in 1668, and though its identity was not regarded as a certainty, "there was considerable reason" (to quote again from Sir John Herschell) "to believe that it was a reappearance of that comet."

This would give it a period of 175 years—viz., from 1668 to 1843. But, strange to say, in the year 1880, or after an interval of only thirty-seven years, a comet appeared which, from observations taken in the southern hemisphere, was found to have almost precisely the same elements as the great comet of 1668 and 1843, and, stranger still, when after another interval of only two years the comet which is now visible presented itself, its elements were found to so closely resemble those of the last-mentioned comet, that its identity with it may be considered as practically established.

Assuming, then, as there seems every reason to do, that the comets of 1843, 1880, and 1882 were not separate and independent comets, as at first supposed, but reappearances of one and the same comet, how are we to account for the rapid shortening of its period from 175 years on its first reappearance to thirty-seven years on its second and two years on its third return? There appear to be only two ways in which such a contraction of the comet's orbit can be explained. It might have been caused by the comet's having come within the sphere of attraction of one of the planets, as was the case with Lexell's comet, which was completely diverted from its original orbit and started in an entirely new track while passing near the planet Jupiter; or it might have been brought

about by the retardation of its velocity occasioned by some resisting medium. As it is known that the comet with which we are now concerned does not pass near to any of the planets at any point in its orbit, the former explanation will not apply in the present case, and there seems no escape from the conclusion, with which all the facts agree, that the shortening of the comet's period has been brought about by the resistance it has encountered from the solar atmosphere in passing so near to the sun's surface. But this process is one which tends to repeat itself, and that with constantly-increasing rapidity. An astronomer who has given some special study to the history of this comet, Mr. R. A. Proctor, calculates that its next return may be expected in the course of a few months, and, if so, the time of its final absorption into the sun cannot be very far off.

(2.) And now let us consider, so far as the space at my disposal will allow of our doing so, what are the probable consequences of such a catastrophe. Two widely divergent opinions have been held on this subject, dependent on the views that have been entertained as to the nature and constitution of a comet's mass.

Sir Isaac Newton, who, in accordance with the prevailing views of his time, supposed that a comet was composed of solid matter, was firmly convinced that the collision of a comet with the sun would produce a conflagration such as would inevitably destroy our earth and the whole solar system. Speaking with reference to the comet which bears his name, he said: "I cannot say when the comet of 1680 will fall into the sun, possibly after five or six revolutions; but whenever that time shall arrive, the heat of the sun will be raised by it to such a point that our globe will be burnt, and all the animals upon it will perish." And if the body of a comet was, as he supposed it to be, "solid, compact, fixed, and durable, like the bodies of the planets," there can be no doubt that such would be the case. Sir John Herschell, on the other hand, who believed a comet to consist of matter in a state of almost infinite extension, or attenuation, held the opinion, as we have said, that the collision of a comet with the sun would produce either no perceptible effects at all, or effects so insignificant as not to be worth considering.

According to our present knowledge, the truth would seem to lie somewhere between the two views. There can be no doubt that Sir Isaac Newton was mistaken in his notion as to the solid nature of the material of a comet. On the other hand there can be as little doubt that Sir John Herschell, though nearer the truth, somewhat overstated the case in the opposite direction, when he hazarded the assertion that the whole mass of a great comet might possibly not weigh more than a few ounces. For however attenuated may be the material of a comet's tail, there

is reason to suppose that the nucleus is composed, if not of solid matter, at any rate of matter in a state of considerable condensation. Nor have we altogether got rid of a comet when we have disposed of its nucleus and its tail. We know that many, if not all, comets are followed by trains of meteoric matter, for it is the collision of portions of this meteoric matter with our atmosphere, that gives rise to the phenomena of shooting or falling stars as often as the earth passes through a part of its orbit which is intersected by the orbit of a comet, at or near the time when the comet's train is going by. And if we grant for the sake of argument that the effect of the rush of the comet's tail into the sun, even at the enormous velocity possessed by it at its perihelion passage, would be insignificant, we can hardly suppose that the impact of the nucleus of the comet as it plunges deeper and deeper into the sun's surface at each successive approach, and that of the meteoric train, can fail to have some effect in raising the temperature of the sun. For heat, according to the well-known definition, is only "a mode of motion." In other words, the sudden arresting of a mass in rapid motion develops an amount of heat proportioned to the velocity with which it is moving. And if a few scattered particles of a comet's train, entering our atmosphere with a velocity of thirty or forty miles in a second, develop sufficient heat to cause a blaze of light that will illumine the whole landscape on a dark night, and that has been known in some cases even to outshine the sun at noonday, what must be the effect produced by the nucleus of a comet (that of Donati's comet was estimated to be 1,600 miles in diameter) or by the whole mass of its train plunging into the sun with a velocity of more than 300 miles in a second? The answer to this question would involve considerations which would lead me far beyond the scope of the present article, and indeed the problem is too complicated to be disposed of in a few concluding sentences, even if we had the materials—which we have not—for arriving at a complete and satisfactory solution.

G. T. RYVES.

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## ON "THE CLAIMS OF THE CONVOCATIONS OF THE CLERGY."

*To the Editor of THE CHURCHMAN.*

SIR,—I have considered the answer which Dr. Hayman has done me the honour to make, in your number for November, to my article on the Claims of the Convocations of the Clergy, which appeared in your numbers of July, August, and September.



I hope that my reply will not be much longer than the answer.

The proposition upon which Dr. Hayman and I are at issue is more fully expressed in the language I used in the July number (p. 294) than in the passage which he has quoted from the September number (p. 440). In the former, I said that the establishment of Queen Elizabeth's Liturgy—

was the declaration of the great constitutional principle, that the nation has a right to prescribe for itself whatever system of public worship it shall think fit, and whatever forms of prayer, and ceremonies of devotion, it shall think proper to use, by whomsoever composed; and that that right may be so exercised by the nation, without the assistance of either of the two provincial Convocations of the clergy, or of any other clerical co-operation whatever; and even in direct opposition to all the bishops of the realm for the time being, and, therefore, necessarily in opposition to the Convocations of which they form essential component parts, without whom the Convocations themselves could not be constituted.

I had also said in July (pp. 293-4), that the power of Parliament was absolute, subject only to the moral limit which I mentioned; and that absolute power must reside somewhere; and I had afterwards (p. 297) quoted Blackstone, to show that it is one of our strongest constitutional principles, that Parliament is uncontrollable; but that it would not be so, if the Convocations could control it.

Dr. Hayman calls these statements a "novel theory" (p. 152).

He does not dispute the fact that all the bishops did oppose the Elizabethan statute; nor does he, *in terms*, resist the irresistible inference, that that opposition proved that the statute *must* have been passed without the assent of either of the Convocations. Later on, however, he adduces a document to show that "Convocation" did, in fact, assent to the statute. The effect of this document, and of some further evidence of my own, as to the fact of this assent, will be discussed hereafter.

In the meantime, Dr. Hayman says (p. 152):—

The Elizabethan statute, upon which this novel theory is wholly built, was, if enacted without the consent of Convocation, utterly without justification in precedent; and, so far from striking the key-note of the constitutional doctrine on the subject, was, if passed under the conditions represented, wholly unconstitutional.

The two "ifs" are italicized by me. He afterwards<sup>1</sup> says the Elizabethan statute—

is doubly invalid; once, as a temporal statute, because it had not the support of the spiritual peers; and again, because it deals with matter with which it was, by every precedent, unconstitutional to meddle, without the Convocations having previously advised.

I had cited a passage from Blackstone,<sup>2</sup> to show that a statute will be both constitutional and valid, although all the Lords Spiritual dissented from it. Sir Edward Coke and Selden, whom Blackstone quotes, had said the same thing before, and had cited several instances to prove it. The *dissent* of the Lords Spiritual necessarily involves the *non-assent* of the Convocations, as already explained.<sup>3</sup>

It is impossible for any lawyer of experience to treat as an open question the constitutionality or validity of a statute which has been the foundation of the public worship of the nation for 323 years; having been continued in force by our present Act of Uniformity.

<sup>1</sup> P. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Sept. p. 439, 1 Blackst. Com. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Sept. p. 439.

A "justification in precedent" is never essential to any statute; although the existence or non-existence of precedent may influence the members of the Legislature in passing it, or in declining to pass it. When passed, it *makes* a precedent, if there was none before.

It is, therefore, perfectly "constitutional" to avoid going back beyond the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity: and if that Act was really novel, it becomes confusing, as well as unnecessary, to go back to earlier times.

A proof of the confusion, as well as of the needlessness, of so going back, is afforded by the evidence of earlier times, which Dr. Hayman adduces to show want of precedent and unconstitutionality.

Dr. Hayman seems even to deny that Parliament is absolute; because he says (p. 151) that—

no such notion as that of investing Parliament with the absolute power of Church legislation was present to the mind of Henry VIII. and his advisers;

and afterwards (p. 152) he uses the expression:—

If the absolutism of Parliament is a true doctrine.

Are we, at this day, to justify disobedience to an Act of Parliament, because Henry VIII. or his advisers would not have proposed it? Or because it is contrary to what Dr. Hayman elsewhere describes (p. 152) as—

Some other *dicta* of King Henry the Eighth?

Dr. Hayman refers (p. 151-2) to a case, as proving, in effect, that the absolutism of Parliament is not a true doctrine. It is that of the authority given, by the Act of Submission, 25 Henry VIII., cap. 19, to thirty-two Commissioners, half clerical, half lay, and continued afterwards for a time, to sort out the existing ecclesiastical laws, by retaining some, and rejecting others; and then, to the king, to assent to the result of their work; whereupon, the retained parts only were, thenceforth, to be in force, and the rejected parts were to be treated as repealed. This royal assent was never given; but Dr. Hayman thinks it clear that, if given, it would have been a making of law *by the King himself or the Commissioners*, and not by Parliament; whereas the contrary would have been the legal effect, because it is a fundamental legal principle, that the execution of a power derives its force, not from the person or persons executing it, but from the instrument creating it;—in this case the Act of Parliament.<sup>1</sup> Besides which, the effect of the king's assent was to be, not to make any new laws, but to confirm the rejection of old ones.

When Dr. Hayman proceeds to the evidence of the necessity of convocation concurrence in church legislation, he relies strongly on recitals and preambles to several old Acts of Parliament. Such recitals, in *any* Acts, are no further important, than as they show the meaning of the words in which Parliament has legislated. In *old* Acts, they are often inaccurate, and, often, mere *flourishes* of language, which, if taken apart from the object to which they related, might be made to prove anything and everything. Their use is never extended, at the utmost, beyond the general objects of the *enacting* parts of the statute in which they are found.

An instance of this is afforded by the Act 24 Henry VIII., c. 12, which Dr. Hayman mentions (p. 151) preventing appeals to Rome, in four sets of causes; which became of little importance in the very next

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<sup>1</sup> See Sugden (Lord St. Leonards) on Powers, *passim*.

year, when, by Statute 25 Henry VIII., c. 19, *all* appeals were taken away from Rome. The four sets of causes were Tithes, Oblations, Wills, and Matrimony. The only object of the flourish of language in the first of them, was to gratify the "Spirituality," by telling them, or rather by making the Lords Spiritual say of themselves, that they were as competent for the final determination of such causes as the Pope could be.

Of a similar kind is the parenthetical expression, upon which Dr. Hayman relies (p. 153) in the present Act of Uniformity (1662), that the Prayer Book of Elizabeth was "compiled by the Reverend Bishops and Clergy." It is needless to inquire whether this is strictly accurate; for it amounts only to a passing eulogium upon the Book of Elizabeth; and its practical bearing, if any, is only a justification of Parliament's choice, in substituting that Book for other Service Books of a different tendency, *which had also been adopted by Bishops and Clergy*—namely, the Roman Catholic "Uses" of the time of Henry VIII., which were then in force; having been revived, as from the 20th of December, 1553, by the Statute of 1 Mary, session ii. chapter 2.

Even the notorious Statute of 32 Henry VIII., c. 26, always considered personal to him, by which he was empowered to declare, of his own will, provided he had certain assents—not necessarily of "Convocation," as will be shown—what religious doctrines were to be "believed, declared, and obeyed," seems to Dr. Hayman (p. 153) to contain a constitutional principle, valuable for use at this day; for he treats it as evidence of the general law of the land, existing *before* that time, instead of evidence of the violent character of Henry VIII., for he says that—

This right of the Spirituality, here so plainly set forth, remained intact up to 1540, as this Act shows; [and] it is incumbent on the opponent to show when they lost it, so as to create a new point of departure in 1559. This has not been done, and I believe cannot be done.<sup>1</sup>

The authority given to Henry VIII. by this Act is more arbitrary than Dr. Hayman states it to be, for the only concurrence made necessary was that of "the said archbishops, bishops, and doctors, now appointed, or other persons hereafter to be appointed, by his royal majesty, or else by the whole clergy of England," which latter is a body evidently too large to ascertain the concurrence of.

Dr. Hayman finds,<sup>2</sup> in an Act of 1540, 32 Henry VIII., c. 25. the expression "to make a synod universal of the realm," and says that these words show that I "flatly contradicted" this Act, when I asked, What is "the sacred synod of this nation?" and when I added that this nation had had no such synod since the days when Papal Legates were allowed to hold councils here, and that the English Constitution, *since the Papal power in England ceased*, knows only one national synod—namely Parliament.

Dr. Hayman makes out the supposed contradiction, by saying, that the Papal power "ceased, in England, by the successive statutes of 1529–34—this was six years later, 1540."<sup>3</sup>

The Papal power was, certainly, *interrupted* by the statutes of 1529–34; but it did not *cease*, until after the accession of Elizabeth. It was never greater, in England, so far as the law was concerned, than when Queer Mary and Cardinal Pole died on the same day, the 17th of November, 1558.

In Pole's character of Legate *d latere*, he held one or more Legatine Councils in England, particularly one held by Royal Licence, on the 2nd

<sup>1</sup> P. 153.<sup>2</sup> P. 153.<sup>3</sup> P. 153.

of December, 1555, and several subsequent days:<sup>1</sup> and on turning to the records of the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation, in 1555, it will be seen that a summons for a Legatine Council superseded the appointed meetings by prorogation of the Provincial Convocations of the Clergy: for the Canterbury Convocation had been prorogued to the 15th of November; and the record says that before that time had approached, Cardinal Pole summoned both Provinces (*utramque provinciam*) to a Legatine Synod, to be held on the 2nd of December.<sup>2</sup> The Act of Submission of the Clergy, 25 Henry 8, c. 19, had then been repealed.

Dr. Hayman adduces no instance of a "Sacred Synod of this nation" having been held after Cardinal Pole's time; and therefore my original statement would be unaffected by showing (if it could have been shown) that there had been such a Synod in 1540; but it is a great object with Dr. Hayman to prove that the present ecclesiastical system is *not* that of Elizabeth, but that of Henry VIII.: and, for that purpose, he adduces (p. 153) the instance of the dissolution of the marriage of Anne of Cleves, on which occasion he finds, in the Act of Parliament for that purpose, 32 Henry VIII. c. 25, the expression above mentioned, "*to make a Synod Universal of this Realm.*" That expression is used, not by the Act of Parliament itself, but by the two Archbishops, when they made a report to the King, which the Act sets forth, of the result of a reference made to them and all the other Prelates, *and the whole clergy of both provinces*; which result was, that they had determined that he had never been lawfully married to Anne of Cleves; whereupon the Act dissolved the marriage. The report recites the terms of the reference; upon reading which, it will be seen that *it was not a reference to either or both of the Convocations*, but to the whole clergy of both Provinces; a special reference, which the Archbishops say that they have acted upon, so as "*to make a synod universal of the realm*;" an assembly meeting for that special purpose only, and not being, then, or afterwards, either or both of the two established Provincial Convocations of the Clergy of the Realm.

It is always to be remembered, *that the Church Legislation of Henry VIII.'s time*, so far as it is now in force, *derives its force* not from its original enactment, but *from its renewal in Elizabeth's time*, before which it had been wholly swept away.

Dr. Hayman says (p. 152) that he passes over "the Philip and Mary period." But that must not be; for the church-legislation of that period was much promoted by the Convocation of Canterbury; and the results of that legislation had a great influence upon the passing of the Uniformity Act of Elizabeth.

The session of Parliament convened for the reconciliation of England to Rome met on the 12th of November, 1554, and continued till the 16th of January, 1555 (N.S.).<sup>3</sup> In the course of that session, the Lower House of Canterbury presented a petition to the Bishops, in which, among other things, they prayed as follows:—

And that the *Bishops and other Ordinaries* may, with better speed, root up all such pernicious doctrine, and the auctors thereof, we desire that the statutes made anno quinto of Richard II., anno secundo of Henry IV., and anno secundo of Henry V., against heretics, Lollards, and false preachers, may be, by your industrious suit, revived, and put in force, as shall be thought convenient, and, generally, that *all bishops and other ecclesiastical ordinaries* may be restored to

<sup>1</sup> See Wilkins's "Concilia," vol. iv. p. 130, &c.

<sup>2</sup> See Cardwell's "Synodalia," ii. 445.

<sup>3</sup> See the Heading of the Statutes in the Record Commis. Ed. 1819.

their *pristine jurisdiction*, against heretics, schismatics, and their fautors, in as large and ample manner, as they were in the *first year of King Henry VIII.*<sup>1</sup>

In accordance with this "desire," the Convocation of Canterbury, as a whole, petitioned the King and Queen, that the Bishops' former jurisdiction, which had been abrogated, might be revived; which unquestionably meant the same jurisdiction as the Lower House's petition had desired; because the ordinary jurisdiction of the Bishops' Courts had not been taken away. The Convocation, by the same petition, asked that, for the sake of peace, it might be left to the arbitrament of the Cardinal Legate *à latere* (Pole) to confirm the grantees of the spoils of the monasteries in their possessions; a condition obviously meant to propitiate the lay Lords in Parliament, in favour of the revival, just asked for, of the old statutes of heresy. This Convocational Petition is fully set out in the Reconciliation Act, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8; and it may also be read in Cardwell's "*Synodalia*."<sup>2</sup>

The revival of the three old statutes of heresy was accordingly made, as from the 20th of January, 1555 (N.S.) "for ever," by stat. 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 6; and the confirmation of lay rights to monastic spoils was embodied in the Reconciliation Act, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8. The respective positions of chapters 6 and 8, on the Roll, are unimportant; as, in those days, and long afterwards, the practice was for all chapters of a statute to receive the royal assent at one time—the end of the session.

Of these three old heresy statutes, thus revived, the first and third had been used as auxiliary to the second. They related to the detection and imprisonment of heretics; but the second—viz., 2 Henry IV. c. 15, prescribed the mode of trial and punishment. That statute had been in uninterrupted force, from 1401, for more than 130 years, until, by 25 Henry VIII. c. 14, it was repealed, with the substitution of other enactments, scarcely less severe, also repealed before Mary's accession.

Under the statute 2 Henry IV. c. 15, any bishop, or his commissary, might declare *anything* to be heresy; might pronounce any person, upon any evidence, to be an obstinate heretic, if he or she refused to abjure, or a relapsed heretic, after abjuration, and might send for the sheriff of the county, or the mayor of the town, to be present, to hear the sentence of obstinacy or relapse pronounced; whereupon it became the absolute duty of the sheriff or mayor, in either of those cases, to carry away the heretic, and put him or her to death, in the fire, *without any other authority whatever, royal or otherwise.*

This is no exaggeration. It is the language of long and intimate familiarity with the precise terms of the statute 2 Henry IV. c. 15, and with the actual course of the proceedings taken under it.

Under this revival, all those deaths in the fire took place, which we call "The Marian Persecution," except Cranmer's: for no severities beyond detention in prison, and their accompaniments and consequences, had before taken place, since Mary's accession. It is probable that all these deaths were liked, well enough, by Mary; but she was not the doer of them; except by warning the sheriffs to attend to their duties in this respect. Their number, according to the lowest accounts, was 284, or 283 if Cranmer's case be deducted;<sup>3</sup> but, even if less, they must have been much more than an average of one every week, during the three years and three-quarters for which they continued; up to Mary's death.

<sup>1</sup> Cardwell's "*Synodalia*," ii. 434-5.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 440.

<sup>3</sup> See 2 Rapin, folio 48, and Notes.

Is it possible to believe that the people of England, at Elizabeth's accession, when a new Parliament was necessarily called, would not return to it representatives pledged to insist upon the repeal of the Act of Revival?

That Act was repealed, in the first session of that Parliament, by a clause in the Supremacy Act, 1 Elizabeth c. 1. Was the assent of the Convocation of Canterbury essential to that repeal? It was certainly not given; and yet the revival had been made at their instance.

The same Parliament, in the same session, substituted the Elizabethan Ritual for the Roman. We have already seen, and shall presently see, more distinctly yet, that that substitution would not have been made, if the Convocation of Canterbury could have prevented it.

But Dr. Hayman adduces a curious reason for a belief,<sup>1</sup> that "the Convocation" did really give their assent to the passing of Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity before it became law. It consists of a document in the State Paper Office, which he describes as being in "a known handwriting, which dates it, approximately, 1608."<sup>2</sup> It is taken from the book of the Rev. J. W. Joyce, called "The Sword and the Keys," 2nd ed. p. 25; where Mr. Joyce says of it that, "if genuine and authentic," it "tends directly to corroborate the position now maintained," viz., the necessity of convocational concurrence.

We find, in Mr. Joyce's book, that the exact words of the paper, slightly abridged by Dr. Hayman, begin thus:—

The Book of Common Prayer, published primo Elizabeth, was first resolved and established in the time of King Edward VI. It was re-examined, with some small alterations *by the Convocation* [my italics], consisting of the same bishops and the rest of the clergy, in primo Elizabeth; which being done *by the Convocation* [my italics], and published under the Great Seal of England, there was an Act of Parliament for the same book, which is ordinarily printed in the beginning of the book.

Then Mr. Joyce states that this memorandum, which he calls "this State Paper," "is in the handwriting of Sir Thomas Wilson, the first Keeper of the State Paper Office, established by King James I, in 1608; and the date of the document may, therefore, thus be approximately assigned." Then he states that the writer of the paper had "first detailed the names of the Bishops who, from banishment, returned to England on the death of Queen Mary, and the accession of Queen Elizabeth," and that the writer had then written what has thus been quoted; and then Mr. Joyce proceeds thus:—

Upon this evidence, therefore, it appears, *while it is admitted that the Elizabethan Prayer Book was not submitted to that Convocation which met Jan. 24, 1559, concurrently with Queen Elizabeth's first Parliament* [my italics], yet that the book was authorized by a Synod or Convocation of English Bishops, unjustly and uncanonically deprived in the last succession, but now restored to their rightful authority, and of the rest of the clergy.

In the margin of this statement, opposite the words "while it is admitted," &c., are these two references—viz., "Conc. M.B. iv. 179;" "Strype's Ann. i. 56" (meaning, by "Conc. M.B.," Wilkins's book, intitled, "Concilium Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae.")

This passage assigns a very different meaning to the words of the paper from what must have been meant by the writer, when he twice mentions "the Convocation"—namely, that the second Book of Edward VI., now about to be made, with a few alterations, the Prayer Book of Elizabeth, was re-examined and altered by the same bishops

<sup>1</sup> P. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

who had approved it in Edward VI.'s time, and had been deprived by Queen Mary, and had now returned from exile, and of "the rest of the Clergy," and that those Bishops had now been "restored to their rightful authority."

Of this supposed revision by the exiled bishops, no evidence whatever is adduced, nor of the revision by the "rest of the clergy." It is admitted that this supposed "Synod or Convocation of English Bishops" consisted of persons different from "that Convocation which met Jan. 24, 1559, concurrently with Queen Elizabeth's first Parliament," and which *must* have been the only legal Convocation for each province; and, therefore, they could have no Convocational authority: and as to their being "now restored to their rightful authority," if *that* had been the case, they would have been members of the House of Lords, and would have *supported* the Elizabethan Book there, instead of *opposing* it, as we have already shown that every one of the bishops in the House of Lords did; and the fact that they were *not* restored at this time, is quite certain; and it is expressly declared by Strype, Mr. Joyce's own authority, in a passage closely following upon the reference which Mr. Joyce makes to him, in which he says, after tracing the proceedings of the Convocation of Canterbury (so far as its existing records allow) to its end, at the dissolution of the Parliament, on May 8, 1559:—

All this while, the clergy that favoured sincere religion were but private standers by, and were not consulted with, . . . there being neither any order taken for the restoration of the old Protestant Bishops to their Sees, whereof there were four surviving, nor of the inferior clergy, that married wives under King Edward and were deprived under Queen Mary, to their former dignities and benefices.<sup>1</sup>

As to revision by "the rest of the clergy," there is no evidence at all. Such a revision, if made, would be wholly beside the question, as it would not be by the Lower Houses of the Convocations then regularly assembled; but, besides Mr. Joyce's admission that the Book was *not* submitted to the Convocation of Canterbury, there is clear evidence that the Lower House of that Convocation did all they could to prevent the book from being adopted. That evidence is contained in the very passage from "Conc. M.B.," usually called Wilkins's "Concilia," which Mr. Joyce vouches. It is in Latin there, and was published in 1737; but it is also contained in English, in the very passage which Mr. Joyce vouches from Strype's "Annals," published in 1725. The Latin version is also given in Cardwell's "Synodalia," published in 1842.<sup>2</sup> Both Wilkins and Cardwell take it, independently of each other, from the Register of the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation.

Mr. Joyce states, in the same page of his book (p. 25), that "the fact that the Convocation Registers were burnt in the disastrous fire of London, in 1666, has rendered any satisfactory investigation of this subject extremely difficult." The burning, however, was confined to the Registers of the Lower House; and it will be from the Registers of the Upper, that the views of the Lower will now be stated, as embodied in certain *Articuli Cleri*, sent by the Lower to the Upper, and the proceedings upon them.<sup>3</sup>

These *Articuli Cleri* contained declarations of opinions of the Lower House, which they desired the President of the Upper House to present to the *House of Lords*, and which he did present, accordingly, to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, when sitting in the House itself; which

<sup>1</sup> 1 Strype, 56, ed. 1725.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 490.

<sup>3</sup> See 2 Card. Syn. 490, &c.; 4 Wilk. Conc. 179; 1 Strype Ann. 56.

propositions the President reported to the Lower House that he had, in fact, presented to the Lord Keeper, who, as the President said, appeared to receive them thankfully, *but returned no answer at all (omnino)*. The President (acting) was Bonner, Bishop of London; the Lord Keeper was Sir Nicholas Bacon.

The propositions will be seen to be such as were quite inconsistent with the Book about to be adopted by Parliament. The Lower House prefaced them by a statement that it had come to their knowledge that many religious doctrines, particularly those below written, had been brought into doubt, and, therefore, that they felt it a duty to state their faith, as followed. They were obviously meant as a protest or warning against the intended Book.

The propositions were these:—

1. That in the Sacrament of the Altar [after the words spoken] there is really (*realiter*) present, under the species of bread and wine, the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; also His natural blood.
2. That, after consecration, there remains not substance of bread and wine, or any other substance, except the substance of God and man.
3. That in the Mass is offered the true body of Christ, and His true blood, a propitiatory sacrifice for living and dead (*verum corpus, verus sanguis*).
4. That to the Apostle Peter, and his legitimate successors in the Apostolic See, as to the Vicars of Christ, is given the supreme power of feeding and governing the Church Militant of Christ, and of confirming his brethren.
5. That the authority of treating of and defining those things which belong to faith, sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline, has always hitherto belonged, and ought to belong, only to the pastors of the Church, whom the Holy Spirit has placed, for this purpose, in the Church of God, and not to laymen.

Strype has observed that—

The three former of these were solemnly disputed at Oxford, the first year of Queen Mary, as the great criterion of Popery, against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.<sup>1</sup>

The promise in *Magna Carta*, that the Church shall be "free," which Dr. Hayman quotes (p. 155), must, of course, be read in the light of subsequent legislation. One (at least) of its meanings was, that Church-property should be free from taxation, a meaning well understood in former times; for instance, in the year 1554, when the Lower House of Canterbury, quoting *Magna Carta*, prayed to be relieved from the burden of "first fruits, tenths, and subsidies."

The reply to all Dr. Hayman's denunciations of the consequences of the notion that Parliament, in making a certain Prayer Book the Prayer Book of the Nation, claims to define religious doctrines, and to impose them upon the clergy, is, that Parliament undertakes no such functions, except so far as to decide which of several sets of forms shall be used in the nation's churches by those who choose to attend them.

Yours faithfully,

R. D. CRAIG.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Strype, Ann. 56.

<sup>2</sup> See Cardwell's "Synodalia," vol. ii. p. 435.



## Short Notices.

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*The Quarterly Review.* No. 308. John Murray.

THE current *Quarterly*, which reached us too late for a notice in the November CHURCHMAN, contains several articles which invite us to comment and quote. But the article of the number, in our judgment, is "Dr. Pusey and the Church."

The article which reviews Canon Cook's recent publications is worthy of serious study. Quoting from Dr. Hort, the *Quarterly* thus concludes:—"What then is the result, on Dr. Hort's own showing? It is that he rejects the text used by all the Ante-Nicene Greek writers not connected with Alexandria, and by all the fourth-century Fathers without exception, in favour of a text originally, no doubt, connected with Alexandria, but now represented almost solely by two MSS. which every critic except himself regards as careless in the extreme; a text, too, which is contradicted again and again in matters of the highest importance even by the Ante-Nicene Alexandrian Fathers and by the Egyptian Versions. Most readers will, we think, be quite content to possess in their ordinary Testaments the same text in substance as was used by the vast majority of the great Christian writers of the second, third, and fourth centuries."

The *Quarterly* review of the book by "the prophet of the new Religion of Nature," contains some telling passages. *Natural Religion*, says the *Quarterly*, is terribly disappointing:—

For sixteen years we have been waiting for the fulfilment of the promise held out in "Ecce Homo," that "Christ, as the Creator of modern theology and religion, will make the subject of another volume," and at last we are put off with a farrago of science and culture, a pseudo-religion, from which Christ and God have been ejected to make room for Humanity and Nature. Instead of the bread we hoped for, a stone has been thrown to us; instead of a fish we have been mocked with a serpent. The inference, we fear, is inevitable, that the author's own faith has meanwhile receded. True, he disclaims a personal interest in the new religion, and avows himself unable to be satisfied with it; but to have propounded it seems to us to argue a despair of anything better surviving the conflict of Christianity with modern speculation; and despair in such a case is within a measurable distance of disbelief. Faith, whatever be our modern confusions and negations, can confidently anticipate the ultimate triumph of the doctrine of Christ, and say, "Magna est veritas et prævalebit;" but the converse is also true, that to doubt of the triumph is also to doubt of the truth of the doctrine.

The article which reviews the recent work of Professor Montagu Burrows, an excellent edition of the Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford, from A.D. 1647 to A.D. 1658, rebukes the intolerance of the "despotic" Chancellor Laud, and of the Puritans of the Commonwealth. And it is added that, "If Charles II. had kept his promises

made to the Presbyterians at Breda, the English Church might never have witnessed the secession of the Nonconformists."

The *Quarterly* article, "The Justification of Lord Beaconsfield's Policy," is precisely what might be expected.

From "Dr. Pusey and the Church," we are tempted to make long extracts. The article is written with singular ability, candour, and good judgment; not a trace of "party" narrowness or roughness can be traced.

As to the exaggerations of too many *In Memoriam* writers, the Reviewer says:—

We have observed with regret in not a few notices of Dr. Pusey a one-sided tone of exaggeration, as though the Tractarians had been the sole source of the revived life of the Church of England. Nothing could be more unjust, whether to the Evangelical clergy<sup>1</sup> or to men like Dr. Hook, who were energetically asserting the characteristic principles of the true High Church party years before the Tractarians were heard of. Dean Hook became vicar of Coventry in 1829, and at once commenced to set on foot in his parish the principles and the system which were subsequently reinforced by the genius of the writers of the *Tracts*. Those writers gave to High Church principles a vitality and strength they had not enjoyed for a century and a half; but it is entirely accurate and unjust to speak of them as if they had been the sole restorers of vital religion, or even of Church life, throughout the country.

"Having done justice, continues the *Quarterly*, to the many admirable, and in some respects saintly, elements in his (Dr. Pusey's) character, and to the rare services which in many respects he and his early friends rendered to the Church of England, we feel reluctantly compelled, alike by the claims of truth and by a conviction of the dangers to which the Church is at present exposed, to draw attention, in the way of warning, to another aspect of his later career. It would, we believe, be a fatal injury to the very principles for which, in his best days, he contended, and to the very cause which the original Tractarians had at heart if, now that the lapse of a little time allows a calmer review of the past, we were to be content simply to join in the all but universal tribute of honour and admiration which his death has elicited. Of late years, owing to the respect which his age and his character commanded, there has been a natural reluctance to challenge his authority, and his name has thus been allowed to cover with the shield of reputed High Church principles an ever-growing mass of practices and doctrines which are profoundly alien from the spirit of the true High Church party. It was

<sup>1</sup> The *Quarterly* says:—"Dr. Pusey, it must be remembered, did not fail to recognize the depth and strength of the work done by the Evangelical clergy in bringing home the great truths of the Faith to individual souls. Still less did Dr. Newman, who was indebted to them for the primary impulse of his own religious life. Mr. Mozley's travestie of that great school of religious thought is a most unworthy feature in his book; and we are glad to see that the Archbishop of Canterbury repels with just indignation his disparaging account of it. 'Mr. Mozley,' he says, 'has spoken with such bitterness of this party as would seem to argue some incapacity for appreciating its worth.' Dr. Pusey often spoke of them in very different terms."

"impracticable to speak candidly on the subject during his lifetime without the risk of a controversy with which it would have been painful to disturb his last years. But now that he has passed away, the time has come when the truth must be spoken; and that truth is, that it would be disastrous to the Church of England if, out of veneration for Dr. Pusey's personal excellences, the principles and practices with which he was identified, of late years were to be admitted as having a legitimate place in the High Church party, *OR IN ANY PARTY, within her pale.*" The italics and capitals are our own. Dr. Pusey, it is stated, justly and rightly as we think, surrendered himself a too willing captive to "a web of sophistry." "For the last thirty-five years of his life he acted on the avowed principle that he was prepared to strain our formularies in favour of any doctrine or practice for which he could find a precedent in 'antiquity.' The proof of this has been placed fully before the world in some letters, published with Dr. Pusey's consent, in the 'Life of Bishop Wilberforce.'" Such "straining" of formularies has worked, we believe, in more ways than one, incalculable mischief.

Referring to the secessions at Leeds, in 1847, the *Quarterly* points out that Dr. Pusey was directly responsible:—

St. Saviour's, Leeds, was consecrated under the auspices of Dr. Pusey and his more immediate adherents; and in a very short time the work of Dr. Hook's life was in great measure undone. "In spite of his earnest remonstrances and of the Bishop's, the clergy of St. Saviour's persisted in doctrines and practices which he reprobated. One after another in rapid succession they fell away to Rome."

"For this lamentable result at Leeds," continues the *Quarterly*, "Dr. Pusey was directly responsible: and it has been repeated on a larger scale throughout the Church of England. The true High Church party, which held a high place in the confidence of the English people, has, mainly through his influence, become identified with a Romanizing school who are utterly alien from the spirit and the history of our Church. If High Churchmanship means the Churchmanship of Dr. Pusey's later years and of the Ritualists, there is no place for it in the Church of England, and a struggle to cast it out, which might develop into a fatal convulsion, is inevitable. During Dr. Pusey's lifetime, as we have said, men have hesitated to assert these convictions; but now that he has passed away, and there is no risk of personal conflict with a man who in many respects deserved high honour, it will be necessary to face this question as one of vital moment to the existence of the Church. In the interests of the High Church party, we appeal to the better judgment of the High Churchmen against the Romanizing sect with which, under Dr. Pusey's misleading influence, they have of late years allowed themselves to be associated. It will be observed that we have not been expressing any opinions of our own respecting the true character and principles of the High Church party. We have been, as it were, making 'an appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.' We appeal from the degenerate, Romanizing, and disingenuous school

"fostered by Dr. Pusey's later years, to the manly, the English, the Protestant, the Primitive Church party, represented by the great name of Dr. Hook; and we point to the testimony, not of a hostile witness, but of a Bishop [Wilberforce], whose chief fault was, perhaps, an undue weakness towards Dr. Pusey and his friends. We have been, and we shall ever remain, staunch in vindicating the principles of the great historic school of English High Churchmen. But for that very reason we cannot cease to protest against the perversion, or rather the supersession, of those principles supported by Dr. Pusey during the latter part of his life; and now that the controversy is no longer complicated by personal feelings, we call on High Churchmen to clear themselves of this Romanizing leaven without reserve. It is not too late to do so; but it is the eleventh hour; and Dr. Pusey's death marks, in all probability, the critical moment. Once more we prefer to employ the language of a High Churchman whose name carries unquestioned authority; and we are glad to be able to sum up our remonstrance against Dr. Pusey's example in this respect in the following admirable letter from Dean Hook, addressed in 1850 to the Editor of *The Guardian*" ("Life," vol. ii. p. 277):—

I am not conscious of having changed a single principle during the last thirty years; but, on the contrary, I am only more confirmed in my admiration of the principles of the English Reformation, and more persuaded that the Church of England "is the purest and best reformed Church in Christendom." For asserting this I have been called a High Churchman, and I assert it still. As far as the Church of England goes I will go, but not a step farther. Neither will I intentionally come short of her requirements. . . . It is very true, as the writer of the paragraph states, that I have for some time expressed my dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the Romanizers whom the writer calls Tractarians. . . . When I now find them calumniators of the Church of England, and vindicators of the Church of Rome; palliating the vices of the Romish system, and magnifying the deficiencies of the Church of England; sneering at everything Anglican, and admiring everything Romish; students of the breviary and missal, disciples of the schoolmen, converts to mediævalism, insinuating Romish sentiments, circulating and republishing Romish works; introducing Romish practices in their private, and infusing a Romish tone into their public devotions; introducing the Romish Confessional, enjoining Romish penances, adopting Romish prostrations, recommending Romish litanies, muttering the Romish Shibboleth, and rejoicing in the cant of Romish fanaticism, assuming sometimes the garb of the Romish priesthood, and venerating without imitating their celibacy; defending Romish miracles, and receiving as true the lying legends of Rome; almost adoring Romish Saints; and complaining that we have had no Saints in England since we purified our Church; explaining away the idolatry, and pining for the Mariolatry of the Church of Rome; vituperating the English Reformation, and receiving for the truth the false doctrines of the Council of Trent; when I find them whispering in the ears of credulous ignorance, in high places as well as in low, that the two Churches are in principle the same; when they who were once in the pit on the one side of the wall, have now tumbled over on the other side, and have fallen into "a lower deep still gaping to devour them;" I conceive that I am bound as a High Churchman to remain stationary, and not to follow them in

their downfalling. I believe it to be incumbent upon every High Churchman to declare plainly that it is not merely in detail, that it is not merely in the application of our principles, but in our principles themselves, that we differ from the Church of Rome; and that no man can secede to Rome, the system of which is opposed to the truth as it is in Jesus, without placing his soul in peril and risking his salvation.

It is sometimes asked why we should be continually attacking the Church of Rome? When this question is put to us, I admire the subtlety, but not the candour, of the querist. It is not against *Romanists* but against *Romanisers* that we write; against those who are doing the work of the Church of Rome while eating the bread of the Church of England. To these we will put the opposite question—"Why are you always defending the Church of Rome? Why are you propagating Romanism and condemning the Church of England?" When you cease to propagate Romanism, then we will take into consideration the propriety of not writing against it.

Although I have not left any party or joined any party, but remained stationary, I cannot be blind to the fact, that many who are now reputed Low Churchmen are what would have been called thirty years ago High Churchmen; and *I do heartily wish that these, and all who are really High Churchmen, would forget past differences and bygone controversies, and combine to resist the aggression of Romanisers on one side and of Rationalists on the other.* [The italics are our own.] The only bond of union that can be formed is that which rests on the principles of the English Reformation, and the doctrine of Justification by Faith only.

*Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan.* By TORU DUTT.  
London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

There is always an interest about the poetry of youth, especially if the poet be dead; and for this reason the rich promise of Chatterton is measured in a degree quite incompatible with what he achieved. This interest is increased when the poetry comes from a foreign land, and we see our own language used to convey the thoughts of a different age and a different clime. The "*Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan*," unite both these elements of interest. They are the work of a young Hindu girl, who died at the age of twenty-one; but who, nevertheless, lived long enough to give to the world a novel and two volumes of poetry. The life of this young and gifted authoress has been so well portrayed in the introductory notice by Mr. E. W. Gosse, that it is unnecessary for us to give here any more than the briefest outlines. Born in Calcutta in the year 1856, of a well-known native family, several members of which have since achieved distinction, educated in the Christian faith to which her family had recently been converted, she was sent to Europe with her sister Aru in her thirteenth year for educational purposes. After four years she returned to India, where, in the seclusion of her native home, she produced her first work, "*A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields*," followed soon afterwards by a novel written in French. In August, 1877, she died, leaving behind her as a legacy to posterity the volume now under review.

This collection of poems is eloquent of such a career. It has the stamp of youth on every page, that freshness and vivacity which makes the life of the early ages so charming, that simplicity which is the soul of purely imaginative poetry. In the "*Legends of Hindustan*" the authoress found a congenial field of research. A Christian by education,

she looked to the Veda, not for instruction, but for poetry; the Hindu Pantheon was nothing more to her than Hermes and Zeus are to us; and yet her nation's Legends and Ballads possessed that same charm which the Greek mythology will never lose, when we consider them in their fresh simplicity as man's unguided strivings after truth.

There are several passages which provoke a smile by their quaint expressions and strange use of the English language. There is sometimes the spirit of Homer clothed in the metre of Tait and Brady; but elsewhere again there are passages which remind us strongly of Browning's best efforts.

Months passed, and lo, one summer morn  
 As to the hermitage she went  
 Through smiling fields of waving corn,  
 She saw some youths on sport intent,  
 Sons of the hermits, and their peers,  
 And one among them tall and lithe,  
 Royal in port—on whom the years  
 Consenting, shed a grace so blithe,  
 So frank, so noble, that the eye  
 Was loth to quit that sun-browned face;  
 She looked and looked—then gave a sigh,  
 And slackened suddenly her paces.  
 Their eyes just met—Savitri past  
 Into the friendly Muni's hut;  
 Her heart-rose opened had at last,—  
 Opened no flower can ever shut.

There is no rationalizing, here, as in the Epic of Hades; no mysticism as in Rosetti's "Beryl Stone;" the several scenes are described naturally and easily: the freedom of the girl's life, her first sensations of love, the Indian scenery, the marriage ceremonies,—all these with their rich oriental colouring possess the essentials of true poetry, harmony of ideas, and suitable modes of expression.

It is difficult to assign to Toru Dutt her proper place in the realm of poetry without either underrating the difficulties with which she had to contend, or making too much allowance for them. But as in reading "Childe Harold" our thoughts instinctively revert from the hero to the author, so in reading the "Legends and Ballads of Hindustan," we must be content to travel in fancy to the seclusion of a native girl's home in Calcutta, to trace the growth of thought and feeling during the short visit to Europe, and the influence of the rich ancestral poetry which formed the subject-matter of her literary efforts. With these as our guides, we shall welcome a book so full of fresh and genuine feeling, of rich and beautiful fancy; and where it fails in expression, or is deficient in melody, we shall be ready to condone its deficiencies out of consideration for its simple pathos.

*Facts on the Sunday Question, showing how far the Lord's Day Differs from the Sabbath.* By J. E. BYTHWAY, B.A. London: Elliot Stock. 1882.

We have read this *brochure*, written by a Wesleyan, with considerable interest. It is fresh, bold, and bears marks of ability. The views expressed break away from recognized Wesleyan doctrine and, if accepted, would lead that body into new paths of teaching and of practice. We think in this matter the old lights to be clearer and better than the new. The *brochure* is distinctly and emphatically *Anti-Sabbatarian*. The writer concludes that the Lord's Day is not the Sabbath—has not been substituted for the Sabbath—has no proper relation to or connection

with the Fourth Commandment, and that the Fourth Commandment is simply a Jewish peculiarity. In this pamphlet, in fact, are reproduced in a short and taking form, the views of many teachers in different ages who have started on their Sabbatic studies from certain misunderstood statements of St. Paul, and who, arguing backward from their starting-point, have read their misconception of the Apostle into Prophecies, Psalms, History, and Decalogue. Undoubtedly if St. Paul, writing to the Romans, Galatians, or Colossians, condemns *the Sabbath*, the controversy is ended; but if, as is distinctly the case, the inspired teacher condemns the keeping of Jewish *Sabbaths*, and forbids the introduction into the Christian Church of the burdensome observances of the Ecclesiastical year which, since then, have intruded into the professing Church and have culminated in the Romish system, in which the One Sabbath of Jehovah, the True Resurrection Day of Rest, is hidden and lost in a host of holy days, and practically subordinated to them; if, we say, this was the point of Paul's teaching, there is left unrepealed and unaffected the whole teaching of the Word of God touching the existence, the authority, and the perpetuity of the Sabbath Law, by which one-seventh of our life (in equal portions of one day in seven) is separated from toil and ordinary earthly employments unto Worship and Rest.

Mr. Bythway, we venture to remark, handles St. Paul's teaching rather carelessly. On p. 1 he writes, "The important passage in Colossians, where *the Sabbath Days* are spoken of as vanishing away with the Jewish Ritual." Referring to or quoting the same passage several times afterwards he substitutes the singular for the plural, and always speaks of *the Sabbath*. Of all these references only the first is correct. Sabbath days—not the Sabbath—are condemned. This we think is an instance of unconscious dishonesty. Another unintended unfairness is in the designation of the Sabbath as Jewish. The writer should learn that those whom he designates Sabbatarians hold as firmly as he does that every *Jewish Sabbath* is dead, only the pre-Jewish and post-Jewish Sabbath remains. "Sabbatarians" plead for that only.

The writer makes too much of the difference of reading of the Fourth Commandment as found in Exodus and Deuteronomy, and builds on it more than it will bear. Two reasons are assigned for the observance of the Sabbath, one general and the other national, one founded on creation, the other on the deliverance from Egypt. The limited character of the second reason detracts nothing from the universal character of the first.

The writer omits the whole of the forcible arguments for the identity of the Sabbath and the Resurrection Day, which sprung from a comparison of the ii. and the cviii. Psalms with Acts iv. and xiii. and from the Sabbatic passages of Isaiah, and so fails to see the glorious harmony of the old and new Sabbath and the beautiful filling in of Old Testament Sabbath outlines with the fulness and blessedness of the Resurrection Day.

There are instances of quotations in this *brochure* which are scarcely just. The Sabbatizing against which some of the early Fathers protest, was not the keeping the Lord's Day as the Sabbath; it is quite as often the addition of Jewish Sabbaths to the one Sabbath—the faults and sin against which Paul pleads. We think, too, that the writer is unjust when he directs the ridicule, which is well merited by individual idiosyncrasies and oddities, against those who are indeed Sabbatarians, but who are neither fools nor oddities—those who reverence the Sabbath as an ordinance which is holy and just and benevolent, but who neither Judaize nor act with childish scrupulosity. In conclusion, and with reference to a frequently repeated statement of the writer, we may commend to him

these words, which, with slight differences, occur in all the Gospels:—*Και διαγερομένου τοῦ σαββάτου . . . . Μας πρὸς τῆς μᾶς σαββάτων.* They have not received the attention which they deserve, and they have a frequently unnoticed bearing on the whole question in debate.

Another pamphlet, "The Sabbath," written by the venerable Dean Close (Hatchard; the Lord's Day Observance Society) which was some months ago recommended in THE CHURCHMAN, may serve in many respects as an antidote to Mr. Bythway's. It is Sabbatic, and we think it is conclusive. It appeals less indeed than the other to Fathers and Councils, but it seeks to expound holy Scripture, and to learn what is the revealed will of God on the matters under discussion.

*Andrew Fuller.* By his Son, ANDREW G. FULLER. Hodder & Stoughton.

This little volume, one of the series, "Men Worth Remembering," has a peculiar interest. Andrew Fuller died in the year 1815; and his son, who lived in the same house with him, and witnessed scenes of his life which were witnessed by no other person living, now gives "personal reminiscences" of no small value. It is just a hundred years ago that Mr. Fuller became Baptist pastor in Kettering, the town of Dr. Gill, the commentator, and William Knibb, whose memory is linked with that of Clarkson and Wilberforce. His work, "The Gospel worthy of all acceptance," was published in the year 1784. Whether the origin of the Baptist Missionary Society is due to him or to Carey, is a question which can scarcely be settled.

Andrew Fuller was born in 1754, at Wicken, a village in the Cambridge-shire Fens. Both by his father and mother he was descended from a line of Puritan ancestors; but the father's earliest known ancestors were members of the Church of England. They were working farmers, who earned their living by the sweat of their brow. We read that:—

His parents being Dissenters, and his mother a member of the Baptist Church, he was of course compelled to attend their place of worship, and it is highly probable that the preaching to which he listened while a boy proved a hindrance rather than a help to him in his searching for the truth. Mr. Eve, the minister, was a Baptist professing doctrines of high Calvinism: his sermons were addressed almost exclusively to the "elect." He said nothing to arouse the unconverted, and, consistently with his principles, entirely neglected to point sinners to the Lamb of God.

The boy's first thoughts on those subjects seem to have been suggested to his mind when he was between thirteen and fourteen years old. He had heard the preacher talk about faith, and began to wonder what it was. He was occasionally overwhelmed with strong conviction, which rendered him extremely unhappy. "One winter evening," he says, "I remember going with a number of other boys to a smith's shop to warm ourselves by his fire. Presently they began to sing vain songs. This appeared to me so much like revelling that I felt something within me which would not suffer me to join them; and while I sat silent in rather an unpleasant mase, those words sunk into my mind like a dagger, 'What doest thou here, Elijah?' I immediately left the company; yet, shocked to reflect upon, I walked home murmuring in my heart against God, that I could not be let alone and suffered to take my pleasure like other young people."

His love of reading and the scarcity of books within his reach, induced him to peruse those of a religious character; of these he mentions particularly Bunyan's "Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners," and "The Pilgrim's Progress." But that which exerted at this time the most powerful influence upon his mind was Erskine's "Gospel Sonnets," that part entitled "A Gospel Catechism for Young Christians; or, Christ All in All in our Complete Redemption," entirely riveted his attention. He says, "I read, and as I read I wept. Indeed, I was almost overcome with weeping, so interesting did the



doctrine of eternal salvation appear to me; yet there being no radical change in my heart, these thoughts passed away, and I was equally intent on the pursuits of folly as heretofore." . . . .

In April, 1770, when he was sixteen years of age, he was baptized.

*The Church Catechism Simply Explained.* By the Rev. T. ALFRED STOWELL, M.A., Hon. Canon of Manchester, Rector of Christ Church, Salford, and Rural Dean. Elliot Stock.

This is a welcome contribution to the increasing store of material which, in these days, is so carefully made ready to the hands of those who are engaged in the teaching of the young. At one time, there appeared to exist amongst writers and teachers of the Evangelical School of thought, the present writer believes, a disposition to pass over the Church Catechism; or, at all events, a reluctance to give it any very prominent place in their instruction. We are glad to see that that feeling has well-nigh disappeared; and that the whole provision made by the Church of England for definition of doctrine and instruction in it, is now recognized as being in full accordance with what were considered as the distinctive tenets of the Evangelicals. Canon Stowell's name on the title-page of this little work is a guarantee of its evangelical character. The Manual is a valuable one, especially as a foundation on which to build confirmation addresses. It has the qualities of simplicity, Scripturalness, clearness, and conciseness, especially in definition. Indeed, in some points, it seems almost too concise, and the reader might wish that a little more of comment and illustration had been given. In treating of the moral law, the writer has been careful to make very plain the inner principle or pith of each several commandment, showing how it bears on the soul's life in every age of the world. We note the careful correction of various small, but at the same time not unimportant, mistakes in wording, into which children, and sometimes their teachers also, are liable to fall. For example, not "duty to my neighbour," as though I were responsible to him, but "duty *towards* my neighbour," in matters pertaining to him, in regard to which his and my Master will hold me responsible. Again, not "save and defend me *from* all dangers ghostly and bodily," a prayer, of course, inconsistent with a life of trial, but "*in*" them, that I may be saved in passing through them. We observe also the clear explanation of the word "creature" as the antithesis of "Creator," which experience has shown us that children very often misunderstand. The most important doctrine of the Redeemer's perfected provision and the Holy Spirit's progressive work in the heart is well set forth in few words:—

We are taught that this work of the Holy Spirit is now incomplete and being carried on in the elect. He *sanctifieth, or is sanctifying*, whereas Christ's work of redemption is finished and complete. He *hath redeemed*. We must always remember that we are not saved *by* holiness but *to* holiness.

An objection has often been made against the closing clause in the "duty towards my neighbour" that it tends to repress the laudable desire to rise in this world; as though the youth were never to look beyond the present state of life in which Providence has placed him. The author of this manual comments thus upon the clause:—

We may desire to succeed in business, or to excel and rise in life if we do not do so sinfully, with discontent at our own lot, and envy at the lot of others.

We can confidently recommend this manual as likely to be of great help in popularizing the Church Catechism, and rendering plain its spirit and teaching. We have reason to believe that the work will shortly be reproduced in a more extended form. We hope it will then contain a

larger amount of illustrations, which appears to be the only thing needed to complete its efficient character.

M. A.

*Twilight Talks.* "Easy Lessons on Things Around Us." By AGNES GIBBERNE. The Religious Tract Society.

"An Introduction to Physics." Such a title would frighten off not a few who would otherwise procure this author's "Talks;" but her little work makes no such grand pretensions. In "easy" language it gives lessons on Atoms, Gravity, Cohesion, &c. Well meant, we have some doubts whether such an effort will succeed.

*The Decalogue of Charity* (1 Cor. xiii.) considered with more especial reference to Sunday School Work. By W. PAKENHAM WALSH, D.D., Bishop of Ossory. Church of England Sunday School Institute.

The substance of the twelve papers in this volume appeared in the monthly numbers of the *Church Sunday School Magazine*, during the year 1881. Few words on our part are necessary in heartily recommending the honoured Bishop's book; most of our readers, no doubt, are well acquainted with the valuable periodical published by the Institute, and also with other writings of Bishop Walsh. These suggestive expositions of the clauses of 1 Cor. xiii., "Thou shalt suffer long and be kind," "Thou shalt not envy," "Thou shalt not vaunt thyself," . . . &c., will be read with much interest, and with profit. The Bishop thus writes in his preface:—

Although the divine grace of Charity has been viewed from a particular standpoint, and treated with a special reference to Sunday School work, it is hoped that the general reader will find something in the following pages to enlarge his admiration of this "Queen of Graces," and to assist him in bringing her influences to bear upon the whole circuit of Christian life.

To those for whom it was mainly intended, the author affectionately presents it, as embodying the experiences of a fellow-labourer who, either as scholar, teacher, or superintendent has been for more than half a century connected with Sunday Schools, and who still feels the deepest and most prayerful interest in the important work which is committed to their care.

*The Good News in Africa.* Scenes from Missionary History, with Geographical Details and Illustrations. With a Preface by the Rev. E. H. BICKERSTETH, M.A. Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday.

This is one of the many interesting and useful books, for which readers specially drawn to Missionary writings are indebted to Messrs. Seeley. We need do little more, in heartily recommending it, than quote from the preface. Mr. Bickersteth says:—

Having been requested by my sister to write a few lines of preface to her "Missionary Scenes in Africa," I can only say that if her readers find as much pleasure in studying the complete work as I have found in glancing at the proof sheets, no ordinary treat awaits them. There is enough of geographical research and natural history given in these pages, enriched as they are with numerous and instructive woodcuts and a map, to make the scenery of each mission a vivid reality.

In a few graphic sentences and paragraphs you are transported to Sierra Leone, Yoruba, Caffraria, the Victoria Nyanza, Mombasa, Abyssinia, Madagascar, Cairo; and then, almost unawares, you are engrossed with the authentic stories of Johnson, the Hinderers, Bishop Crowther, Dr. Moffatt, David Livingstone, Dr. Krapf, Mr. Sterne, Mr. Ellis, and other of God's heroes and heroines in the missionary field.

This volume will form a most acceptable present for schoolboys. The indomitable courage, the hair-breadth escapes, the noble victories of faith, will

satisfy that longing for adventures which beats so strongly in every generous young heart. It will also supply most valuable reading for working-parties and mothers' meetings, and be a welcome addition to many a village library. Nor will the missionary lecturer be unrewarded who gleans in these fields before he tells others of the wonderful works of God in our own age.

*Morality.* An Essay on some Points thereof addressed to Young Men. By MAURICE C. HIME, M.A., LL.D., Head Master of Foyle College, Londonderry. 4th edition. Pp. 156. London: J. & A. Churchill, 11, New Burlington Street.

An ably-written little book. A very delicate subject has been treated with much tact and good judgment. Dr. Hime's suggestions are deserving of careful consideration, not only at the hands of schoolmasters and tutors, but also of fathers. There has been a good deal of correspondence, during this autumn, concerning the morality of our great schools. That vice and sensuality among the upper classes is on the increase may or may not be true; but the subject of chastity, in any case, ought not to be shirked, as commonly it is.

*From Egypt to Canaan.* For Little Children. By Mrs. G. E. MORTON. With four Illustrations and a Map. Pp. 250. Hatchards.

Recently, in reviewing that excellent book, Miss Arnold-Forster's "Heralds of the Cross," we mentioned Mrs. Morton's "The Story of Jesus for Little Children." A working man asked the present writer to lend him that "Story," that it might be read "for all of us" by the fireside; and the book, we heard, was most welcome to every member of the family. Mrs. Morton's "From the Beginning, or Stories from Genesis," is also an admirable book; and the well-written work now before us—which is intended as a sequel to "From the Beginning"—merits hearty praise. It will do good service, we doubt not, in thousands of schools and home circles.

*On the Rock, and other Short Allegories.* By the Author of "Under the Lime Trees," &c., with eight illustrations by T. Riley. Pp. 180. Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday.

It is a reviewing mistake, no doubt, to lay much stress on the fact that a book before us bears on its title-page "by the author of" this and that, books which are well known and much liked. To lay *much* stress, we say, is a mistake, but due weight ought to be given to the fact. At all events, the book now under notice is by an author, several of whose stories have been warmly praised by the present writer. We were predisposed in its favour. But "On the Rock" is a good and honest piece of work, and can stand on its own merits. The stories are simple; they illustrate and unfold Scripture truths in a very helpful manner.

*The Interpreter's House, and What I Learnt There.* New Lessons from an Old School. By the Rev. J. E. ARNOLD. R.T.S.

The writer of this well-intentioned little book has endeavoured to present a development of the original idea on a larger scale than the nature of "Pilgrim's Progress" permitted. It is a bold undertaking to "develop" Bunyan's masterpiece, unique, and matchless; and we cannot think Mr. Arnold's imitation is a success.

A well-written little book, practical and suggestive, is Mr. JOHN PALMER's *Active Service; or, Counsels for the Newly-Confirmed*, pp. 60. (Griffith and Farran.)

*Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh.* Its History, its People, and its Places. By JAMES GRANT, Author of "Memorials of the Castle of Edinburgh," &c. Illustrated by numerous engravings. Vol. II. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, & Co.

About a year ago was noticed in these columns the first volume of "Old and New Edinburgh;" and we have now the pleasure of reviewing the second volume. Our only regret is that from lack of time we are unable to do it justice. The volume now before us indeed seems rather better than its predecessor; it is, at all events, quite as interesting and quite as attractive, which is saying a good deal. Some twenty years ago we concluded our searchings and visitings in dear Auld Reekie, and its fair surroundings; every odd nook and corner, every coigne of vantage, every beautiful prospect, every historical "close," bit of wall or piece of ground, was, as we thought, well known to us. And now, as we mark the illustrations of this enjoyable volume, dipping here and there into its chatty pages, our discoveries—social, artistic, archæological, historical, and what not—are brought vividly before us. Every page of the book seems to have an interest of its own; the biographical bits are all, we judge, remarkably well done; the engravings—full-paged or smaller ones—all most carefully executed, are delightful.

*A Complete Concordance to the Revised Version of the New Testament.* By JOHN ALEXANDER THOMS. Printed under the authorization of Oxford and Cambridge Universities. Pp. 531. W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place.

This is a really valuable volume. In his interesting preface, Mr. Thoms remarks, with truth, that a Concordance is nothing, if not accurate; and we can well believe that every practicable care has been taken to secure correctness. It is not likely, however, that a work of this kind, including more than 60,000 references, should be quite free from mistakes. We have not discovered any yet; but, promising ourselves continual use of the work, we may, after a time, find a few; a second edition will afford an opportunity to point out errors. The book is clearly printed.

*Memoir of Daniel Macmillan.* By THOMAS HUGHES, Q.C., Author of "Tom Brown's Schooldays," &c. London: Macmillan & Co.

Cambridge graduates, and undergraduates of some thirty years ago, who were wont to "look in" at the well-known resort opposite the Senate House, will read this Memoir with a real interest.

Of Mr. Macmillan's defence of Maurician views we need say nothing. In his preface, Mr. Hughes remarks that this biography tells "the story of a young Scotchman born in a peasant home, who, with no schooling but what he could get in a small provincial town, before he was twelve, and in spite of want of means and wretched health, won his way to the front rank in a difficult business, and died at forty-four, the founder and head of a well-known firm of publishers: Such a career is rare, but not so rare as to call for any special commemoration. Many young Scotchmen have come south, and made fortunes, and founded great houses of business, in the book trade, and in other trades, to whom no special interest attaches outside their family circle and personal friends. Besides, in our day, the self-made man has been somewhat too much glorified, and we are tired

of worshipping the mere power of getting on. It needs some quality of a finer and higher kind than usual in the man himself, or something peculiar in his surroundings, or dramatic in his life, to make the world he has left desirous of hearing more of him than that he lies safely in such a cemetery or churchyard, and has left so many thousand pounds behind him."

*The Life of Jean Frederic Oberlin.* By Mrs. JOSEPHINE E. BUTLER.

Pp. 200. The Religious Tract Society.

This is a readable book, to be recommended. The scene of Oberlin's labours has frequently been described in periodicals at home and abroad, by visitors attracted there by veneration for this "great apostle of charity, this saint of the Protestant Church," as his countrymen delight, and with reason, to style him. "A visit to the Ban de la Roche," says a writer in the *Eglise et Patrie*, of September, 1880, "is not a visit in the ordinary sense; it is a pilgrimage." The late Mr. and Mrs. Cunningham made this pilgrimage in 1820, and an interesting sketch of the country, and of the character and work of Oberlin, given in a series of letters from Mrs. Cunningham to friends in England, was embodied in the "Memoir of J. F. Oberlin," published in London, 1829. The appearance of the country has undergone some change since that time; and a more modern picture of it is presented to the reader of the interesting biography now before us. A good map of the Ban de la Roche is added.

*Hid in the Cevennes.* A Mountain Refuga. Pp. 200. The Religious Tract Society.

A few sentences may be quoted from this well-written Tale. A short passage will show what the story is like. On page 55 we read:—

The next day was a sabbath, a day that is strictly kept by the Protestants in the south. In the morning, Geraldine appeared in his new clothes, looking so neat and nice, that two old men said that they could not help expressing their satisfaction. A meeting was to be held in the environs of Durfort, between Saint Felix and Manoublet, in a retired field; for all the Protestant temples in the whole of Languedoc, except two, had been either burnt or razed to the ground in the reigns of Louis XIV., the Great, or Louis XV., the Well Beloved; and they were being built very slowly. At that time, about 1842-3, and to this day, the traveller passing some lonely field or desert place might have heard the voices of many hundred Cévenois singing the psalms of Clement, Marot, or Théodore de Bèze, the voice of the preachers, or the sound of prayer.

*Holy Thoughts on Holy Things.* A Treasury of Reference on the Higher Life of Christian Believers and Kindred Subjects. Selected from the best Authors of all Ages, and arranged by the Rev. E. DAVIES, D.D., Author of "Select Thoughts on the Ministry of the Church," &c. Pp. 728. Ward & Lock.

This is a bulky book; yet we cannot say it is too big. The title, "A Treasury of Reference," precisely explains the character of the work. We have read, here and there, with a good deal of interest; and the selection everywhere has seemed to us sensible, with a spiritual tone; all that devout readers could desire. The "Holy Things" are arranged, of course, alphabetically. There is an Index of Authors. The passage to which is appended the name *Purton*, is given incorrectly, probably from some

newspaper; it is an extract from one of the devotional writings of the Rev. W. O. Purton, Rector of Kingston-by-Sea.

*Trying to Enter.* By AGNES GIBBERNE, Author of "The Upward Gaze," &c. Seeleys.

This is a little book, but it richly deserves the epithet *multum in parvo*. We agree that a book was wanted for persons not yet anxious; there are "anxious inquirers," but there are many who are sorry that they are *not* anxious.

*Expelled.* By BERNARD HELDMANN. Nisbet & Co.

Mr. Heldmann has written several stories for boys; "Dorrincourt" and "Boxall School" are the best known. His new book, about a youth who was "expelled" from school, shows skill; there is a deal of "go" about the story; some of the incidents are striking; the tone and drift are exceedingly good. The older schoolboys are sure to like it. We should add that the volume is well illustrated, and has a tasteful cover.

*Picturesque Scotland.* Its Romantic Scenes and Historical Associations, described in Lay and Legend, Song and Story. By F. WATT, M.A., and the Rev. A. CARTER, M.A. Pp. 510. Sangster & Co.

A gilt-edged volume, with emblazoned red cover, containing a good many illustrations. The work describes, in a popular manner, the great landmarks of Scottish scenery, with historical, literary, and legendary associations: Burns's country, Loch Lomond, Killiecrankie, Culloden Moor, Arbroath, &c. Open where one may, something readable is sure to present itself.

*Precious Stones.* Collected by H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. Pp. 212. Rivington.

Many of the pieces in this book are exceedingly good; but far too many, as we think, have been taken from Faber, Newman, and St. Francis de Sales. Mr. Lear would have had no difficulty in selecting from a writer of the English Church a better bit on books than that by "Mgr. Dupanloup."

*The Parallel New Testament, Greek and English.* Oxford: at the University Press.

This is a delightful book: as to type, paper, general "get-up," and binding, unexceptionable: a most serviceable edition, and deserving hearty thanks. We have here, in four parallel columns, the Version of 1611, the Version of 1881, the revised Greek text, and the readings displaced by the Revisers; in the fourth column there is space for MS. notes. With this volume by his side and Dean Burgon's book in his hand, the student can copy criticisms to his heart's content; and, certainly if the R.V. has done nothing else (and we ourselves have no desire so to limit its usefulness) it has stimulated study in a wonderful way.

*Parables of the Spring.* The Resurrection and the Life. By Professor GAUSSEN. R.T.S.

This is a charming little volume. Dr. Gausсен's parables are illustrated. A brief memoir is an interesting addition, and, in fact, crowns the whole. In 1863 Dr. Merle d'Aubigné wrote an *In Memoriam*; no other memoir has been published. We cordially recommend this tasteful volume.

*Readings for the Seasons.* By the Right Hon. Earl NELSON. S.P.C.K.

The "Readings" in this very tasteful volume, Lord Nelson hopes, may be found useful before Family Prayer, or for Private Meditation. When used for families the Versicles and Psalms, says the noble Earl, may be chanted, and the Hymns sung. For ourselves, here and there, we should make some alteration; but the arrangement will probably commend itself to many heads of families; the book is rich, and deeply devout.

*Isabeau's Hero.* A Story of the Revolt of the Cevennes. By EMILY STUART, Author of "The Belfry of St. Jude," &c. &c. S.P.C.K.

This is a really interesting and attractive story. All the chief events, as well as most of the characters of the Tale, are historically true; and Jean Cavalier, the "hero" of the great struggle, is skilfully and, doubtless, correctly painted; a simple mountaineer with great military genius, and with the fire of religious zeal, though not without faults. The author has made good use of M. Peyrat's "*Histoire des Pasteurs du Désert*." She shows no bigotry, to say the least, in pointing out the persecuting, thoroughly Papistical, policy of Louis XIV. in regard to his inoffensive Protestant subjects.

*Records of the Life of the Rev. Wm. H. Havergal, M.A.* By his daughter, JANE M. CRANE. Pp. 384. Home Words Publishing Office.

Canon Havergal is so well known that the Memoir before us, written by his eldest daughter, needs but few commendatory words. Mrs. Crane, in her preface, remarks:—"Now that my youngest sister has also joined 'the spirits of the just made perfect,' a double interest will be felt in his memory as the father whom Frances Ridley Havergal so intensely and admirably loved." The book is well printed in large type.

Under the common title, "*Aids to the Inner Life*," have been published five volumes (Rivingtons) viz. :—

Scupoli; *Spiritual Combat*.

Keble; *Christian Year*.

Grou; *Hidden Life of the Soul*.

S. Francis de Sales; *Devout Life*.

T. à Kempis; *Imitation of Christ*.

Four of these volumes bear on the title-page the statement:—"Edited by the Rev. W. H. HUTCHINGS, M.A., Sub-warden of the Home of Mercy, Clewer."

We dislike this set, and on two grounds: (1) Of these five "*Aids to the Inner Life*," only one is a Church of England work. Why are English Church folk invited to study Grou and Scupoli? Why is such a work as Keble's *Christian Year* bound up as one of such a series as this? Five tastefully got up little books; very "*Churchy*" looking; one, you see, says some would-be buyer, is "*The Christian Year!*" (2) We dislike this set, because the writings of Romanists are "*adapted!*" We believe that "*adaptations*" of this sort are mischievous; on literary grounds, we think, they are indefensible. What is omitted; what is altered, toned down, and remodelled?

That we may do no injustice to the Sub-warden of Clewer, we will quote his own words:—

"*The process of adaptation in the case of this volume is not left to the reader but has been undertaken with the view of bringing every expression, as far*

as possible into harmony with the Book of Common Prayer and Anglican Divinity.

The italics, of course, are our own.

*A Biographical Sketch of Alexander Haldane, of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, J.P.* We have quoted the title of this deeply-interesting publication, printed by Messrs. Spottiswoode; but in addition to the exquisitely written biographical sketch, communicated to the *Record* of July 28, 1882, we find an excellent leading article of that journal, and several quotations from private letters. For ourselves, in gladly paying our tribute of sincere respect, we cannot do better than quote what is said on page 32 :—

A few extracts from letters to conclude these reminiscences will be fitly introduced by the glowing words of an easily-recognized master of sentences which accompanied the first public announcement of Mr. Haldane's removal :—

"One who had enjoyed for more than thirty years his society and his friendship wishes to say a few last words in memory and honour of a man who has left a deep and indelible mark on his generation. Possessing a strong intellect, a cultivated mind, and wide knowledge, he devoted them all to the furtherance of religion and morality, to the honour of God, and the welfare of the human race. Intense in his love of the Lord Jesus Christ, and full of faith, and cherishing above all things the hope of the Second Advent, he laboured throughout his life for the advancement of that kingdom to which, by God's goodness and mercy, he is now translated. "S."

A good gift-book is *The Vanguard of the Christian Army* (R.T.S.); or, *Sketches of Missionary Life*: by the Author of "Great Voyagers: Their Adventures and Discoveries." The Missionaries whose lives are here pleasingly unfolded, are Schwartz, Martyn, Judson, Burns, Brainerd, Livingstone, and some ten others. Some of the "lives" are too short and sketchy. The author might have consulted with advantage the Bishop of Ossory's charming series of *Missionary Biographies*. The volume has a tasteful cloth cover and is gilt-edged; there are several illustrations.

*Across the Water* (R.T.S.) is a well-written and wholesome story; it relates the experiences of an orphaned family who sought a home in America. The sketches of life under difficulties are well drawn; the story—like the style—is simple. Edith, the mother-sister, at last finds a new home on the beautiful green hills of Kentucky.

A well-written tale—short and simple—is *A Runaway* (S.P.C.K.); wholesome sketches of village and seafaring life. But we cannot recommend it. There is an exclamation, on p. 74 and in other places, "My God!" On p. 124, we observe, "Good God! is this true?" From a second edition such serious blots should be removed.

A tiny book, very tasteful, is *The Light of the Morning*, by ANNA WARNER, Author "Of the Melody of the 23rd Psalm" and other devotional books (Nisbet). Soothing and encouraging words about the love of Jesus.

From Mr. Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, 7, Paternoster Row, we have received two new editions of *The Parallel New Testament*: the A. V. and R. V. printed side by side. One edition is cheap, neatly got up, and printed in clear but small type; the other is



tastefully bound in flexible morocco, in a convenient cover-case; a charming edition for a present.

Two more of the "Colonists' Handbook" series (S.P.C.K.) have been published: *New South Wales* and *Queensland*.

The November *Quiver* (Cassell's) begins a new volume and begins it well. We have always had a kindly feeling towards the *Quiver* as a thoroughly wholesome as well as an attractive family magazine.

*The Kitten Pilgrims*, "Great Battles and Grand Victories." By R. M. BALLANTYNE, author of "The Three Little Kittens, who Lost their Mittens," &c. Illustrated by the author. (Nisbet & Co.) We have copied the title-page of this amusing and instructive quarto for little folks. Nothing further is necessary. Mr. Ballantyne stands at the head of all our childrens' story-tellers; *facile princeps*.

Of *Selections from the Writings of H. P. Liddon, D.D.* (Rivingtons), we need say little. Canon Liddon's writings are well known; and the editor of this volume appears to have executed his task of selection and arrangement with good judgment.

About the *Fairy Tales of Every Day* (S.P.C.K.), as a literary work, we should have only to write in praise; and many young ladies who know Miss Thackeray's "Five Old Friends and a Young Prince," will be glad, no doubt, to read the present adaptations of Cinderella, and so forth. But although for little folks simple moral lessons are sufficient, we think that the distinctively religious element should sanctify and strengthen "Fairy Tales" for maidens. And is it well that the heroine, an English Churchwoman, should marry a (Roman Catholic) Italian Prince? If we are not to have in these Tales any "*Church*" teaching (and we should be glad to see some) at least let us have a little really sound Christian principle.

We have received from the Religious Tract Society four works of a devotional character; useful, handy volumes: *Rest from Sorrow*, by W. GUEST, F.G.S.; *The Scripture Half-hour at Mothers' Meetings*; *The Holy Spirit in Man*, by the Rev. A. D. MACMILLAN, and *The Human Sympathies of Christ*, by the Rev. CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE, D.D. All four are good. The last-named is a work of great merit; Dr. Geikie's wide learning and graphic style impart a pleasing freshness to his expositions; he is always suggestive and strong; never poor or common-place. In the readings for mothers' meetings the language now and then is hardly simple enough. How is it that in books for the working classes one so often finds long sentences and difficult words?

We have received from Messrs. Macmillan a new volume of *Sermons*, by Dr. MACLAREN. In referring, recently, to sermons widely known, we made mention of the eminent Baptist preacher, Dr. Maclaren. His very carefully written, polished, and eloquent discourses, preached—we have heard—with oratorical grace and vigour, are read by thoughtful persons in a very wide circle. They are simple, yet suggestive, eminently *real*.

Referring to the address from the Dean and Clergy of Bristol, *The Congregationalist* (Hodder & Stoughton) says:—"The friendly greetings of the clergy of the Church of England at the Bristol meetings were a new feature, and were also a gratifying sign of the times. They were an indirect testimony to the growing power of Congregationalism, but they were also a direct manifestation of a more Catholic and Christian spirit among the clergy themselves. The men who offered them did honour to

the Union, but they did even more honour to themselves, and most of all to the true spirit of Christian unity, which is wider, deeper, and more enduring than any sectarian distinctions."

A new and revised edition of *The Englishman's Brief on behalf of his National Church* has been issued by the S.P.C.K. A full review of the book at the time of its publication appeared in *THE CHURCHMAN*.

The Religious Tract Society has sent us some specimens of their Almanacks for 1883; good and cheap, as usual.

From Messrs. T. & T. Clark we have received two volumes of the "Meyer's Commentary Series," Dr. HUTHNER on James and John, and *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, by Professor LÜNEMANN; the second volume of Dr. MARTENSEN's *Christian Ethics*, and the first volume of *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, by Dr. WEISS. These, of course, belong to Messrs. Clark's "Foreign Theological Library."

From Messrs. Rivington we have received four elegant little volumes, "gems," tiny editions of the Allegories of the Rev. W. ADAMS—*The Shadow of the Cross*, *the Distant Hills*, &c.

Messrs. S. Hildesheimer & Co. (14 and 15, Silk Street, Whitecross Street, E.C.), whose charming Cards we commended last year, have sent us a parcel of their new ones; splendid in the extreme.

The Church of England Book Society (11, Adam Street, Strand) has issued a fourth edition of *Words from the Waves*; a brief Memoir of C. L. Layton, a youth who was drowned at Weston-super-Mare, in the year 1874.

An admirable work, very short but full, as well as clear, is *Romanism in the Light of the Gospel*, by Miss E. J. WHATELY (R.T.S.), out and out the best book of the kind, so far as we know. We heartily recommend it.

From the Artistic Stationery Company (7, Dyer's Buildings, Holborn, E.C.) we have received some splendid specimens of their Card publications. Cards and etchings so choice, we think, have never before come under our notice.—We have also received several Cards from the lady whose charitable efforts in this direction were noticed in *THE CHURCHMAN* a year ago; Miss E. J. Riddell, Devonshire Lodge, Buxton, chromos with Scriptures. Of several other publications of this kind our notice must be delayed.

The Annual of *Sunshine*, an illustrated Magazine, edited by the Rev. W. MEYNELL WHITTEMORE, D.D., Rector of St. Katherine Cree, London, is bright, wholesome, and cheap. (G. Stoneman, 67, Paternoster Row.)

A capital gift-book for the younger readers is *Katie Brightside*, by RUTH LAMB, the Author of "Sturdy Jack" and other good books (R. T. S.). This story tells in simple language how Katie made the best of everything. The type is large, there are "original drawings by R. Barnes," and the cover is charming.

We welcome another volume of *The Illustrated Missionary News* (E. Stock); attractive and informing; a cheap gift-book. We see that American Missionaries have reached the Bihé country, about which the Portuguese traveller, Pinto, lately wrote.

We heartily recommend the Annual of *Home Words*, edited by the Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK, B.D. (*Home Words Office*, 1, Paternoster

Buildings, E.C.) *Home Words* is a very cheap and useful Magazine, well illustrated, with well-varied matter. We have found that parents as well as the elder Sunday Scholars, in town and country parishes, read it with interest; it may confidently be recommended as a really good "Church Magazine for heart and hearth."

From Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode (Great New Street, Fleet Street, E.C.) we have received some thirty prize Christmas and New Year Cards, and one Almanack. The cards are of several sizes, and, of course, the price varies; some of them are simple, and very cheap; but all are tasteful and good. Considering the artistic nature of these pretty presents, one wonders how they can be issued at so low a rate. Sunday School teachers and managers will do well to ask for Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode's low-priced cards.

From Messrs. Longmans & Co. we have received, too late for notice in our present issue, *Common British Insects*, by the Rev. J. G. Wood; a capital gift-book for boys. From Messrs. Wells Gardner, Darton & Co. (Paternoster Buildings), we have received the annual of our old friend, *Sunday Reading for the Young*, and three other excellent gift-books for little people.

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## THE MONTH.

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### THE SALVATION ARMY.

AT the Chichester Diocesan Conference, lately held at Horsham, a paper on the Salvation Army was read by Mr. W. E. Hubbard, Jun. Kindly acceding to our request, Mr. Hubbard has sent us the Paper for THE CHURCHMAN.

The Salvation Army should be a cause of rejoicing to every earnest man.

In spite of a general increase of civilization and an increase of spirituality in certain classes, vice and infidelity still keep great masses of the people under the thralldom of Satan.

Consider the state of London, which is perhaps not worse than many other large towns. It has been said, and I do not think that the saying is exaggerated, that "London is the most heathen city in the world." Its population now approximates to four millions, and I think it would be within the mark to assert that not more than half of that number ever go to church or chapel; leaving two millions of heathen people in the metropolis of Christian England.

Churchmen and Nonconformists are alike struggling hard to reverse this awful state of things, but in the sight of this spiritual famine can one condemn any means which are found effectual to bring these heathen within sound of the Gospel. God grant that the Salvation Army may never be disbanded; may it be guided in its operations by Divine wisdom, and may it put away whatever in it is erroneous and contrary to the will of God.

In the opinion of many its methods are faulty and even hurtful to the cause for which it is fighting. Humanly speaking its prospects are certainly marred by great haste, irreverence, over-confidence in itself and an occasional want of consideration for other Christians.

There is little respect for the Sacraments which we believe Christ ordained as means for our salvation. There is risk of its more impulsive members presuming on an immunity from sin, there is the danger of reaction common to all revivals and the consequent strengthening of Satan's rule upon earth.

These are imperfections and risks which are apparent; in every human organization there must be many such imperfections.

Against these imperfections the general results of the work must be weighed and our opinion formed accordingly; may we consider the subject with humility, impartiality, and charity, and may we be guided to a right judgment in this matter.

[Mr. Hubbard here gave statistics (which lately appeared in *THE CHURCHMAN*) concerning the Salvation Army.]

The object of the Army is to awaken sinners to a sense of their present danger and to induce them to lead a definitely holy life. With this in view almost any means which are not immoral are considered to be allowable.

Many of these means may be distasteful to us, some dangerous, or even in our opinion contrary to God's teaching. These errors, so far as they exist, we must deplore, but on the whole I believe the work gives us more cause for hopefulness and rejoicing.

We find in it a strong protest against vice and infidelity, and an extraordinary effort undertaken in God's name to carry the tidings of salvation to sinners. It has evoked a spontaneous outburst of religious zeal, appealing to, reaching, and in great measure supported by, a class which no religious body has as yet been able to win over to an active participation in Christian work.

When we see large numbers drawn from a class of whom the Church has almost despaired, who have long been depicted as steeped in vice and infidelity, and about to overturn all churches and all thrones in a convulsion of communistic atheism; when we see such men fighting for Christ, we must rejoice at their demonstration in support of holiness and pureness of life.

The beginning was small and weak; the magistrates condemned the Salvationists and the mob persecuted them; but now the common people hear them gladly and the wise men are convicted of a mistake.

They succeed because they are sincere and terribly in earnest. Of that there can be no doubt, they may not be wise, they may not be orthodox, but their faith has moved mountains, and our hearts must be colder than stone if we can witness that and remain unmoved at the sight.

The movement is not so unprecedented as it is sometimes represented to be. It is simply the most recent wave in the tide of religious manifestations with which God has blessed these modern times.

The mission of John Wesley, the Evangelical revival, the Oxford movement, the marked progress of the Church during these last twenty years, the preaching of Moody and Sankey, and finally the campaign of

the Salvation Army have all, I believe, been God-sent voices calling us to repentance.

It is said that enthusiastic revivals effervesce and leave no permanent effect, but just as every wave of a rising tide gains some ground, even though it apparently recedes after breaking on the shore, so every religious revival, even when it seems only to have a transient effect itself, makes some impression on cold hearts and prepares the way for the next.

It is objected that the Salvationists are extravagant beyond all reason, that although Moody and Sankey were wild and ephemeral preachers, they were humdrum and dull compared with this outburst of fanaticism.

It is asked, can such an extraordinary exhibition be from God? To the best of my knowledge and belief, I answer—Yes.

“God fulfils Himself in many ways.”

Is it impossible that, looking in His infinite compassion upon these heathen masses, spiritually starving in the midst of plenty, God may not sanctify even these means of drawing his sons and daughters to the throne of grace when all other means have failed to avert the awful alternative of the loss of their souls for ever?

We are shocked by unseemly language and an apparent want of reverence; this is sad enough, but is it not sadder still that people have been lost because the most solemn preaching and the most beautiful forms of worship utterly failed to awaken their conscience?

The Salvationists may be extravagant, their language is strong and sensational; but so unhappily is the every-day thought and language of the people they address. Their ideas of refinement are very different to ours; they are not conscious of being irreverent; they say simply what they think. Most decidedly their services are conducted in the “vulgar tongue;” but they are “understood of the people;” they may be grotesque in their phrases, but they are grimly in earnest in their work.

One man prayed to God to make him “a perfect nuisance to the devil.” The grotesqueness offends one’s taste, but it is not really profane; it is a most pious and praiseworthy wish, and all must desire that his prayer should be granted.

A lady once refused to hear the Army on account of the gross irreverence to her mind, of a certain placard; she said “that horrid placard keeps me out,” but the man who invited her said, “to that placard I owe all my happiness; it drew me in.” So surely one man’s meat is another’s poison.

I remember during the Church Mission of 1869 a depraved woman coming to seek for pardon because, as she said, she could not bear the sight of a great black cross that seemed to frighten her every time she passed the church. This was a plain cross, printed at the head of a mission placard. It certainly was large and distinct; but the cross without any words had arrested that woman’s attention and reminded her of the punishment of sin. She said she had passed it once or twice with increasing fear and trouble of mind, and then she suddenly broke down and came and was healed.

You may truly say that only the Spirit of God could have softened her hard heart; but the placard was the outward channel by which her senses were awakened to the danger of her soul.

In this case it was the most sacred emblem of the love of God that stopped this poor woman in the course of sin. But let us bear even with startling vulgar placards and exhibitions if it is found that they do arrest those who have long been callous to all other appeals; let us bear with anything that is not wrong, that in any way causes a searching of heart among the careless ones of this world.

Another grave objection to the Salvation Army is its despotic system. There is no doubt about it,—it is a new Popedom, in so far as that the rule of the General is absolute.

Absolutism is certainly repugnant to our ideas, and it is contrary to experience that it should be permanently successful. Mr. Booth's defence is very brief and at present it is much to the point: "All other known systems have been tried and have failed; this is successful." I think something may be said for it. During a time of peace the affairs of the British Army are regulated very much by the War Office and Parliament, but in war time the Commander-in-Chief has liberty to do much as he pleases and is almost absolute. Now the Salvation Army aims at being an army in reality as well as in name; and further, they say that while they are in existence they must be always at war,—they say they will not settle down into ordinary Church life. If this is so it follows that they cannot have discussions and differences of opinion; they must wage war on one plan organized and directed by one head. The Army is not a forced one; the members voluntarily take their places in the ranks, and necessarily submit to the discipline they find established.

May we not learn a lesson from this,—that as we are verily in the presence of a powerful enemy, it were well to put aside for the time our differences of opinion and to maintain somewhat better discipline in our ranks?

Their doctrines have been said to be insufficient and unsound. Perhaps the first charge may be answered in the same way. They constitute an army in the field; they do not pretend to be a fully-organized Church; and there is a great difference between the work of converting sinners and that of edifying the converted. The Salvationists merely reiterate the one question: "Are you saved?" and, when they get an answer in the affirmative, they say, "Go and work." They say: "We show you a faith professed with the mouth and proved by work for God; what more do you want?" They give their converts a Bible, and they urge them to study it. There is no lack of prayer among them; but apparently they hold their warfare to be so urgent that they have no time to study deeper doctrines or to develop more of the spiritual life.

Faith in the blood of Jesus, and surrender of the life to Him is what they exhibit; and if that is really and sincerely maintained, are we quite sure that their doctrine is insufficient? As to the unsoundness, I do not know that I can judge them; but I recognize the danger of over-confidence of salvation. They may presume too much upon God doing all for them without sufficient study and self-examination on their own part.

Mr. Booth entirely repudiates the doctrine of sinless perfection. He distinctly asserts that the best men are liable to temptation and to fall if they quit their hold on God. But he does say that so long as a man surrenders himself to God and leans entirely upon Him, without for a moment suffering his faith to fail, then he is in a state of entire sanctification, and in that state he cannot fall.

So far as I know, if the premis is right the inference is sound; but it is contrary to experience that even the best men have always been able to maintain such an entire surrender of the will to God, and the danger of this doctrine to ordinary minds is that they may think that this perfection of holiness is easier of attainment than God's saints have ever yet found it to be. We can only say, "With God all things are possible."

Many people trouble themselves about the future of the Army. Is it worth while to do so? Whatever in it is from God will stand, if He so orders it; whatever is not of God will come to naught.

A sudden collapse would do harm; but there are no present signs of it. The last five years have witnessed a very sudden expansion of the movement, many say too sudden to last; but it must not be forgotten that the foundations were being laid for twelve years before that, and the leaders were acquiring their experience. It is not unprecedented that men should toil all the night even for nothing, and then in a moment be rewarded by such rich results of their labour that they are almost overwhelmed thereby.

Most emphatically Mr. Booth declaims against the Army becoming what is called a sect. Of course it may yet be so; but if it does, it will not be a sect split off from other Churches, but a sect carved out of the great mass of external heathenism; and even a new sect under such circumstances should not cause much regret to true Christians.

Even if the existence of the Army as such is ephemeral, certainly the gist of the question is whether its present work produces a permanent effect upon its hearers. People say it is a failure, and that only twenty per cent. of its professed converts are true to their professions. Well, I think those twenty are worth saving; it is a larger percentage than would have sufficed to save from destruction the wicked cities of the plain.

The procedure at their conversion services is on the same lines as an ordinary Church Mission. Addresses, hymns, prayers, an after-meeting with more direct appeals to individuals, private prayer and pleading with them, fervent intercessory prayer. The struggles of those still halting between two opinions and then the joy of the passage of the converted soul from darkness into light.

People say there is too much excitement. I am not sure where we can draw the line. I have seen weak, excitable men and women on the platform, but the majority appear to be as quiet, steady, matter-of-fact people as you could find anywhere. There is excitement, but there is plenty of earnest, practical work too.

I have mixed with them going out after their services, and I wish Church people had the same earnest, solemn look on their faces while they are leaving God's House.

One other matter I noticed: that the prayers and addresses given

by women were listened to with much more respect and had apparently more influence on their audience than those given by men.

As to the reality of their conversions there is much difference of opinion, but there is much direct testimony in its favour. Only the other day a poor woman in Brighton said, "I only know this, that since my man has taken to go to these meetings he has given up the drink and left off knocking me about." I call this a real conversion, and I believe their converts are genuine as a rule, because they have no easy time of it after confession. No hypocrite could stand either the work or the discipline for a week. Every soldier must do something: attend their services, take part in them, and obey his officers; they must give up all intoxicating drink, and must give up smoking. Women must give up all ornaments and anything like a smart dress. Their officers must devote their whole time to the work, they have to conduct three or four meetings every day and an almost continuous round of services on Sunday. They have to visit the members of the Army during at least eighteen hours per week; and last, not least, keep an elaborate set of returns and accounts to be forwarded regularly and punctually to Head Quarters.

The Orders and Regulations of the Army compiled by Mr. Booth are a very remarkable instance of shrewdness and common sense, combined with an extraordinary grasp of the minutest details.

It has been said that the extravagance of the Salvationists causes religion to be evil spoken of. But I fear this risk is inseparable from active Christian warfare. It is at all events certain that the movement is doing some good when Satan bestirs his servants to blaspheme its object. The more a Church strives to extend her Lord's kingdom the more strenuously will Satan strive to discredit her in the eyes of the world. Nothing is easier than to have only smooth words spoken about you. Keep your religion to yourselves, give up proselytizing in Satan's kingdom, and your object will be attained; yet surely the most desperate fight would be preferable to a peace won by so dishonourable a surrender.

It is extremely difficult to say what the position of the Army is in relation to the Church. It is not antagonistic. Mr. Booth wishes it to help all Churches and to rival none. His work was first described simply as the Christian Mission, and that is exactly what it is,—a Mission conducted by the people in their own way without the aid of the clergy, not always, I fear, in a very considerate spirit to those who have been working to the best of their ability long before the Army came into existence, but still in no spirit of antagonism to them. I may mention that already 400 men and women converted by and trained in the Salvation Army have been engaged by various Christian bodies as ministers, missionaries, bible women, and the like.

To sum up, whatever are their faults I believe the good they are doing in "Heathen England" far outweighs any evil that may attach to their mode of operations, and that therefore the movement should be a source of rejoicing to every one who desires to see England become in reality as well as in name a truly Christian country.

The question as to whether the Church can do anything in the matter has already been referred to the Upper House of Convocation,



and it will be a subject for great congratulation if they can answer it in a definite manner.

I do not think that the Church can incorporate or identify herself with the Army.

Some imitations of the Army on what are called Church lines have already sprung into being; God grant that this may be a move in the right direction. Of course the Church could do the work better than the Salvationists if she had the will.

We have got better machinery, we can copy the organization; but have we got the fervour, the steam that alone can start the machinery and cause it to do its work successfully?

It is more important to discuss what we are to do with the masses of unconverted people around us than what we are to do with the Army.

The Church has long cried, and cried aloud in her invitation to the heathen, but the people do not hear; they do not care to hear; the Army, however, goes out into the streets, into the highways and hedges, and compels them to come in.

The Church has too long waited for the people to come to hear the Gospel. The people now flock to the Salvationists. But the Salvationists began by going out to the people.

We are rather too fond of hiding our religion under the guise of semi-secular things, as if it were a medicine so nauseous as to need some sweet disguise; we try and coax the people to come to Church. The Salvationists put the blunt alternative before them: "Go to the Saviour and get salvation, or you will be lost eternally." We indirectly pay poor people to come and hear sermons; the Salvationists have an offertory at every service, and expect the people to pay for the privilege of coming.

We cannot at all events regard such a movement with apathy. Woe to the Church that could do so! Surely her candlestick would before long be removed out of its place.

Thank God for it, the Church of England is not callous to a spiritual awakening; she is in many places alive and stirring; and it is only a question as to the direction in which her chief officers will steer her course.

It is difficult for a layman to advise the clergy; but it seems to me that what is wanted is more work outside the walls of the church, more street preaching, more field preaching, more preaching from house to house, more direct personal work. Truly Christ and His apostles taught and preached in the synagogues, but they made many more converts to Christianity in the wilderness and on the seashore.

The clergy cannot do it all, the laity must help, and the clergy must seek help from all ranks. The educated and godly laymen of the upper classes are few, but there are many others who have the love of God in their hearts, and would have much weight with their fellows if the clergy would utilize the services of all they could find, and not be afraid of even a little vulgarity.

Lord Shaftesbury once said that the lowest classes of England would never be Christianized until they were preached to by men of nearly their own rank; and I would recommend that too many obstacles be not put in the way. Bishops' licenses, a sort of quasi-ordination, and

a long preparation are not absolutely necessary for preaching the Gospel. Employ women, too, wherever it is possible, and do not fence the lay helpers round with a number of regulations; give them as much freedom as possible.

Do not be afraid of a little enthusiasm. Of course a highly-civilized Englishman is seldom enthusiastic; it is considered hardly respectable; but a conventional respectability will never upset the kingdom of Satan: he has got hold of people who don't know what it is, and naturally it makes no impression upon them.

Above all, let congregations who profess to have found Christ set a better example; let us individually give more thought to the lives we lead, and let us try to set our own house in order; let us endeavour to mitigate as soon as may be the hindrances in the constitution of our Church.

Can we expect to gain great victories as a Church while there is anarchy within, while the bishops have so little power to rule, and while there are clergy who will not obey; while the cure of souls is bought and sold as freehold property, while the poor are often practically shut out of their own churches, while clergy who do nothing more than they are obliged are irremovable from their posts; while immortal souls are consequently dying in ignorance and unrepented sin; while our services are stereotyped and inelastic; and while instead of trying to rectify these wrongs we wrangle among ourselves about points of mediæval ritual, how can we expect poor ignorant men and women to appreciate the religion which we have buried under such a mass of shameful abuses.

[Mr. Hubbard here referred to his resolutions.]

One thing we can all do, and that is to pray God that whatever is wrong in this movement may be mercifully over-ruled, and that what is right may be blessed and multiplied exceedingly to the glory of His name and to the salvation of many souls whom His Son died to redeem!

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The reports of several Diocesan Conferences have been read with interest. The Diocesan Conference movement, we note with pleasure, is still growing and gaining strength. Such conferences of laity and clergy can hardly fail to exert great influence for good.

At York, the Archbishop made some remarks upon Church Courts. His Grace said:—

A commission has been sitting for some time on the subject, but it will be some time before it is in a position to report. What I have urged on other occasions I wish to repeat now in presence of the clergy of the diocese. A demand that the future courts shall one and all have the formal approval of the synods of the Church may transform itself, almost before we know how, into a demand for disestablishment. The Church has never before founded her own courts. The Court of Final

Appeal is the body of advisers of the Crown in the last appeal which all subjects who think they suffer wrong have the right to bring to the foot of the throne. The Court of First Instance may be expected to be a purely ecclesiastical court, and the Church may expect to make her voice heard as to its constitution. But the Crown would have a voice in the appointment of the court which was to be its final adviser in matters connected with the rights of the subject.

At Chichester a very interesting paper was read by Mr. S. Hannington on "How to Popularize the Services of the Church." A committee was appointed. In supporting Mr. Hannington, Mr. Purton, Rector of Kingston-by-Sea, dwelt on three points; the need of elasticity in our services; the Lay Diaconate; and Diocesan Organization of Missions. Some resolutions were proposed by Mr. W. E. Hubbard, jun., referring to the Salvation Army; but an amendment, proposed by the Dean of Chichester, was carried by a large majority.

At Liverpool, after a strong speech by the Bishop against it, a proposal to send six representatives to the Central Council was negatived; 70 were in favour of, and 90 against it.

At Norwich there was an interesting discussion on the Lay Diaconate. On the motion of Canon Garratt, the Committee was reappointed.

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On the 4th, an application having been made by his Bishop, Mr. Green was released.

We deeply regret the loss of Archdeacon Prest. From the first a warm friend of *THE CHURCHMAN*, he recently wrote to us expressing his regret that he had been unable oftener to contribute to our columns. An admirable *In Memoriam*, with the well-known initials, "H. B. T.," appeared in the *Record* of the 3rd, and we gladly quote its opening sentences, as follows :—

The Church of England has lost, in the removal of Archdeacon Prest, of Durham, one who has been for years foremost in every good work in his own diocese, and whose influence and labours extended far beyond the counties of Durham and Northumberland. Quiet, gentle, and unassuming in manner; patient, calm, and unruffled in discussion; clear and temperate in judgment; firm and definite in his convictions; unflinching in his decisions, never hastily formed; with a legal and methodical mind, which led him cautiously to weigh every argument on either side; thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Protestant Reformation; with his inner life continually fed by close communion and intercourse with his Saviour—for he was markedly a man of prayer—no wonder that he exercised an influence second to none over the whole of the Evangelical portion of our Church in the North of England.

THE  
CHURCHMAN

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JANUARY, 1883.

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ART. I.—THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND  
TO THE MASSES.

CERTAINLY this is an age of extraordinary religious activity and incessant religious enterprise. From General Booth, who invites you to contribute towards a gigantic sum for a new Congress Hall, down to the small child who assails you in the street for a penny contribution to his missionary card, every such beggar is a witness to the existence of abundant energy and zeal which spread through every religious body, and stimulate and strengthen every religious undertaking. Nor can it be said that, amongst all these efforts, missionary enterprises are forgotten. On the contrary, there probably never was a time in which so many agencies were at work in order to bring the power of the Gospel to bear upon those who are indifferent to religious obligations. And these agencies are about as varied as it is possible to imagine. On the one hand, you have such a work as that of the London City Mission, the aim of which is to cover all London with religious visitation; and on the other hand, you have some enterprising gentleman who hires a small room in a back street, paints up a big name upon the door, and sets up in life as a missionary to his neighbours on his own account; combining in his own person the duties of committee, treasurer, secretary, collector, and evangelist, and being at the same time the honorary officer and the paid servant of the high-sounding Society which he has founded. And yet, in spite of all the influence and power of the Church, in spite of all the unusual religious activities of the day, there are still multitudes living amongst us who have no regard for God; and who, so far as any outward expression goes, seem to be absolutely without care as to whether there is a God or not. Nor are these persons by any means confined to one class of

society, as it is nowadays much the fashion to assume. They abound amongst the wealthy and the educated, as well as amongst the poor and the ignorant. Every station in society is saturated with the poison of their indifference; God's House, and God's Name, and God's Day, are to them idle and meaningless phrases.

Now to all of these of course the Church has a message to deliver. It is ridiculous to think and speak as if the Gospel was only intended for, and only neglected by, the poorest classes; whereas it is too sadly true that the wealthy and the educated often require quite as much the missionary enterprise of the Church to be exhibited on their behalf. And to those of us who live in the midst of the masses of the poor, it does seem strange to find that this subject is so seldom discussed, as if it were assumed either that only the poor were indifferent to religion, or that the wealthier classes were beyond the reach of religious influence and power. We are thankful to notice that the venerable Bishop of Lincoln has recently spoken in terms very clear and strong of the duty of the Church towards the higher classes.

If, therefore, in the present paper, this portion of the subject is left out of consideration, it is not because there is no need that it should be thoughtfully discussed, it is not because it can be conceded that the poorer classes have a monopoly of indifference and irreligion, but because the experience of ministerial service for the past sixteen years of a not inactive life has brought the present writer more closely into contact with the condition of the masses of the poor amongst whom he has lived, and has led him often to consider how far the Church has failed to reach and influence them, and what is the hope and prospect for the future.

It must be sorrowfully admitted, we fear, that so far as the influence of religion is to be measured by the habitual attendance at public worship, the notorious absence of the great bulk of working-people from the services of the Church indicates a deplorable amount of religious indifference amongst them. Account for the fact as you please, make whatever excuses and allowances you can for the neglect, yet the fact remains; and it is a fact which ought to be clearly recognised and deliberately faced.

Surely it is of little use to talk and write, as many do, about the increasing power and growing influence and activity of the Church, if all the while we close our eyes to the awful apathy which steals like a subtle poison over the spiritual senses of large masses of the population, and steeps them in coldness and neglect. It is the simple truth that, in this East End of London, you may pass through street after street, and visit

house by house, and find only the smallest possible proportion of the people who make any pretence whatever of attending any place of public worship. And if you pay a visit to the churches and chapels, you will find the testimony of the streets fully corroborated by the appearance of their congregations. A few years ago, the clergy of the East End of London joined in a memorial to the Bishop of the Diocese, drawing his attention to the facts, which, indeed, are apparent enough to all.

Now it must not be assumed that these absentees are altogether hostile, or indeed wholly indifferent to religion. No doubt there is a certain amount of active scepticism, and secularism, and unbelief, but it is quite certain that the amount and the power of this influence have been largely exaggerated; and even where professed scepticism exists, it very commonly has its origin in some distorted and imperfect estimate of what Christianity really is. But there are numbers of men amongst the working-classes who would indignantly resent the charge that they were not Christians, and who, nevertheless, do not pay to Christianity that tribute of respect and adherence to which we are bound to attach the utmost value and importance.

Anyone who would take the trouble to walk down the Mile End Road during service on Sunday morning, would very quickly be convinced that there are numbers of working-men who are not accustomed to attend Divine worship. There are, indeed, few sights in London more striking than the appearance of this East End promenade on a fine Sunday morning; thronged as it is with working-men, who are taking their morning stroll, and amongst whom is a very small proportion of the other sex. Yet not all these are wholly indifferent to religion. Some, perhaps, would be found at a religious service later in the day; some will stand and listen with respectful attention to the wayside preachers who try to arrest them, and will often resent the interruptions of cavilling and captious scepticism: whilst a very large number of those who seem indifferent, will welcome the aid of Christian sympathy in time of sickness, and will send for the minister to speak to them on their dying bed.

The truth is, that a certain amount of vague, hazy, indefinite religious belief is very widely spread amongst the masses of the people, leading them to recognise the power of religion, and even to admit its value; but this indefinite knowledge and belief has never been crystallized into clear, dogmatic faith, nor has it laid hold upon the affections and the life. It is strong enough to produce a sort of respect for religion, but it is not strong enough to subdue the heart and force the will into obedience to its laws.

For those of us who believe that real religious influence must be deep and searching, who seek for the signs which speak of the conversion of the heart to God, nothing can well be more painful than this state of things which represents the spiritual condition of the masses of the people in the most enlightened Christian country in the world.

To what causes are we to attribute a result so terrible? and what has the Church of England done, and what may she still do, towards remedying them?

Of the causes which have been, in our judgment, a hindrance to the progress of religion amongst the masses, several may be mentioned.

(I.) Poverty is a hindrance. It is very easy for comfortable respectability to see the advantages of the trials of poverty, and the danger of wealth; but there is another side to the question. A gentleman of wealth and position, who has worked zealously amongst the East End poor, was heard to say the other day at a public meeting, that whilst we had very high authority for the fact that it was difficult for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven, he had learned that it was a terribly hard thing also for the poor. If to the rich young ruler there was present the temptation to trust in his wealth, it should not be forgotten that to the patriarch Job, when stripped of all his wealth, there came the temptation in his poverty and his misery to "curse God and die." Few persons, except those who have really lived amongst the poor, are able to understand how the very condition in which they live may become a positive hindrance to the entrance of religion, and embitter their thoughts and harden their hearts against the God whom they regard as responsible for that condition. We may add to this the very practical difficulty, that attendance at public worship, seems to demand an amount of outward respectability and cleanliness to which the poorer classes are unaccustomed. Sunday clothes appear to them to be absolutely indispensable to public worship, and Sunday clothes they do not possess; or if by chance they do, the clothes are too often in temporary charge of the pawnbroker.

(II.) The neglect of the Church in past generations in making adequate provision for the pastoral charge, and for the religious training and religious worship of the poor, must also be regarded as one of the factors in the result. The enormous increase of the population since the beginning of the present century has far outstripped the energy and zeal of the Church in providing for its wants; and the result is that a large number of the present generation has grown up under influences, the least likely to produce a care for religion or a regard for worship. And even now that this difficulty has been to a con-

siderable extent removed, and it is very generally admitted that church-building and parochial subdivision, have reached their limit in the more densely peopled part of the Metropolis, it cannot be said that efficient provision has yet been made for the due discharge of the pastoral office. It is not enough to build a church and to provide it with a small endowment, in the hope that in a poor and neglected neighbourhood such a desire for church-worship will be at once awakened, that all parochial work and pastoral agencies will be devolved from the congregation itself. It would be about as wise to build a man-of-war and send her captain to sea without guns and without crew, and still expect him to have a prosperous voyage. In these East End parishes the Church is even now woefully under-manned, and the parochial system, so beautiful in theory, has never yet had a chance of being fairly worked. The present condition of the working-classes has arisen, in great measure, not because the agencies of the Church are inefficient, nor because she has been unsuccessful in the work which she has done; but because the zeal of her members has not been adequate to the extending needs, because of her neglect to use the means at her command—a neglect the extent of which and the results of which are, even yet, very imperfectly understood or appreciated.<sup>1</sup>

(III.) From this neglect has sprung a further cause of the widely spread indifference, in the ignorance of what Christianity really is, in the utterly erroneous view of what the Bible teaches, and especially in the false impressions about the

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<sup>1</sup> The special difficulty of the East of London, which distinguishes it from every other part of the metropolis and from every provincial town, is the enormous mass of population, considerably exceeding half a million entirely separated from persons of wealth and leisure, and without any mixture of persons of higher social position either living amongst them or within reach of them. In the Report to which reference has been made, it was remarked that whereas in the East End of London the Church of England must be regarded as being engaged in a gigantic missionary enterprise to re-evangelise the masses, and it might be expected that special and extraordinary help would be given for the purpose, so far was this from being the case, that even the supply of clergy was smaller in proportion to the population than in any other portion of the metropolis. In the East End the proportion was one clergyman to 4,250 souls, while the average of other parts of the diocese of London was one clergyman to 2,444 souls. It is satisfactory to add that since that report was made a suffragan bishop for East London has been appointed, and a fund has been raised for providing more workers in East End parishes, so that there is now one clergyman for 3,600, and the Committee of the East London Church Fund express the earnest hope that, with increased liberality on the part of the public, they may be able to provide one clergyman for every 3,000 souls. But even when this result is secured, a much larger infusion of religious life is needed than the clergy alone can supply.



which her very position and influence mark her out as pre-eminently capable and responsible? What is her mission to the masses?

There are some persons who seem to think that the time has come when the Church, with regard to the myriads of our great cities, will have to admit that all her past work has been a failure, will have to abandon all her pastoral agency and all her parochial machinery, and give herself entirely to such evangelistic work as will prove attractive to the people. But surely this would be a terrible mistake. How many there are to whom the quiet worship of our own beloved Church has been a strength in times of weakness, a comfort in days of sorrow, and a defence and protection in the hour of peril and temptation! It would be worse than foolish if any encouragement should be given to the clergy to abandon their office as pastors in order to take up the work of evangelists. We go even further than this; we say that one means at least for winning the masses of the indifferent would be to strengthen the parochial organization and develop the parochial machinery so that it may become a more efficient agent for carrying the message of the Gospel to the poor. For, under present circumstances, at least in populous parishes, it too often happens that the clergyman is more than overwhelmed with the ordinary duties which his work as a pastor demands, and has neither time nor energy left to undertake the missionary work of the Church. And yet it is abundantly evident that the Church must carry on an evangelistic and aggressive work, as well as continue and complete her pastoral functions. Her mission is that of her Divine Master, "to seek and to save that which was lost," "to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature;" and we dare not take the responsibility of abandoning the careless to their fate because they will not use the means of help provided for them. We must go out to seek; we must compel them to come in.

It will follow from what has already been said, that in order to carry on this work, it is not enough to build churches, or to educate the young, or to multiply Church services, or to perfect in every department the ordinary machinery of the Church. You cannot hope to secure an unspiritual person with a spiritual bait. But beyond doubt there is needed, over and beyond these agencies, some deliberate and organized attempt to do that part of the work which has to some extent at least been overlooked in the past. We have done well in so far as we have provided for the spiritual advancement and growth of all who come for such help; but we have yet as a Church to take the further step of going out into the world around us and speaking to every soul, so that "whether they hear or whether

they forbear," they may at least be constrained to acknowledge that a messenger from God has been among them.

In dealing with this question there are one or two cautions which must not be forgotten :

(i.) That whilst we use faithfully whatever means may be put into our hands, the power and success comes from God the Holy Ghost. One is apt to get a little impatient of new schemes and plans and organizations and committees. There is too great a tendency in these days to place undue reliance upon such external machinery, and it may reasonably be questioned whether we are anxious enough to seek the power of the Holy Spirit and to honour Him in His work. And yet it is absolutely certain that when you have been brought face to face with the spiritual needs of a fellow-sinner, you have no message to deliver and no power to carry it home to the heart but from God the Holy Ghost. I never feel so acutely my own utter helplessness as when I am thrown into such circumstances and have to speak God's message to an individual soul. I can manage very well to hold my place in committees ; I can sit in my study and arrange plans and form schemes ; I can even go into the pulpit and try to deliver God's message to the congregation at large with much more ease than I can ever feel in trying to meet the spiritual needs of one individual. This is the work which throws us back most upon God ; this it is which takes us to our knees in prayer to Him ; and this it is which makes us long that God's people would go out into the world's highway and compel the wanderer to come in to be taught by the Spirit of God Himself.

(ii.) There is need of caution again, lest we should be misled by the current phraseology of the day into supposing that the souls of men can be brought to God in masses. I do not deny that there is a certain power of attraction in mere numbers, and crowds will rush where crowds have been before. I do not doubt that the omnipotent grace of God is abundantly sufficient to bring men by multitudes to the feet of Jesus. But a pretty large experience in this matter induces me to believe that the mission of the Church is that of the individual to the individual. Souls are won, when kindred souls are touched with fire divine, and are constrained to speak as those who themselves know and believe. It is quite possible for us to attach too much importance to the collection of men together in large masses, and to give too little weight to the patient tender love which seeks out the lost sheep one by one, and strives to lead them back to the fold of the Saviour, who has loved them. Now here, as I believe, we have the most important answer to the question, What can this Church of England do to win back the masses of the ungodly to the Lord ?

In former years it was too much the fashion to leave to the clergy all directly spiritual work. It is only within the present generation, and principally in consequence of the resolute stand made by the Church Pastoral Aid Society, and the Scripture Readers' Association, that the mind of the religious public has been turned into a more wholesome direction.

Perhaps there is nowadays a little tendency to oscillate too far in the opposite direction, and to assume that laymen, simply because they are laymen, must of necessity be better qualified than the clergy to preach, and to perform other clerical functions. But at any rate this much may be fairly claimed and conceded, that it is alike the duty and privilege of all men—aye, and of all women too—to use the personal influence which they possess in bearing their testimony for Christ; and so to take upon themselves that which, after all, is the most difficult of all spiritual enterprises, and is most conducive to the extension of the influence of Christianity in the world. To invent plans and form schemes is not of much use. Bring the love of warm, living, human hearts into contact with the cold indifference of carelessness and neglect, and you will have taken an important step towards evangelizing the masses. The weakness of the Church of England lies in the fact that her members have been content to undertake almost any other work than this, and have left their love for God to be inferred rather than have it written prominently upon their whole life. The world will not be won for Christ until every Christian is a soldier, and every soldier goes out into the field to fight and work for the souls of men. We do sadly need more self-sacrifice in our efforts; and the Church must learn that in the work of her own members lies the surest promise of success in missionary enterprise. So many persons seem afraid—I myself have before now experienced the same fear—of making use of the opportunities which are clearly presented of speaking for the Master's cause. If only the communicant members of our Church could be fired with a generous enthusiasm and stimulated by a holy courage to give themselves to this service, it seems to me that a great change must soon be effected in the society in which we live.

It cannot be too often or too plainly asserted, that the strength and influence of any church will be in direct proportion to the personal zeal and self-sacrifice of its members in undertaking to carry on the special and distinguishing duty of the Church—conveying the blessed message of the Gospel of peace to the hearts of the people. It has been too much the custom of the laity of our own Church to compound with their consciences for the discharge of this duty by subscribing to some society which appoints paid agents for the service.

But surely no one should expect to evade or escape his own personal responsibility by delegating its performance to another. I believe that there are hundreds of the clergy who would be ready to acknowledge that whatever success there has been in their ministry, has been due, under God, to the fact that they have been anxious to claim and to welcome the personal service of the poorest members of their congregation in forwarding the work of Christ. My own observation has been for many years past directed to this special point, and I do not hesitate to lay down most clearly what is the deepest conviction of my own mind, that whether it be amongst the poor or amongst the rich, that congregation will be the strongest, alike in its own spiritual attainments and in its influence upon others, in which a keen sense of personal obligation and personal responsibility is cherished and maintained. This it is which constitutes the power of many a Dissenting congregation, whose success we may be sometimes inclined to envy; and this also is, in a greater measure than is generally understood, the secret of the influence of the Salvation Army. Without the least desire to underrate the importance of gathering people together for the definite purpose of having the Gospel preached to them, I would still urge that personal efforts are needed in preparation for a public service, if a congregation of the kind of persons with whom we are now concerned is to be gathered together; and what is of even more difficulty and of more value, there must be a direct personal appeal from the individual to the individual in order that the message of the Gospel, when it has been delivered, may be pressed home.

Let us proceed now to discuss the way in which the energies of Christian people may be directed with the view of attracting the indifferent, or, as I would prefer to call them, the non-worshippers, to the religious gathering. In the first place, however, let us carefully distinguish between that which is of the very essence of the Gospel, and that which is, if I may so speak, accidental and variable. A clear understanding upon this point will enable us to get rid of some prejudices to which many persons cling with the tenacity of a superstition.

(a.) It is not essential to religion that we should refuse to hold a service of any kind except at the conventional hours of 11, 3, and 6.30, or 7 o'clock. The Church of England has not only survived the introduction of the evening service, but has been strengthened by it; and there is no reason why the same result should not follow from a much wider recognition of the needs of those classes to whom we direct our appeal. We must make up our minds to invite the people at a time which is most convenient to themselves, and when we know they can come.

(b.) Nor is it absolutely necessary that our missionary efforts should be confined to the four walls of a consecrated building. There used to be a prejudice, which I confess to have long shared, against preaching in theatres and music-halls. Let us be bold enough to recognise the principle that if the masses will not come to church, we must go to them wherever they are to be found, and collect them into any building which they are willing to enter.

(c.) Nor is the Liturgy of the Church of England an indispensable part of every missionary effort.

(d.) Nor is it requisite that every evangelist should be an ordained minister of the Church of England.

It must always be remembered that while in our ordinary congregations we join in worship with those who are accustomed to worship and have learned how to worship; in missionary enterprises we have to deal with those who do not want to worship, who have not been used to prayer, and oftentimes do not even know how to pray. From this it follows that in our ordinary services prayer and praise will be the most prominent feature; but in evangelistic efforts it is upon preaching that we must depend in order to teach the necessity of prayer and to awaken a desire to pray.

Now within the last ten or twelve years the clergy of the Church of England have made great efforts in the direction of missionary enterprise. Few persons who live in large towns can be unacquainted with the work of the Special Missions, which are a feature of our own time. These Special Missions are an attempt on the part of Christian people to attract the careless and indifferent living within a given area to special services conducted by a special preacher selected for the purpose. And the plan of operation is (1) to awaken an interest in the coming mission by bringing it before all the people in the parish, and giving a personal invitation pressed home again and again to every individual; (2) this preparation leads up to the Special Mission Week, during which the ordinary services of the Church are displaced, and the efforts of all are concentrated upon evangelistic work; and (3) the mission, if it is to be successful, is followed by an endeavour to gather in to classes and services, for instruction, any who have been awakened and impressed. And universal testimony goes to prove that God has abundantly blessed these special seasons, wherever this work has been undertaken with a zealous endeavour to win souls to Christ. Surely then these efforts serve to show the direction in which further successes may be gained. If a missionary work of this character, spasmodic, irregular and intermittent, has secured such large results, and has awakened many who were before indifferent, is there any reason to suppose that evan-

gelistic efforts of the same kind carried on without intermission, side by side with the ordinary pastoral work of the Church, would not produce results still greater, and more important? Of course it may be said that one reason of the attraction which such missions possess is, that the time is limited, and that during that period there is a concentration of spiritual power and energy upon the particular field of operations. Give full weight to the force of this argument, and yet it may fairly be answered that until the experiment has been fairly tried, it cannot be assumed, without proof, that similar efforts long continued would not produce similar results.

But here a question arises which is forced upon us by the circumstances of the time, and which demands a clear and distinct expression of opinion. Is it absolutely necessary, in order to attract the non-worshipping class, that we should copy the sensational advertisements, the military organization, the extravagances, the follies and the irreverence of the Salvation Army? And to this question I answer most emphatically and unhesitatingly, NO! The end does not and can not justify the means; and the means which are employed by the Salvation Army are such as to my mind no end could justify. There are many of the more intelligent of our working-classes who would be repelled rather than attracted by attempts like these. By all means let us be content to learn from the Salvation Army or from any other source what is good and useful in the movement, but do not let us be misled by the appearance of an ephemeral success to adopt means which may serve to bring into ridicule and contempt the name which we hold most dear. When the Salvation Army claims by such means to have reached a class which no other organization can touch, it arrogates to itself a position which the facts do not justify. There is much mission and evangelistic work being carried on in a quiet way, which has no *War-Cry* to sound its successes, and which is conducted by men who would shrink from making a public parade of those who have been won from ungodliness and indifference. It is well known that the lowest classes of society are to be found in the common lodging-houses of the metropolis, and these homes present what is to outward appearance the least hopeful sphere for missionary enterprise. And yet in numbers of these houses, regular services are held every week, and much zealous Christian effort is called forth. I have in my mind a particular instance, in which some years ago, a Sunday evening service was commenced by a few zealous laymen in a large lodging-house, and addresses given to the men assembled in the common living-room. At first there was much difficulty from the ridicule and indifference of the men; but as time went on, Christian energy and faith and perse-

verance won their way, until amongst the roughest and the most degraded a quiet, orderly service was conducted without hindrance. Every one who has been engaged in such work could tell many a tale of the good results which have been gained.

Open-air preaching is a simple and obvious way of reaching with the message of God's Word those who will not enter any public building or take part in any religious service. It is found as a matter of experience that men who are loitering along the road will be attracted by the preacher's voice, and stay to listen to the message which he delivers, while these very same men will not compromise themselves even to so much of a profession of religion as appears to them to be involved in entering a church. For the two summers during which the outside pulpit of Whitechapel Church was available, we had there outdoor services every night, and never failed to obtain a congregation of the kind which we desired. On Sunday evening this address was given after the ordinary evening service; and, at its close, those present were invited into the church to spend some further time in act of worship. By this means many were induced to follow into the church to take part in the service held there. And many of the clergy in the East End of London make such outdoor efforts a part of their ordinary work in preaching the Gospel to the poor. The machinery for such efforts is of the simplest and least expensive kind. In a main thoroughfare, in which persons are always to be found passing by, it is only necessary to have a few willing helpers to sing one or two good stirring hymns, and speak to any who may seem to be impressed, whilst the appointed speaker preaches in clear and simple language the Word of God. If a clergyman cannot be spared, there are laymen who may be found ready to undertake the service; and it would be well that laymen should be taught to speak in this way to their fellow-men. If the service is held in a back street, for the benefit of the inhabitants themselves, it will be needful to announce beforehand, by means of a small handbill left at the houses, when and where the service is to be held. I am most thankful to have, in my own parish, a band of laymen ready to take any part which may be assigned to them in open-air efforts such as these.

It is one step beyond the open-air service when a congregation can be gathered into a church or mission-hall or any other public building for religious addresses. In some parishes the church itself will be available for this purpose after the usual evening service, and it is found that it is quite possible for such an extra service to collect an entirely new congregation. It has been already mentioned how this was done in

Whitechapel as a sequel to the open-air address: and only this very week I was told of a congregation of nearly 600 persons drawn into another church out of the public thoroughfare by means of a band of workers sent out with invitations to the passers-by.

Most of our readers may have heard of the successful efforts made at the Victoria Music Hall in South London, where, on every Sunday evening, a very large congregation is drawn to a religious service conducted by clergymen and laymen of the Church of England. For some time past a similar effort has been made in one of the largest public halls in the East of London. The plan of operations here has been to send out during the preceding week, by means of a large band of voluntary visitors, a special notice of the service for the coming Sunday. These notices are distributed at every house, and an endeavour is made to secure that a personal invitation is given, and thus the hand-bill becomes the means for making an approach to the people in their own houses with a religious object. In this way a stream of Christian effort is directed towards the people which cannot fail to produce some effect, quite independent of the immediate result in securing an attendance at the service. The same notice is distributed at the open-air services, and to passers-by along the main road. On Sunday evenings at seven o'clock, the special choir and other appointed workers meet, and whilst some of the choir occupy the hall to sing hymns during the assembling of the congregation, the remainder go out into the streets, and having attracted the attention of those who are passing by, invite them to the services. By these means a large congregation has been obtained, and the numbers have a very distinct tendency to increase. Bearing in mind the class of persons for whom this evangelistic effort is intended, singing is made a special feature of the service. A small band of instruments assists the voluntary choir in conducting the singing, and the selection of hymns used contains only eleven of the simplest and best-known of our ordinary Church hymns, which are repeated night after night with growing interest and effect. In addition to the hymns, there have usually been one or more sacred songs sung as solos. The people have also been taught to join in the General Confession and the Lord's Prayer, and for the rest extempore prayer has been employed. But in order to teach people how to pray, it is very important that the prayer should be simple in thought and language, and if possible it is well to try and make the people take in and use for themselves the prayers which are offered. Short sentences of petitions, slowly said, with many pauses, are best adapted for this purpose. The address at these services is of course the distinct and



special feature. A sermon would be out of place: it would not be understood. The current phrases of ordinary religious speaking are to many persons quite meaningless. The simplest truths about religion, set forth in the simplest language, but clear, definite, dogmatic, earnest. The vocabulary of the poor is very limited, their ideas are often still more limited, their knowledge of simple religious truth is too often the most limited of all. This must be remembered, and we must not be afraid to speak the things which we believe as if we believed them, and with the force and earnestness which carry conviction. One has sometimes heard the most solemn and startling truths uttered in a way which almost suggested a doubt as to whether the speaker could really understand or believe what he was saying. If you announce that the house is on fire, in the same calm, quiet tones in which you inform me that dinner is ready, you must not be surprised if your very tones suggest a doubt to my mind as to the truth of your information. It is not enough for us to preach the truth, but it must be set forth in such a way as to carry conviction to the mind.

Those who really believe in the power of the Gospel will not find it difficult to understand what is the value and effect of such irregular evangelistic efforts as those here described. For wherever the Word of God is faithfully delivered, we believe that it has in it a living force, "sharper than any two-edged sword," to find its way to the hearts of men. We are ready, therefore, to rejoice whenever we find that an opportunity is given for preaching Jesus Christ and Him crucified.

By such services also we are doing something to break down the habit of non-attendance. It ought to be remembered that whilst the force of habit and custom draws in to Church the respectable classes, the same power keeps many persons away. This habit needs to be overcome. Those who have come once to these services, will be the more inclined to come again, until it may be that the custom of indifference is gradually transformed into a habit of diligent and close attendance. But in missionary efforts, which are known to be closely connected with the work and organization of the Church of England, there is a special value. For our regular Church system has a place into which to invite those who are at all impressed, and has a religious training which it can offer; and the efforts of all the workers at the missionary services will be constantly directed towards this end, so that a link will be formed between the simple evangelistic service and the ordinary opportunities of Church worship.

It is not necessary now to speak of the spiritual benefits which are necessarily conferred upon all who take part in such efforts in behalf of their brethren, because this is not the

special point in view ; but I wish to show that there may be, and there ought to be, a continual passing forward of recruits, gathered by the missionary exertions of the Church, to strengthen and to replemish the number of her zealous and faithful members. The mission-service is not an end, but a means ; and its work is not effectually done until it has carried those whom it has reached up to a higher stage of Christian life and progress in connection with our Church.

No doubt there are great difficulties in carrying out such schemes as these :

For (1) it is not every clergyman who possesses the qualification necessary for the work. A man may be most faithful and successful as a pastor who has very little power as an evangelist. But if the pastor himself cannot undertake this service, it may be possible for him to find out and appoint to the work some one who is qualified to discharge it.

(2) Not every parish is large enough to supply the band of workers needful to make these efforts a success. No doubt. But such an effort rightly guided will soon be able to depend upon its own success for a due supply of willing workers. It demands no great exercise of mental capacity or spiritual power to deliver notices of invitation to a service ; and many will be found ready to undertake this work, or to join the choir, who perhaps could hardly be entrusted at first with the more important departments of the work.

(3) Finance is always a pressing difficulty. In this I speak from my own painful experience. There are many Church people who will gladly subscribe to a movement like the Salvation Army, or to any similar effort of smaller pretensions, who would not feel called upon to spend a penny towards advancing the same cause in connection with their own Church.

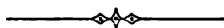
And yet it is obvious that, if efforts are to be made in the direction which has been indicated, there must be no grudging of the necessary expense.

For difficulties like these, the remedy may perhaps be that the machinery for the work should be not necessarily parochial. Personally, I am by no means wedded to the necessity of diocesan organization ; but surely it would be quite possible to form a scheme by means of which a larger area than that of an individual parish should be grasped for efforts like these, and in behalf of which there should be a concentration of force, and energy, and power. In the East End of London, a committee has been formed by the Bishop of Bedford, specially to carry on this work wherever an opening for it can be gained ; and for the short period during which it has been at work it has been most successful.

But whether the organization be diocesan or parochial ;

whether the funds come from a central body or are provided for each separate local effort; whether the plans of service which have been here suggested are thought satisfactory or not—of this at least I am quite sure, that if the Church of England is to continue to provide for the masses of the people that form of religious teaching which every member of our Church believes to be the purest and the best, we must not be content to neglect a most important part of the Church's duty, which is of vital interest to the extension of true religion. When the Established Church abandons to others the work of making known the message of salvation to the outcast and the indifferent, she will have already entered upon the period of decadence, and will have lost all her claim to the support and the sympathy of the earnest and devout.

JOHN F. KITTO.



## ART. II.—FAITH HEALING.

**A**MONG the varied phases of active religious life in the present day, we see one which is founded on a single isolated Apostolic utterance; which includes in tenet the highest manifestation of Divine power committed to renewed man, and which abrogates the office of physician. The supporters of this doctrine, there is reason to believe, are increasing in numbers. They are not limited to any particular denomination, although all hold decidedly evangelical views. It may be said, too, that the adage "Extremes meet" is fulfilled in them, inasmuch as the poor and ignorant, as well as the affluent and in a strictly religious sense highly cultured, approach to the same end—arrive at the same conclusion.

It will be apparent from the heading of this paper that we refer to certain who advance the doctrine of healing by prayer of faith, to the exclusion of remedial agencies—"Faith Healers," as we shall term them. Virtually such. For although it may be plausibly urged that anointing with oil is a medicinal agency; although in remote times it did enter somewhat largely into use, chiefly for outward injuries and diseases, as well as for supposed invigorating and beautifying properties; although, moreover, at the present day a general inunction of the body by oil in certain forms of fever has found advocates in the medical profession—it yet may reasonably be assumed that, by the cultured<sup>1</sup> advocates of "faith healing," the act is regarded in the same light as those by which the Great Physician

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<sup>1</sup> We use the word in distinction from the "Peculiar People" sect.

brought potentially and visibly home to man His wondrous cures. In other words, just as our Church Catechism speaks, with reference to baptism, of water as "An outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace," so does anointing stand with relation to the body and disease at their hands.

That the procedure is an outcome of faith—faith, too, in its highest aspect and exercise—may not be questioned. Its promoters are individuals whose supreme object, when ministering to sufferers, is the exaltation of the Redeemer. The Divine prerogative involved and, subordinately, the eminently Christian walk of the exponent, alike demand reverential and respectful consideration.

We venture to advance that there is harm from the doctrine thus put forth; harm to the Christian, harm to the cause of Christ from the world without.

The subject may be regarded (1) in its human relationship and procedure, (2) from Scriptural authority and precedent, and (3) in the issue for good or evil, present and prospective.

(1) Truly, "extremes meet." There are the educated and well-to-do, to whom we have referred; and there are also the uneducated and poor, known by the name of "Peculiar People." Very untoward results as concerns the practice of the latter are, from time to time, brought before us by the newspapers. The instances in which their tenets are illustrated are inquests, consequent on death from acute disease; cases which shock the instincts of humanity as we read of them. Maternity revolts at the thought of tender infants left to do battle against disease uncombated by God-given science—by God-given medicines.<sup>1</sup>

With the educated class, conditions are very different both as to the individual and the ailment, though the standpoint be the same. The ministering agent is ordinarily a lady, and the invalid be found almost invariably among women.

Physicians well know how much light is revealed by the simple word "sex" in its relation to disease.

For the word foreshadows on the one hand complaints, protean indeed in form and number, but often of no serious import. Some are incidental to age and conditions when the mind, if it be not actually warped from a healthy standard, yet looks within too much; when the imagination is a motive-power too often on the wrong side. Temperament, hereditary

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<sup>1</sup> Within the present century an able but eccentric gentleman—at one time a legislator—adopted toward his children the usage of the Indian race. As far as possible (*i. e.*, within doors) clothing was dispensed with, and a coating of oil to the whole body substituted. The procedure, much commented upon at the time, was untoward in result, and found no followers.

predisposition—moral as well as physical, let us remember—social surroundings, may all cause departure from the standard of health, when the individual is debarred from salutary maternal and domestic activities. How nobly such rocks ahead are shunned by women who throw themselves heart and soul into self-denying Christian work, is also well known. But there is another, far sadder aspect. Sex (in relation to middle age) is associated in the minds of Physicians with disease of a dire character.

Through the more direct transgression of the "mother of all living," we read came the fall of man. May we venture to ascribe to such event the greater suffering which is the lot of the weaker being? The All-Wise and Good alone knows, and "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" The "mystery of pain" is indeed profound, and it should be the last subject for dogmatism. This much in its finite relation we indeed verify, that the palm of fortitude, of submission, of faith triumphant, rests with the "daughters of Abraham."

We have sought to put before our readers two very diverse states of health in womankind, because we deduce, from such, an important relationship to the subject of "faith healing." In the minor one the imagination and will are strong factors. The invalid needs to be lifted from self, from introspection—perhaps morbid. Here faith, mundane and working by human agency and means, is rewarded.

But alas, we see the reverse side of the picture—a picture which no hand may pourtray in colour too vivid. To its consideration the eye of the reader is especially invited.

We reverentially contemplate the fiat of the Most High in which is seen the extreme of physical suffering—whether natural or against nature—and the extreme of unselfish joy, meeting in weak woman. The Gospel Prophet tells us in imperishable verse of the one when speaking of maternal love, and it is among the familiar metaphors of Holy Writ. Not so of the other. In the fell disease of which we speak, the fabled story of Prometheus finds literal fulfilment. Remedies, the more potent of recent discovery—let us devoutly acknowledge such boon—mitigate suffering, but as yet heal not the sufferer. And here it is that we join issue with those persons of whom we write. For cases of cancer form a large proportion of those who are the objects of their ministrations. Faith, setting aside more abstruse definition, can be grasped by all under two aspects—active and operative, passive and enduring. Each finds due place in the Testament, old and new. Suffice it for the present to ask if the latter of the two bearings is not by Faith Healers ignored, or else, so to speak, absorbed into the former wholly?

This naturally leads on to the question of human procedure, curative and otherwise, in which the physician is concerned.

Is this man the appointed channel of Divine mercy to sufferers from "the thousand ills" to which human flesh is heir? Is he, too, when the skill vouchsafed to him, as a talent, finds its limit, the instrument by whom timely warning to "set the house in order" is ordinarily imparted? And has not the Creator Himself, has not the Incarnate Son, has not "the chiefest of Apostles," when no great issue as to Truth Eternal called for the supernatural, worked by human means?

What, otherwise, the object or gain in discoveries by science? By whom are they given? Are such to be recognised in all that contributes to enjoyment in home life; in all that affects commerce and prosperity in nations, while in the highest bearing, the gracious gifts of God are set aside? Are we (virtually) to say, "No, we acknowledge Divine operation by secondary cause in subordinate matters, but healing is to be sought by miracle."

(2) As to Scriptural authority and precedent. The foundation of the tenet rests mainly, if not wholly, on a certain passage in the Epistle General of James. No additional weight is fairly deducible from Messianic and Apostolic teaching elsewhere. The writer, we learn, was identified prominently with the Judaic party in the early Church;<sup>1</sup> and this circumstance is not without import in the matter.

In the Old Testament we find no reference made to anointing by oil, in association with disease, except at Leviticus xiv. 18, *when the sufferer is healed*. Then indeed might it be the "oil of gladness" and thanksgiving, typical of health to soul and body alike, as in the case of the Samaritan leper. As an emblem of Divine Grace, and of temporal prosperity, the word often recurs, particularly in the Psalms.

In the New Testament there is one, and that an apposite illustration of the use of oil for surgical purposes. It is found in the parable of the Good Samaritan. The soothing oil mingled with the stimulant wine is poured into his wounds. What was the condition of medical science in those days? and more, how far were remedies, if we except outward application, conducive to recovery? Quite possibly more harmful than useful in many cases. Simple recumbent rest, either demanded by the complaint itself, or else rendered expedient by the anointing, would be no unimportant factor toward recovery then, as it is now, when this restorative power of nature is fully and *scientifically* recognised.

Seventy, and at another time "the twelve" Disciples were

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<sup>1</sup> See "Life of St. Paul," by Canon Farrar, D.D.

Divinely commissioned to heal the sick. Yet they returned rejoicing in unqualified success.

Anointing was not enjoined by the Master. True, St. Mark speaks<sup>1</sup> of the twelve employing such means. But may we not fairly consider the act as unauthorised, though not forbidden, by the Saviour? As in fact one of those Judaic rites which the followers of Jesus, either by way of conciliation or concession to their Jewish brethren, or, possibly indeed, from lingering attachment on their own part to ritual of the old dispensation, retained in the new?

In the first recorded miracle after the Ascension, and indeed in all following, we read of an invocation of the name of the Great Physician—nothing more.

It is with death—preparation for death—and as a tribute of love rather than as an attribute of power; it is with incidents hallowed through all time in the person of our Redeemer, that we chiefly read of anointing.<sup>2</sup> The act itself may be alleged by those of whom we write as wholly subordinate, symbolical of, not accessory to, faith. Granted. Yet take away this accessory as a tenet from the uneducated class known as "Peculiar People," and how long as a distinct body would they exist?

Some twenty years ago the religious world at Zurich, and afterwards in this country, was much stirred by events which occurred at Mannedorf. These events centred round the person of an unmarried young woman in humble circumstances and position in life—Dorothy Trudell. Reference to her character and work may be fittingly made here, inasmuch as it is on lines then formulated that "faith healing" has been followed, and even a hospital for its exercise established in London. Pure and single-minded, we may regard her as a Joan of Arc going forth in fervour and faith to combat sickness with the sword of "all prayer." By occupation she was a flower-maker, and the first manifestation of her religious views was put forth when four or five of her work-women fell ill. The precise ailment is not stated, but it is said the doctors were at fault, and their treatment inoperative; that then the passage in St. James came to her mind; that she followed fully the injunction laid down by the Apostle, and that the patients recovered. The outcome later on was an institution for those suffering from disease of every kind. There, cases of sudden death occurred, probably from heart disease, and investigation at the hands of civic authorities of Zurich was demanded by the medical faculty. Judgment was at first adverse, but on appeal to a higher court, favourable, on the ground that no medicines were used, and no payment was sought.

<sup>1</sup> See Acts xxi. 20-26.

<sup>2</sup> St. John xii. 3-7; St. Luke vii. 37-47.

Setting aside at present the higher issue concerned, let us glance at the bearings of the matter from a medical point of view.

Artificial flower-making is recognised *now* as an exceptionally unhealthy occupation. Deleterious pigments, such as arsenic, enter into the fabrication of the articles, and would fully account for protracted sickness; and on withdrawal for a time from the source of danger, recovery. Moreover, chemical analysis was less advanced, less resorted to, then; while it is not too much to add, a village practitioner in Switzerland at such date might not be highly skilled in his profession.

In the brief memoir of Dorothy, there are certain features in her character which to the physician versed in the more psychological branch of his profession, would at once arrest attention, and throw light on manifestations which to other eyes would be associated with the supernatural. Thus there was a distinct hereditary tendency to insanity. Again, she was the subject of spinal disease, an affection which reacts on the whole nervous system, and is prone to cause mental development of a morbid kind.

An epidemic of typhoid broke out at Mannedorf, and among its victims was Dorothy Trudell. Her age was but forty-nine years.

Let us again look at the words of St. James, primarily in their application to the early Church, and secondarily to the age in which we live.

Two questions meet us at the outset, (1) Does the exhortation apply only to the Church of Apostolic days, viewed in light *Judaic*, or to that of all future time? (2) If observed, was it in the sense now applied? For certain gifts, such as speaking with tongues, exorcising evil spirits, ceased to exist.

Our argument points to universality, but in a sense divergent from that of "Faith Healers."

We find no endorsement in the Acts of the Apostles—written, we may remark, by an inspired Physician—nor in those Epistles which treat exhaustively of sickness and suffering in the body, with relation to both present and future state. Outward procedure, anointing, has indeed been retained and handed down to us in connection with doctrines which Protestants generally hold to be subversive of truth. It is here unnecessary to do more than name the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches. They differ, noteworthy, in that the first practises "Extreme Unction" as a death-bed right, while the latter looks to it as both channel of grace and (possible) instrument in recovery. We do not see the Physician's aid dissevered and disowned in the Greek Church, a marked point of divergence from the Healers' procedure. Yet which procedure would commend



itself to the eye of what has been well designated "sanctified common sense"?

It may be urged by them, "Yes, but with the Greek Church the motive-power is superstition, unsound doctrine; but with us faith—faith pure and unalloyed." And again, "To the Romanist the oil symbolizes hope, but hope departed as to this world. To us Protestant 'Healers' the converse signification obtains—a renewal of life here below." In reply, we turn for light to Holy Writ. An aspect of truth profound and momentous appears to have been lost sight of. It is that of Divine Will wrought out in and by suffering. Here we tread on no uncertain ground. Apart from the Great Exemplar of whom we read, He was thus "made perfect," we have recorded the life of the chief Apostle. And there is not only the personal experience of St. Paul, but—a point of especial relevancy to our subject—*his relation to sick friends*. Reverentially passing by that highest aspect of suffering, which reached an acme unfathomable in the passion of our Redeemer, we yet from Scripture and human experience arrive at a great fact. It is the universality of disease, of pain and of death, to *all* men, good and evil. The providence of God demands this exercise of faith in humble, un murmuring obedience. It is recognised by Christians as a fundamental principle of their belief. They are permitted to see so far within the veil: to be so far recipients by grace of the mind of Christ, that what to the outside world is a problem insoluble, to them is no enigma. Such principle is acquiesced in, as a principle, by the people of whom we speak. Why then in practice ignore it? This dual contemplation, the wicked prosperous, the righteous suffering, tried the mind of righteous Job, only for a moment, and faith emerged triumphant in words unsurpassable as its exponent.<sup>1</sup> And the believer echoes the language of the Patriarch when those in full tide of life and of activity and of blessing to others pass through "much tribulation," by disease, to their rest.<sup>2</sup>

In a remarkable work,<sup>3</sup> anonymous, of the present century, an hypothesis is advanced that all pain is traceable up to and resolvable into the highest type of pleasure; that this latter principle underlies suffering. A "hard saying," perhaps, yet, within due limits, intelligible. In one form it may have been illustrated in martyrs of every age.

St. Paul speaks of a "thorn" in the flesh. What was it?

<sup>1</sup> Job xiii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cases, recent, of several pre-eminent for piety and usefulness are before the writer; no more painful maladies could fall, as a scourge, upon the wicked.

<sup>3</sup> "The Mysteries of Pain."

Opinion has differed as to its source, moral or material. The first rests on shadowy hypothesis ; the other on certain passages in his letters which scarcely admit of other interpretation than that of bodily ailment.<sup>1</sup> They point to disease of the eyes and eyelids as a sequence of that blindness which befell the Apostle when on the road to Damascus. We may reasonably conclude too (as Dr. Farrar remarks) that it took a chronic, painful form, liable to aggravation under the exposure and hardship incident to "journeyings oft" and sudden vicissitudes of life.<sup>2</sup> And how distressing was such visitation may be gathered from the supplication thrice made for deliverance. Divine support in large measure we know was vouchsafed in answer, and he remained unhealed. Again, we read that a dearly loved friend was sick "nigh unto death." The friend recovered, we may reasonably infer by human means blessed to the sufferer. No supernatural agency by the hand of Paul is manifested. Rather the words of tender pathos and gratitude in which he speaks of Epaphroditus' recovery are just those in which a mother would pour out her heart to God when the instrumentality of a physician was successful in the restoration of an only child. We read too of Trophimus left sick at Miletum. Yet even handkerchiefs taken from the person of the Apostle effected cure. But then God wrought "special miracles" with special objects, and at a special period in the history of the Church.

What is the reasonable deduction from these incidents ? Is it not that the Most High fulfilled His purposes then, as now, *whenever demonstration by the supernatural was uncalled for in the Divine economy*. Even in the temptation of our Redeemer, we see subversion of nature in relation to the sustenance of the body invited by Satan and cast aside by the Saviour.

So we believe that the exercise of healing by faith at the hands of the Apostles accomplished certain providential ends with relation *only* to a particular era in the Church ; that these ends were promulgation of the Gospel and the accrediting to the world of His ministers ; and also that the operation of the Holy Spirit in after-days was to be manifested in subjective rather than objective form.

When weighing the words of St. James, it is obviously of importance to view the latter clause of the verse in close relation to the former. Thus taken, the whole may well be rendered as an exhortation in general terms to commit the sick, soul as well as body, to the tender mercies of God. Moreover, the

<sup>1</sup> Galatians iv. 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> See "Life and Writings of St. Paul," by Conybeare and Howson ; "Horæ Subsecivæ," by Dr. John Brown ; and "Life of St. Paul," by Canon Farrar, D.D. Tarsal ophthalmia from disease of the eyelids is a very distressing and intractable malady.

elders (presbyters) of the Church, men set apart to fulfil certain offices in it, were the instruments, and not friends and relatives.<sup>1</sup>

(3) The outcome of the movement, for good or evil. It is much to be feared, the latter; that the faith of "weaker brethren" will be shaken, and distress and self-accusation accrue, sooner or later, to the prime movers themselves. To the less grave order of bodily ailment of which mention has been made, and in which the patient needs a "spur" to lift out of self and into action, the issue is comparatively of small moment. It is in cases of disease malignant, and in the *present* condition of medical science incurable, though happily mitigable,<sup>2</sup> that grave evil has come. The physician is dismissed. The consequence ere long is a reaction, downwards, which hastens a fatal issue. Excitement of the system, perhaps unnoticeable at the time to an unskilled eye; more rapid combustion in the lamp of life; suspense albeit fortified by religion, and then the end, not unfrequently sudden.<sup>3</sup> And this is in lieu of peace!—perfect peace, otherwise attainable.

What or where then is the way, it may be asked, in which faith equally with "common sense sanctified" may go hand in hand? The reply is so obvious and simple as scarcely to need mention. And it is that, moreover, to which we believe firmly that the tenour of the passage in James, as a whole, points. Prayer—prayer by all, minister, physician, relative—for a blessed instrumentality of every means by God's infinite love and wisdom given to mankind, and with such prayer entire submission of issue to His will. It is sufficiently apparent that this latter bearing of the matter is virtually put in the background along

<sup>1</sup> Disease as a direct consequence of sin is implied, at least in some instances, from the words of the Apostle, as indeed from those of our Lord in St. John v. 14. Dr. Farrar reminds us that anointing with oil was enjoined in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. "if the sick man desire it." But there was a reservation, most cogent, in the petition, which stands thus: "Our Heavenly Father vouchsafe for His great mercy *if it be His blessed will* to restore to thee thy bodily health." Canon Farrar adds that the anointing was "wisely dropped" in the Prayer-book of 1552.

<sup>2</sup> Chloroform, that inestimable boon to the sick, may well furnish an illustration of what has been said as to the goodness of God in alleviating through medical science what He does not see fit to remove. As grace to the inner man (*e.g.*, 2 Cor. xii. 9), so may we not reverentially regard this remedy—put forth, moreover, by an eminently Christian physician, Sir James Simpson—in relation to the outer man? relief and support to the diseased body thus afforded.

<sup>3</sup> Instances have come to the writer's knowledge of persons in the last stage of lung disease rising from bed, going to a place of worship, the power of prayer in faith extolled in such evidence of approaching recovery, and of death immediately afterwards. Also cases where the beneficial effects of medicine were evident—acknowledged—but at the suggestion of a friend discarded in favour of prayer only. The issue was fatal.

with skill (divinely appointed) and remedies. The prayer of faith thus rendered is intelligible. It is a placing of the hand of a trustful child within that of a loving Father; it is the assured confidence that all is well; that neither life nor death shall separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus, be the issue what it may. It is above all the embodiment of that principle which underlies prayer divine from the mouth of the Master Himself.<sup>1</sup>

There is a feature in this movement painfully suggestive. It is this. When restored health has not followed prayer, when the shadow of coming departure has fallen, such result is attributed not to natural causation, not to the good providence of the Father, but to lack of faith in the Holy Spirit's power in the person of the ministering friend, or—alas that it should be said!—in the poor sufferer. Is the trial by disease not enough in itself without superadded distress—a “strain” on faith diverted from its true channel and object? Nay, is there not in the procedure some analogy to that procedure condemned by the Prophet, and a “making sad the heart” of those whom the Most High would not grieve?<sup>2</sup> For there is such a thing, we know, as being taken from the “evil to come”—evil in some shape known but to the prescience of the loving God, and from which death is the harbinger of mercy and not of judgment.

A safe basis of action we believe is attainable. It is to recognize the physician, however feeble and fallible, as the instrument of the Most High.<sup>3</sup> While He tells us there is a shadow of hope—nay, while there is no *material* evidence to the contrary which annuls hope—pray. We have again and again known cases of disease where hope hung but on the gossamer thread of a remedy which would declare itself within a brief hour in an issue for life or death. Prayer as oft has been made—and answered.

FREDERICK ROBINSON.

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<sup>1</sup> St. Mark xiv. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Ezekiel xii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Reference has been made to certain institutions at home and abroad in connection with our subject. There is one in this country which may not pass unnoticed in these remarks. It has accomplished, is now accomplishing, a work which speaks for itself, of faith, operative in fruit. We refer to the Müller Orphanage at Bristol, and its associated missionary branches. Some years ago an epidemic of typhoid disease attacked its inmates. Was medical science disregarded? No. Its operation went hand in hand with prayer, and the happiest result was the outcome. “While we desire to use all precaution, and are far from acting fanatically, yet we desire to own, especially, the hand of God in this very heavy affliction” (See “Brief Narrative of Facts,” 1875, by George Müller).

ART. III.—OLIVER GOLDSMITH.<sup>1</sup>

“**W**HETHER, indeed, we take him as a poet, as a comic writer, or as an historian, he stands in the first class.” Such was Johnson’s verdict on the power and versatility of Oliver Goldsmith, whose genius he had been amongst the first to recognise, and to whom he had extended a wise and benevolent friendship. A sketch of the life and writings of a man whose works have taken their place as classics in our language, and whose poems are read with ever fresh delight, and are remarkable for their naturalness and grace, may, it is hoped, be acceptable to the readers of *THE CHURCHMAN*.

Goldsmith has been fortunate in his biographers. His life has been written by Mr. Prior, by Washington Irving, and John Forster. Macaulay has added a sketch of the poet to his other brilliant essays. And very lately a biography by Mr. William Black has appeared in the series entitled “English Men of Letters.” But while we are indebted to the diligence of Prior, to the pleasing pen of Washington Irving, to the eminently copious Life by Forster, and to the interesting monograph by Mr. Black, it is a subject of general regret that Dr. Samuel Johnson did not bequeath to posterity a biography of his friend. Lord Macaulay says, and all must agree with him, that “a Life of Goldsmith would have been an inestimable addition to the ‘Lives of the Poets.’ No man appreciated Goldsmith’s writings more fully than Johnson; no man was better acquainted with Goldsmith’s character and habits; and no man was more competent to delineate with truth and spirit the peculiarities of a mind in which great powers were found in company with great weaknesses.” Still we must be thankful for what we possess; and there is material enough to trace his history from its earliest period onwards through the battle of life, till he was brought by his follies and imprudence to an untimely grave.

Oliver Goldsmith was born at Pallas, in the county of Longford, November 11, 1728. He was of a Protestant and Saxon family, which had been long settled in Ireland. In after-life he was wont to say that he was connected with no less celebrated a personage than Oliver Cromwell, from whom his Christian name was derived. By his father’s side, he also claimed kinship with Wolfe, the conqueror of Quebec, whose mother

<sup>1</sup> “The Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith.” By JOHN FORSTER. London: Chapman & Hall.

“English Men of Letters.” Edited by John Morley.—“Goldsmith.” By WILLIAM BLACK. Macmillan & Co.

was a Goldsmith. His father, Charles Goldsmith, studied in the reign of Queen Anne at the Diocesan School at Elphin, became attached to the daughter of the schoolmaster, married her, took orders, and settled at Pallas. There he, with difficulty, supported his wife and children on what he could earn—partly as a curate, and partly as a farmer. While Oliver was still a child, his father was presented to the rectory of Kilkenny West, in the county of Westmeath, worth about £200 a year. The family accordingly quitted their cottage for a spacious house near the village of Lissoy. It was here the poet fixed his “*Auburn* ;” here the eye of the child gazed upon the scenes which the mind of the man has clothed with imperishable beauty.

We have from Goldsmith what may be accepted as a sketch of his father's character, and of those elements of it which produced, no doubt, a remarkable effect on his susceptible son. In “*The Citizen of the World*” there is given, in Letter *xxvii*, “*The History of the Man in Black*,” whose benevolence, writes Oliver, “seemed to be rather the effect of appetite than of reason.” The Rev. Charles Goldsmith is believed to be truly described in these words :—

“My father, the younger son of a good family, was possessed of a small living in the Church. His education was almost his fortune, and his generosity greater than his education. Poor as he was, he had his flatterers—still poorer than himself ; for every dinner he gave them, they returned an equivalent in praise, and this was all he wanted. . . . He told the story of the ivy tree, and that was laughed at ; he repeated the jest of the two scholars and one pair of breeches, and the company laughed at that ; but the story of Taffy in the sedan-chair was sure to set the table in a roar. Thus his pleasure increased in proportion to the pleasure he gave ; he loved all the world, and he fancied all the world loved him. . . . We were told that universal benevolence was what first cemented society. We were taught to consider all the wants of mankind as our own, to regard the human face divine with affection and esteem. He wound us up to be mere machines of pity, and rendered us incapable of withstanding the slightest impulse, made either by real or fictitious distress ; in a word, we were frequently instructed in the art of giving away thousands before we were taught the more necessary qualifications of getting a farthing.”

Oliver was taught his letters by a maid-servant, and was sent in his seventh year to a village school, kept by an old quartermaster on half-pay, who professed to teach nothing but “the three R's”—reading, writing, and arithmetic ; but who had an inexhaustible fund of stories about ghosts, banshees, and fairies—about the great Rapparee Chief, Baldeary O'Donnell, and galloping Hogan. This man was a true Milesian, and not only spoke the Irish language, but could

pour forth unpremeditated Irish verses. Oliver early became, and through life continued to be, a passionate admirer of Irish music, and especially of the compositions of Carolan, a blind harper, some of the last notes of whose harp he heard.

From Lissoy school and Paddy Byrne Goldsmith was removed in his ninth year. He went to several grammar-schools, where, though he showed a distaste for the exact sciences, he acquired a fair knowledge of the ancient languages. His life at this time seems to have been far from happy. His school experiences were bitter. The shy, ill-favoured, backward boy was early and sadly taught what tyrannies in the large, as in that little world, the strong have to inflict, and what suffering the meek must be prepared to endure. "He was considered by his contemporaries and schoolfellows to be a stupid heavy blockhead, little better than a fool, whom everyone made fun of." His appearance made him a good mark for the ridicule of his companions. His features were harsh even to ugliness. The small-pox, which scourged all Europe at that time, had set its mark on him with more than usual severity. His stature was small, and his limbs ill-put together. Among boys little tenderness is shown to personal defects; and the ridicule excited by poor Oliver's appearance was heightened by a peculiar simplicity, and a disposition to blunder, which he retained to the last. He became the common butt of boys and masters; was pointed out as a fright in the playground, and flogged as a dunce in the schoolroom. Even amongst his friends he was made the subject of derision. "Why, Noll," exclaimed a visitor at Uncle John's, "you are become a fright! When do you mean to get handsome again?" Oliver moved in silence to the window. The speaker, a thoughtless and notorious scapegrace of the Goldsmith family, repeated the question with a worse sneer. "I mean to get better, sir, when you do!" was the boy's retort; and it has delighted his biographer for its quickness of repartee. There was a company one day at a little dance, and the fiddler, being a fiddler who reckoned himself a wit, used Oliver as a subject for his jests. During a pause between two country-dances, the party had been greatly surprised by little Noll quickly jumping up and dancing a *pas seul* impromptu about the room, whereupon, seizing the opportunity of the lad's ungainly look and grotesque figure, the jocose fiddler promptly exclaimed, "Æsop!" A burst of laughter rewarded him, which, however, was rapidly turned the other way by Noll stopping his hornpipe, looking round at his assailant, and giving forth in audible voice, and without hesitation, this couplet, which was thought worth preserving as the first formal effort of his genius:—

"Heralds, proclaim aloud this saying:

See Æsop dancing, and his monkey playing."

Everybody knows the story of that famous "Mistake of a Night," when the young schoolboy, provided with a guinea and a nag, rode up to "the best house" in Ardagh, called for the landlord's company over a bottle of wine at supper, and for a hot cake for breakfast the next morning; and found, when he asked for the bill, that the "best house" was Squire Featherstone's, and not the inn for which he mistook it.

In his seventeenth year, Oliver went up to Trinity College, Dublin, as a sizar. The sizars paid nothing for food and tuition, and very little for lodging; but they had to perform some menial offices from which they have long been happily relieved. It was but a poor return for having proved themselves good classical scholars, that they should be compelled to sweep the court, to carry up the dinner to the fellows' table, to change the plates, and pour out the ale of the rulers of the Society.

Goldsmith was quartered in a garret, on the window of which his name, scratched by himself, is still read with interest. The pane of glass has now become an historical relic, and is preserved with care in the college library. His college life was irregular and unhappy. He neglected the studies of the place, stood low at the examinations, was turned down to the bottom of the class for playing the buffoon in the lecture-room, was severely reprimanded for pumping on a constable in the Quadrangle. On one occasion he was caned by a tutor for giving a ball in the attic-story of the college to some gay youths and maidens from the city. When his pocket was empty he composed ballads, for which he received a few shillings, and enjoyed the luxury of fame by listening to the singers in the streets, and the applause of the crowd. On his way home he would bestow the price of his poetic effusions on the first beggar who whined for an alms.

The following anecdote is related by Washington Irving: A friend having gone to call on him one morning, meaning to furnish him with a breakfast, knocked at the door, and was bidden to enter. To his surprise he heard Goldsmith's voice from within his room, proclaiming himself a prisoner, and saying that they must force the door to help him out. His friend did this, and found him so fastened in the ticking of the bed, into which he had taken refuge from the cold, that he could not escape unassisted. Late on the preceding night, unable otherwise to relieve a woman and her five children who implored his charity, and seemed perishing for want of warmth, he had brought out his blankets to the college gate, and given them to her; and to keep himself from the cold he had cut open his bed, and buried himself among the feathers. Attractive as is, at first sight, such an instance of prompt sym-



pathy with distress, we must not unthinkingly be led away by it. "Sensibility," it has been observed, "is not benevolence." It is possible to relieve want from a simply selfish feeling—the desire to escape from pain. There is a benevolence which is unthinking, having nothing to do with either conscience or reflection, and flowing from an inconsiderate impulse. The sight of sorrow may distress the feelings; and the first rising wish may be to get rid of that which so unpleasantly affects us. But have we, in all honesty, a right to give? Have we earned the title to the luxury of supplying the wants of others? Should we not be just before we are generous? Judged by this standard, it is to be feared that poor Oliver had little right to give away even the blankets from his bed to cover the woman and her five little children, though her tale of distress was too much for his kind heart. For while he was so liberal to beggars, he had nothing to satisfy his tailor's importunity, or to pay his butcher's bill. It may sound harsh to point such a moral as this; but is it not well to interpose when anecdotes of this description are told of one in whose character there was much to love, more to compassionate, but less, it is to be feared, to respect?

While Goldsmith was leading at Dublin a life divided between squalid distress and squalid dissipation, his father died, leaving him a mere pittance. The youth obtained his bachelor's degree, and left the university. For two years he dwelt among his friends, and shared the humble dwelling to which his widowed mother had retired. She had removed in her straitened circumstances to a cottage at Ballymahon. He was now in his twenty-first year. It was necessary that he should do something; but he seems to have spent this interval in idleness, playing at cards, singing Irish airs, studying the flute, fishing, otter-hunting in the summer among the rocks and wooded islands of the Inny; and telling ghost-stories by the fire in the winter. He tried five or six professions in turn without success. At the earnest solicitations of his uncle Contarine, he presented himself to the Bishop of Elphin for ordination, when he had reached the age of twenty-three; but he was rejected, some say because he appeared before his lordship in scarlet breeches. His love of personal finery was extreme: he delighted to show himself in the most gay and gaudy colours.

He next became tutor in a gentleman's family; but after a few months he quarrelled with his host, while at cards, and receiving his stipend of £30, he mounted a horse and rode off to Cork with the intention of emigrating to America. He secured his passage, but the wind proving unfavourable, he went on a party of pleasure, whereupon the captain sailed with-

out him ; and then, having sold his horse and spent his money, he returned to his widowed mother, hungry and penniless.

He now resolved to study the law ; and his generous uncle advanced fifty pounds. With this sum Goldsmith went to Dublin, on his way to London ; and there being tempted to enter a gaming-house, lost every shilling. He now thought of medicine. The good uncle again came forward. A small purse was made up, and in his twenty-fourth year he was sent to Edinburgh. This was in the autumn of 1752. At Edinburgh he spent two winters in nominal attendance on lectures, and picked up some superficial knowledge about chemistry and natural history. Thence he went to Leyden (still a pensioner on the bounty of kind Uncle Contarine), with the professed object of studying physic. The generosity of his uncle called forth a characteristic letter of thanks :—

“As I shall not have another opportunity of receiving money from your bounty till my return to Ireland ; so I have drawn for the last sum which I hope I shall ever trouble you for—it is twenty pounds : and now, dear Sir, let me here acknowledge the humility of the station in which you found me ; let me tell you that I was despised by men, and hateful to myself ; poverty, hopeless poverty was my lot, and melancholy was beginning to make me her own—when you—but I stop to inquire how your health goes on.”

Goldsmith's career at Leyden was much the same as it had been elsewhere. He studied men and letters more than physic, and contrived to live by teaching English, by borrowing money, and by other expedients. At the end of a year he left the celebrated university without a degree, with the merest smattering of medical knowledge, and with no property but his clothes and his flute. His flute, however, proved a useful friend. He rambled on foot through Flanders, France, and Switzerland, playing tunes which everywhere set the peasantry dancing, and which often procured for him a supper and a bed. He wandered as far as Italy, and he tells us he obtained from the University of Padua, a courtesy “doctor's” degree (M.B.).

So travelled on the truant from place to place, gathering that experience of men and things and foreign lands which his “Traveller” has made immortal. Few have turned their experience of varied lands to so good an account. As he passed from scene to scene, an education was going on ; his sympathies were widening, his knowledge being enlarged, and his genius was acquiring a fuller power and more subtle force. To his vagabond life we are indebted for the poem which at once raised him to the rank of a legitimate English classic, and to which Macaulay awards this high praise : “No philosophical poem, ancient or modern, has a plan so noble, and at the same time so simple, as ‘The Traveller.’”

In 1756, when twenty-seven years of age, he landed at Dover, without a shilling, and without a friend. In England his flute was not in request, and he was compelled to have recourse to a series of desperate expedients. He turned strolling-player; he went among the London apothecaries, and asked them to let him pound their drugs and spread their plasters; he joined a swarm of beggars which made its nest in Axe Yard; he was for a time usher of a school; became a bookseller's hack; and obtained a medical appointment in the East India Company, but this being speedily revoked, he presented himself at Surgeons' Hall for examination as a mate to a Naval Hospital; and being pronounced unequal even to so humble a post, he found himself a wanderer, without an acquaintance, without the knowledge or comfort of even one kind face, in the lonely, terrible London streets.

So ends what we may term the first period of Goldsmith's life.

Poor Oliver! He lacked strength of purpose, steadiness of principle, and self-control. "That strong, steady disposition which alone makes men great," he avowed himself deficient in. What more he might have achieved early in life, what more he might have accomplished in the future than he did, it is impossible to say. One thing, however, we must all bear in mind: the dowry of genius must not blind us to the weaknesses to which it is too often allied. A worthless, a purposeless life, ought never to be exalted simply because it is associated with talent. The rarer the endowments, the deeper the obligation to consecrate them to noble ends and lofty aims, and the greater the responsibility of abusing or misapplying such Divine gifts. The man of genius is under a greater responsibility than other men to reverence and obey all the laws of God and man. While we frankly acknowledge our debt of gratitude to those who, from the gift and use of "the faculty divine," have afforded us many an hour of innocent pleasure and amusement; have enriched our minds with beautiful thoughts and noble ideas; have charmed us by their humour, or touched us by their pathos; let us, alive to the common rules of morality by which all must be tested, never attempt to gloss over the errors which they committed, or condone the faults of which they were guilty. Genius must be judged by the same rules as dulness: what is folly and imprudence in the one, is equally folly and imprudence in the other. In either case, he that sows to the wind shall reap the whirlwind. There is great truth in the solemn words with which Dr. Johnson concludes his biography of Savage:—

Those who, in confidence of superior capacities or attainments, disregard the common maxims of life, must be reminded that nothing will

supply the want of prudence; that negligence and irregularity long continued, will make knowledge useless, wit ridiculous, and genius contemptible.

We now enter upon Goldsmith's London life, that life which, after many hardships and bitter struggles and depressing difficulties, ended in brilliant fame. Something of his sufferings in the great human wilderness of London, when a stranger and penniless he wandered through its streets, and lodged in its garrets, may be gathered from the following extract from a letter to his brother-in-law:—

You may easily imagine what difficulties I had to encounter, left, as I was, without friends, recommendation, money or impudence, and that in a country where being born an Irishman was sufficient to keep me unemployed. Many in such circumstances would have had recourse to the Friar's cord, or the suicide's halter; but, with all my follies, I had principle to resist the one and resolution to combat the other.

Under the pressure of absolute want, he betook himself to the lowest drudgery of literature. He hired a garret in a miserable court, to which he had to climb from the brink of Fleet Ditch by a dizzy ladder of flagstones called Break-neck Steps. Here, at thirty, he toiled incessantly; and in the six succeeding years he sent to the press articles for reviews, magazines and newspapers, produced children's books, wrote a "History of England," and gave to the world some amusing "Sketches of London Society," in a series of letters purporting to be addressed by a Chinese Traveller to his friends. Stern was the discipline of sorrow to which he was subjected while slowly mounting the ladder of fame.

One result of his distress may be seen in that sympathy with misfortune which was a peculiar characteristic of the grief-taught man. He published in the *Bee*, with the title of "The City Night Piece," an account of a lonely journey through the London streets, where he would wander at night, to console and reassure the misery he could not otherwise give help to. And there he saw many a sad sight, looked on many a sorrow which might well bring tears from eyes "albeit unused to weep," and came into contact with the wretched outcasts of a great and wicked city. "Strangers, wanderers and orphans," cast upon the cold charity of the world; "poor shivering girls," possessed of the fatal gift of beauty, and who lent too ready an ear to the voice which flattered only to betray, thrown by seducers on the cruel streets; and poor homeless creatures, to whom no door was open:—

"Mad from life's history,  
Glad to death's mystery,  
Swift to be hurled  
Anywhere—anywhere out of the world."

Seeing such piteous sights as these, the poor and the suffering were regarded as his clients, and their cause became his own for ever.

His acquaintance with man, and with the sorrows, the passions, the foibles of humanity, his large experience of the world and its ways, give the charm of reality to his delightful volumes. Macaulay thus speaks of Goldsmith as a writer of prose:—

There have been many greater writers; but perhaps no writer was ever more uniformly agreeable. His style was always pure and easy, and on proper occasions pointed and energetic. His narratives were always amusing, his descriptions always picturesque, his humour rich and joyous, yet not without an occasional touch of amiable sadness. About everything that he wrote, serious or sportive, there was a certain natural grace and decorum hardly to be expected from a man a great part of whose life had been passed among thieves and beggars, street-walkers, and merry-andrews, in those squalid dens which are the reproach of great capitals.

Goldsmith's name gradually became known and the circle of his acquaintance widened. In his new apartments<sup>1</sup> (May, 1761), he gave a supper; and amongst his guests was Dr. Percy, afterwards Bishop of Dromore, who introduced him to Samuel Johnson, then considered the first of living writers. Shortly afterwards he formed a friendship with Reynolds, the first of English painters; and with other men eminent in the walks of literature and art. In 1763 he was one of the nine original members of that celebrated brotherhood which still glories in the name of "The Club," and became the welcome companion of the brightest wits and deepest scholars of the day. The place of meeting was the Turk's Head Tavern, in Gerrard Street, Soho, where, the chair being taken every Monday night by a member in rotation, all were expected to attend and sup together.

Let us look in upon these master-spirits of their age on a winter's evening in the year 1764. Take notice of the company, for men of mark are here.

Who is that strange-looking man with the gigantic body, the huge massy face, seamed with the scars of disease, wearing a brown coat, and black worsted stockings, and a grey wig with scorched foretop, whose hands are dirty, the nails bitten and pared to the quick? See how his eyes and mouth move with convulsive twitches, and the heavy form rolls, as with puffs and snorts the words come forth: "Why, sir!" "What then, sir?"

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<sup>1</sup> He removed from his garret in Green Arbour Court, to more decent lodgings in Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, where he occupied two rooms for nearly two years.

"You don't see your way through the question, sir." That is Dr. Samuel Johnson, the author of the *Tatler*, the *Rambler*, and "*Rasselas*," and of a Dictionary which testifies to inexhaustible patience and diligence, and reveals the treasures of a well-stored mind. He is a man who never writes a line save on the side of virtue and truth, and who has passed through many bitter struggles on his way to fortune and to fame. He is a great and a wise man, a Christian man, moreover; and one who in a time when Hume, Gibbon, and Voltaire are endeavouring to introduce an universal scepticism, stands forth as the champion of religion, and contends earnestly for the truth of the Christian faith.

That young Scotch lawyer, whose silly egotism and impertinent curiosity makes him at once the bore and the laughing-stock of the whole of that brilliant club; who is weak, vain, pushing, and garrulous, who can he be? Now he flatters Johnson; now he catechizes him; anon he puts to him such a question as this: "What would you do, sir, if you were locked up in a tower with a baby?" This is no other than James Boswell, the first of biographers, who has written one of the best books in the world; a book in which the great Johnson eats, drinks, walks and talks before us, and yet who was himself weak, foolish, and contemptible.

That curiously gentleman-like man, with a speaking-trumpet at his ear, who talks well, and with a gracious and diffused good-humour smiles blandly upon all, that is Sir Joshua Reynolds, the celebrated painter, and who now in his fortieth year is already in the receipt of nearly £6,000 per annum.

Yonder small, agile, restless man, with a dark eye full of genius and expression; whose ready wit is rewarded by peals of laughter, and whose consummate knowledge of stage effect gives a zest to his anecdotes, is David Garrick, the great tragic actor, who melts his audience to tears as he depicts the sorrows of Othello, and who makes them shrink as the white-haired Lear curses his ungrateful daughters.

And who is that dressed in the gaudiest of colours, claret coat, sky-blue vest, black velvet pantaloons, and with a silver-laced hat under his arm; whose face is plain, the features harsh and pitted with small-pox, and whose figure is low and ungainly? That is Oliver Goldsmith himself, whose conversation, a strange contrast to his writings, is silly, empty, and noisy. Horace Walpole described him as an inspired idiot. At a club meeting held at the St. James's Coffee House, a party of his acquaintance wrote epitaphs on his imaginary death. Amongst others, Garrick wrote the following couplet:—

"Here lies poor Goldsmith, for shortness called Noll,  
Who wrote like an angel, and talk'd like poor Poll."

There, too, is the cold, polished, and sceptical Gibbon, the greatest historian, and Jones, the greatest linguist of the age. And there is Bennet Langton, distinguished by his skill in Greek literature, and by the sanctity of his life; and there is Topham Beauclerc, renowned for his knowledge of the gay world, his fastidious taste, and his sarcastic wit.

But who is that, greater than all, dividing at the early age of thirty-three the supremacy over such a society with Johnson? Listen to him as he pours forth in one constant strain the stores of argument and eloquence he is thinking to employ on a wider stage. Hear and be amazed at the variety of his knowledge and its practical application; the fund of astonishing imagery; the ease of philosophic illustration, the overpowering copiousness of words, in which he has never had a rival. That is Edmund Burke, one of the wisest and greatest men Ireland has produced; before whom lies a grand political career, and who will shortly earn a name as an eloquent and brilliant statesman of imperishable fame.

Such were the men who, as members of "The Club," gradually became a formidable power in the commonwealth of letters; whose verdicts pronounced on new books were sufficient to sell off a whole edition in a day, or to condemn the sheets to the service of the trunk-maker and the pastry-cook.

It has been already said that Goldsmith's conversation was a great contrast to his writings. "Sir," said Johnson, "rather than not speak he will talk of what he knows himself to be ignorant, which can only end in exposing him." "He could not conceal what was uppermost in his mind," says Davies. "He blurted it out," says Johnson, "to see what became of it." And yet Boswell himself admits that he was often very fortunate in his witty contests, even when he entered the lists with Johnson.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> An instance was remembered by Reynolds. He, Johnson, and Goldsmith were together one day, when the latter said he could write a very good fable: mentioned the simplicity which that kind of composition requires; and observed that in most fables the animals introduced seldom talked in character. "For instance," said he, "the fable of the little fishes, who saw birds fly over their heads, and envying them, petitioned Jupiter to be changed into birds." "The skill," he continued, "consists in making them talk like little fishes." At this point he observed Johnson shaking his sides and laughing, whereupon he made this home-thrust: "Why, Mr. Johnson, this is not so easy as you seem to think; for if you were to make little fishes talk, they would talk like whales." On one occasion they had at supper, rumps and kidneys. Dr. Johnson expresses his satisfaction with "the pretty little things," but observes that one must eat a good many of them before being satisfied." "Aye, but how many of them," asks Goldsmith, "would reach to the moon?" Johnson expresses his ignorance, and indeed remarks that that would exceed even Gold-

We now behold Goldsmith slowly mounting from obscurity to fame. He removed from the apartments in Wine Office Court to a new lodging on the library staircase of the Temple. This change took place in an early month of 1764.

Still all was not bright with Goldsmith yet. He had to struggle on with the ills of poverty. Towards the close of 1764, his rent was so long in arrear, that his landlady pressed him for payment within doors, while the bailiffs beset him without. The debtor in his distress sent a messenger to Johnson, and Johnson sent back the messenger with a guinea, and promised to follow speedily. He came, and found that Goldsmith had changed the guinea, and had got a bottle of madeira and a glass before him. Johnson put the cork into the bottle, and began to talk to him on the means of procuring money. Goldsmith said that he had a novel ready for the press. Johnson looked into it, saw its merit, and taking it to a bookseller sold it for £60. He brought the money to Goldsmith, who discharged his rent, not without rating his landlady in a high tone for using him so ill. The novel which was thus ushered into the world was the charming "*Vicar of Wakefield*."

But before the "*Vicar of Wakefield*" appeared in print, came the great crisis of Goldsmith's literary life. In Christmas week, 1764, he published a poem entitled "*The Traveller*." It was the first work to which he put his name, and "it at once," to use Macaulay's words, "raised him to the rank of a legitimate English classic." The opinion of the most skilful critics was that nothing finer had appeared in verse since the fourth book of "*The Dunciad*." Johnson pronounced it a poem to which it would not be easy to find anything equal since the death of Pope. The verse has a sweet and mellow flow, while the diction, rich and choice as it is, is at the same time exquisitely plain. The whole poem with its appropriate imagery, its deep harmony of colouring, its happy and playful tenderness, and its philosophic tone, appeals at once and directly to the heart. Macaulay thus describes its plan:—

An English wanderer, seated on a crag among the Alps, near the point where the great countries meet, looks down on the boundless prospect, reviews his long pilgrimage, recalls the variety of scenery, of climate, of government, of religion, of national character, which he has observed, and comes to the conclusion, just or unjust, that our happiness depends little on political institutions, and much on the temper and regulation of our minds.

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smith's calculation ; when the ready humourist observes, "Why, one, sir, if it were long enough." Johnson confessed himself beaten : "Well, sir, I have deserved it—I should not have provoked so foolish an answer by so foolish a question."



While the fourth edition of "The Traveller" was on the counters of the booksellers, "The Vicar of Wakefield" appeared, and rapidly obtained a popularity which it maintains to the present day. No doubt the story has some faults of construction—that it contains some improbabilities; but, nevertheless, the charm of the book is such, that in reading it we remember the beauties, while we overlook the faults. Its pages glow with mingled humour, wit, and pathos; a tender, and true, and wise vein of thought runs freshly through the narrative; and, underlying the incidents of the story, there is a vein of reflection fitted to make us patient in suffering—to give us an undoubting reliance on the providence of God, while it renders us charitable to the faults and infirmities of others. Who that has ever read the book can forget the hero of the fable, Dr. Primrose, the pastor, parent, and husband; his helpmate, with her motherly cunning and housewifely prudence, triumphing in her lamb's-wool and gooseberry-wine; Olivia, preparing herself for the arduous task of converting a rakish lover by studying the controversy between Robinson Crusoe and Friday; Moses, his hat and white feather, his sale of Dobbin the colt, and his purchase of the gross of green spectacles? There, too, was the Squire, proving from Aristotle that relatives are related; the rosy Flamborough girls, with their red top-knots; the sharper, and his knowledge of the world; Mr. Burchall, with his plain common sense; and Miss Carolina Wilhelmina Amelia Skeggs, whose pretensions are summed up in that expressive monosyllable—"Fudge."<sup>1</sup>

The success which had attended Goldsmith as a novelist emboldened him to try his fortune as a dramatist. He wrote "The Good-natured Man"—a piece which had a worse fate than it deserved. Garrick refused to produce it at Drury Lane. It was acted at Covent Garden, but coldly received. The author, however, cleared by his benefit-nights, and by the sale of the copyright, no less than £500—five times as much as he had made by "The Traveller" and "The Vicar of Wakefield" together.

In 1770 appeared "The Deserted Village." Its success was

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Scott says: "We read 'The Vicar of Wakefield' in youth and age; we return to it again and again, and bless the memory of an author who contrives so well to reconcile us to human nature." Goethe, the great German poet and philosopher, declared in his eighty-first year that it had been his delight at twenty; that it had formed part of his education, and influenced his tastes and feelings throughout life; that he had recently read it over again with renewed delight; and Schlegel, the celebrated German critic and scholar, recorded his opinion that the gem of European works of fiction is "The Vicar of Wakefield."

instant and decisive. It ran through several editions in a few months. It was published on May 26, and on August 16 a fifth edition appeared. When it was read to Gray, he listened to it with fixed attention, and soon exclaimed, "This man is a poet!" "What true and pretty pastoral images!" exclaimed Burke, years after the poet's death, "has Goldsmith in his 'Deserted Village!' They beat all: Pope, and Phillips, and Spenser too, in my opinion." Goethe tells us the transport with which the circle he now lived in hailed it, when they found themselves once more in another beloved Wakefield; and with what zeal he at once set to work to translate it into German! We are reminded by Forster, in his "Biography of Goldsmith," that it is beautifully said by Campbell, that "fiction in poetry is not the reverse of truth, but her soft and enchanted resemblance;" and this ideal beauty of nature has seldom been united with so much sober fidelity as in the groups and scenery of "The Deserted Village."

Macaulay finds fault with this poem for two reasons. In the first place the theory is false, and is opposed to true political economy. But is this judgment just? Goldsmith only decries the inroads of that monopolizing wealth which drives the peasant to emigration, and traces much of the sorrows of the poor to "trade's proud empire," which has so often proved a transient glory and an enervating good. He laments the state of society, "where wealth accumulates, and men decay." But though the accumulation of wealth has not brought about man's diminution, nor is "trade's proud empire" threatened with decay; yet the lesson Goldsmith seeks to teach can never be thrown away. He rebukes that selfish spirit of luxury and pride which, imitating the pomp and solitude of feudal abodes, without their hospitality and protection, has surrounded itself with parks and pleasure-grounds, and indignantly "spurned the cottage from the green." "It is a melancholy thing to stand alone in one's own country," said the Lord Leicester who built Holkham, when complimented on the completion of that princely dwelling. "I look round—not a house is to be seen but mine; I am the giant of Giant Castle, and have eat up all my neighbours."

The second fault with which Macaulay charges this poem is, that it is made up of incongruous parts:—

The village in its happy days is a true English village. The village in its decay is an Irish village. The felicity and the misery, which Goldsmith has brought close together, belong to two different countries, and to two different stages in the progress of society. He had surely never seen in his native island such a moral paradise—such a seat of plenty, content, and tranquillity, as his Auburn. He had assuredly never seen in England all the inhabitants of such a paradise turned out of

their homes in one day, and forced to emigrate in a body to America. The hamlet he had probably seen in Kent; the ejection he had probably seen in Munster; but by joining the two he has produced something which never was, and never will be, seen in any part of the world.

It is with great diffidence that one ventures to differ from so masterly a critic as Macaulay, yet must a lance be broken with him here.

On the broad question of poetry we would ask, is the poet obliged to observe all the unities of time, place, and action? Was Shakespeare himself so bound? In "As You Like It," for instance, the persons of the play, if names go for anything, are French, the scene is laid in France; and yet what can be more English than the scene: the forest of Arden—and yet not the Warwickshire Arden—with its green boughs and shimmering leaves, its grassy knolls, and murmuring streams where the

"Poor sequestered stag,  
That from the hunter's aim had ta'en a hurt,  
Did come to languish: augmenting the swift brook  
With its big round tears"?

Is the poet to describe nothing but what is seen in real life? Must his poems be literal transcripts of what passes before the eye; or selecting his own incidents and scenery, may he not leave this dull region of earth for the sunny realms of fancy and imagination? But narrowing the question to matter-of-fact, and granting, as must be granted, that everything in the poem is English, the feelings, incidents, descriptions and allusions, have there been in England no improvements made at the expense of the population, no dismantled cottages, no ruined hearths, as in Ireland and in Scotland?

However, the popularity of the poem is a sufficient vindication of its truth to nature, as well as of its feeling, its tenderness, its pathos, and harmonious versification. The village inn; the busy mill; the fence; the furze; the hawthorn shade; the decent church; the simple pastor; the schoolmaster; the innocent joys of the country, rise up before us as we read.

And here it may be well to say a few words on Goldsmith's claims as a poet. A poet he was, and a true one. In the power of expression; in melody; in a polished versification, he is hardly surpassed by any singer. Though he was an Irishman, all regard him as an English poet; and no poem, whether Auburn was in reality Lissosy or not, could be more thoroughly English in form and feeling than "The Deserted Village." As we read it we seem to see

"The blossom'd furze unprofitably gay;"

to catch the smell of the hawthorn bush, white with may,

under whose shade the rustic lovers sit, to hear the village murmur, the milk-maid's song, and the voices of

"The playful children just let loose from school."

Nor these sounds alone do we hear, but also

"The watch-dog's voice that bayed the whispering wind,  
And the loud laugh that spoke the vacant mind."

We turn with pleasure from much of our modern poetry, with its artifice and obscurity, and straining after effect, to a poem so simple and so natural, so graceful and tender, so melodious and so pathetic, as "*The Deserted Village*." It is like leaving a heated room and the glare of the gas for the cool morning air, with the scent of flowers and the song of birds, the full-leaved trees, and the blue sky.

While Goldsmith was writing "*The Deserted Village*" and "*She Stoops to Conquer*,"<sup>1</sup> he was employed on works of a very different kind—works from which he derived little reputation, but much profit. He compiled for the use of schools a "*History of Rome*," by which he made £300; a "*History of England*," by which he made £600; a "*History of Greece*," for which he received £250; a "*Natural History*," for which the bookseller covenanted to pay him 800 guineas. Though Goldsmith's knowledge was not very accurate, and he committed some strange blunders, yet he was, as Macaulay acknowledges, "an unequalled master of the arts of selection and condensation;" and it is well said that, "few writers have done more to make the first steps in the laborious road to knowledge easy and pleasant."

Goldsmith was at this time a prosperous man; his fame was great, and continually rising. He changed his abode, and purchased chambers in Brick Court, Middle Temple, for which he gave £400. He furnished the rooms handsomely, and we hear of Wilton carpets; blue morine-covered mahogany sofas, chimney-glasses, Pembroke and card tables, and tasteful bookshelves. Exactly below Goldsmith's were the chambers of Blackstone: and the rising lawyer, at this time finishing the fourth volume of his "*Commentaries*," is reported to have made frequent complaint of the distracting social noises that went on above. Very likely while Blackstone was deep in the mysteries of the feudal system, his investigations were interrupted by the merry companions of our poet singing lustily, "*The Three Jolly Pigeons*."

<sup>1</sup> In 1773 Goldsmith produced his second play at Covent Garden, "*She Stoops to Conquer*." On this occasion his genius triumphed. The broad humour of this comedy, or rather farce, in five acts, kept the audience in a constant roar of laughter.

Poor Goldsmith soon exhausted the profits of his writings, and began a system of waste which involved him in difficulties he never surmounted. "He spent twice as much as he had," says Macaulay. "He wore fine clothes, gave dinners of several courses, paid court to venal beauties. He had also, it should be remembered to the honour of his heart, though not of his head, a guinea, or five, or ten, according to the state of his purse, for any tale of distress, true or false." Macaulay also accuses him of being from boyhood a gambler, and "at once the most sanguine and the most unskilful of gamblers." This charge Forster declares to be founded on a trifling indiscretion; and let us fain hope that the friend and companion of Johnson, Burke, and Reynolds, was not guilty of this fatal vice.

It may be well to record, in this place, the charm thrown over poor Goldsmith's life by his friendship with Mrs. Horneck, Captain Keene Horneck's widow, and her two charming daughters—at the time of his introduction to them, girls of nineteen and seventeen. The eldest, Catherine, "Little Comedy" as she was called, was engaged to a Mr. Bunbury, second son of a baronet of an old family in Suffolk, and one of the cleverest amateur artists of his day. The youngest, Mary, to whom was given the loving nickname of the "Jessamy Bride," exerted strange fascination over Goldsmith. "Heaven knows," says Forster, "what impossible dreams may at times have visited the awkward, unattractive man of letters!" He bought his finest clothes to figure at their country house at Burton; he wrote them droll verses, and had in their society many a pleasant holiday. The sisters heartily liked him; cheered him and pitied him; loved him and laughed at him; and the happiest hours of the later years of his life were passed in their presence. In the kind and friendly company of Mrs. Horneck and her fair daughters, he made a visit to Paris, which he has described in a letter of most pleasant humour written to Sir Joshua Reynolds.

His later years were clouded by sorrow, and difficulties, and distress. His improvidence involved him in embarrassments from which he sought to extricate himself by temporary expedients to meet his debts, to escape from bailiffs and reproachful creditors. He obtained advances from booksellers, by promising to execute works which he never began. But at length this source of supply failed. He owed more than £2,000, and he saw no hope of being able to pay it. His spirits and health gave way. He was attacked by a nervous fever, which he thought himself competent to treat. Rejecting the advice of medical men, he prescribed for himself. The remedies he took aggravated the malady. He was induced to call in physicians of skill, but still his weakness and restlessness con-

tinued. He could get no sleep: he could take no food. It now occurred to Dr. Turton, who attended him, to put a pregnant question to his patient. "Your pulse," he said, "is in greater disorder than it should be from the degree of fever which you have. Is your mind at ease?" "No, it is not," was Goldsmith's melancholy answer. They were the last words of the dying man. None sadder could be spoken in that hour when heart and flesh fail. He died on the 4th of April, 1774, having then lived five months beyond his forty-fifth year. When Burke was told, he burst into tears. Reynolds was so moved by the news that he left his painting-room, and did not re-enter it that day. The staircase in Brick Court is said to have been filled with mourners: women without a home, with no friend but him they had come to weep for; outcasts of that great, solitary, wicked city, to whom he had never forgotten to be kind and charitable. Other mourners he had, two. His coffin was re-opened at the request of Miss Horneck and her sister—the "Jessamy Bride"—that a lock might be cut off from his hair. It was in the possession of the latter when she died, after nearly seventy years. She lived quite into our time. Hazlitt saw her an old lady, but beautiful still, in Northcote's painting-room, and she told the eager critic how proud she always was that Goldsmith had admired her.

Goldsmith was laid in the churchyard of the Temple; but the spot was not marked by any inscription, and is now forgotten.

Reynolds suggested that Goldsmith should be honoured by a monument in Westminster Abbey; and the spot selected was over the south door in Poets' Corner. It consisted of a medallion portrait and tablet. Nollkens was the sculptor, and, two years after Goldsmith's death, the inscription was written by Johnson. His great friend inscribed a touching and beautiful epitaph in Latin upon the stone which bears his name. It contains the famous line:

Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the life, and such the death, of a poet whom the world regards with gentle love and pity, with admiration for his sportive humour, the grace of his diction, and the beauty of his style; well disposed, if it could, to forget the errors and faults of such a man. The story of his life and of his death is very sad.

There can be no doubt that the great want in his character—that which lay at the root of all that we must deplore in his life—that which clouded the death-bed from which to the

<sup>1</sup> He left no species of writing untouched by his pen, nor touched any that he did not embellish.

question, "Is your mind at ease?" came the melancholy response, "No, it is not!" was the want of a deep and solid religious faith. True, he could paint, and that beautifully, the Christian pastor, all whose "serious thoughts had rest in heaven"—at whose control

"Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul ;"

but, alas ! like many a preacher, "he recked not his own read"; and was like the sign-post on a road, which points, not leads the way.

But I would not "draw his frailties from their dread abode." It is unwillingly and with regret that they are touched on at all. "Let not the frailties of Oliver Goldsmith be remembered," said Johnson : "he was a very great man."

When we think of him let it be kindly, as of the gentle moralist, the consummate poet, the genial-hearted Irishman, full of affection and pity, of guileless simplicity, and of the most romantic if not impulsive and thoughtless benevolence. Nor let us forget his many struggles; his years of unremitting drudgery and desolate toil; his life that had never known the aids and pleasures of a home, or those sweet domestic influences which might have saved him from temptations in which he was ensnared. It should be remembered, too, that in an age of general sycophancy, when authors fawned upon the great, Goldsmith dedicated his three principal works to no lordly or courtly patron, but the one to his brother, the other two to Reynolds and Johnson; that in a time when literary men thought it no shame to write for hire, Goldsmith scorned to prostitute his pen to party ends, and refused the proffered bribes; that in a period when wit often took the form of coarseness and ribaldry, Goldsmith wrote nothing to offend the purest or most delicate mind.

Before leaving him, let us give a glance at his cenotaph within the grand walls of the solemn Abbey. Not far from his medallion portrait in "Poets' Corner," are the monuments which commemorate Rowe, and Thomson, and Garrick. Here, too, is a monument to Gay, the author of the famous "Beggars' Opera," the fables written for the education of the Duke of Cumberland, and the popular ballad of "Black-Eyed Susan." It is painful to think that it was at his own desire that Pope placed these words beneath his bust:—

"Life is a jest, and all things show it :

I thought it once, but now I know it."

The lines are surely out of harmony with the place.

The ashes of the great Samuel Johnson, and of the witty and eloquent Sheridan, rest near; and the wise and eloquent Isaac Barrow sleeps not far away. There, from his pedestal,

the grave and thoughtful Addison looks down; and there is the fine statue of Thomas Campbell, the poet of the "Pleasures of Hope," the pedestal bearing the lines from "The Lost Man":

"This spirit shall return to Him  
Who gave its heavenly spark;  
Yet think not, Sun, it shall be dim  
When thou thyself art dark!  
No! it shall live again and shine  
In bliss unknown to beams of thine  
By Him recalled to breath  
Who captive led captivity,  
Who robb'd the grave of victory,  
And took the sting from death!"

And there, last but not least, nay, first and greatest of all, the bard of Avon, the immortal William Shakespeare, who opens before our eyes a scroll with the sublime words:—

"The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,  
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,  
And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,  
Leave not a wreck behind."

These are earth's mighty ones—illustrious names on the beadroll of fame—men to be remembered so long as England is a nation, and the English language is spoken. And when wandering through the long-drawn aisles of the old Abbey, and gazing on the monuments of poets, and statesmen, and orators, and historians, we can thank God who has given such gifts unto men. Who can estimate the influence that they have exercised over the moral and intellectual life of the country; or how much their genius has contributed to the English language its majesty, its beauty, and its force? Truly, of the poets, amongst whom Goldsmith occupies a high rank, we may say in the words of Wordsworth:—

"Blessings be with these, and eternal praise,  
Who gave us nobler lives, and nobler cares—  
The poets, who on earth have made us heirs  
Of truth and pure delight by heavenly lays!"

CHARLES D. BELL.





## ART. IV.—SUN-SPOTS.

THE great sun-spot which made its appearance in the latter part of November last, and which was distinctly visible, even to the naked eye, has had the effect of directing general attention to a subject which some recent discoveries have invested with a peculiar interest.

There is perhaps no branch of astronomy that has made such rapid strides of late years, and that is so full of promise of further revelations in the near future, as that which is concerned with the investigation of the physical constitution of the sun; and it is to observations of the solar spots that we are in large measure indebted for the knowledge which we now possess on that subject.

Though appearances of exceptionally large sun-spots, such as that referred to above, have been recorded from very early times, it was manifestly impossible before the invention of the telescope that those who observed them should form any true idea of the nature of objects which appeared to the eye only as black specks or blotches on the sun's disc. And even after the invention of the telescope a considerable time elapsed before any inkling of their real nature was obtained. The first conjectures were, as might have been expected, exceedingly crude. By some they were considered to be great masses of dense smoke floating above some great centre of conflagration in the sun, like the cloud of smoke which sometimes hangs for days or even weeks together over a terrestrial volcano. By others they were regarded as mountain-peaks or ridges rising above the general surface and showing dark against the luminous background from which they stood out; while by others again they were supposed to be planetary bodies revolving round the sun in such close proximity to its surface as to appear to belong to it. But as improved instruments came into use, and were directed upon the sun's disc, it soon became clear that whatever the so-called spots might be they were certainly none of these things. For a good telescope of even very moderate power shows that they are not projections or protuberances above the solar atmosphere, but rents or cavities in it, bringing into view the lower and presumably less luminous strata of that atmosphere which by contrast with the intensely brilliant surface appear black.

And here, before tracing briefly the successive steps by which our present knowledge on the subject has been arrived at, let me endeavour to convey, so far as mere figures can do so, some idea of the dimensions of these "breaks" or "cavities" in the sun's atmosphere.

The area of the sun-spot is ordinarily divided into the central and darker portion called the "umbra," and the outer and less intensely dark portion of the spot called the "penumbra." A few observers possessed of exceptionally good instruments or exceptionally keen sight, have thought that they have detected within the "umbra" a still more intensely dark or absolutely black portion to which they have given the name of the "nucleus." But for our present purpose it will be sufficient if we adopt the ordinary division into "umbra" and "penumbra."

Now, as to the dimensions of these cavities or depressions, or whatever we may choose to call them, in the solar atmosphere, some measurements may be stated. Sir William Herschell in 1799 measured a spot that was not less than fifty thousand miles in diameter. Captain Davis in 1839 observed an irregularly formed spot, which was not less than one hundred and eighty-six thousand miles in its greatest length, and the surface of which embraced an extent of about twenty-five thousand million miles. Sir John Herschell, after describing a spot which he had himself observed as having an area of three thousand seven hundred and eighty million miles, and another, nearly round, the black space or nucleus in the middle of which "would have allowed the earth to drop through it, leaving a thousand miles clear of contact on every side," says further, "that many instances of much larger spots than these are on record." We may add in reference to the great spot which was visible in November last, as observed by Mr. F. Brodie, of the Fern Hill Observatory, Isle of Wight, on November the 15th, that the "penumbra" measured fifty-six thousand by fifty-one thousand miles, and the "umbra" thirty-nine thousand by twenty-eight thousand. And let it be distinctly understood that these figures are not mere guesses, as seems sometimes to be supposed by those who are not acquainted with the methods employed by astronomers in such calculations, but the result of careful micrometric measurements of the portion of the sun's surface covered by the spots; the extent in miles of any given portion of the sun's surface so measured being, when the sun's distance is known, a simple matter of arithmetical calculation.

As in the course of time the spots came to be observed more systematically and with improved instruments, it soon became apparent that the track pursued by them was always in one general direction, namely, from east to west, so that at whatever point on the sun's surface a spot first appeared, it always moved towards the western edge, or "limb," as astronomers prefer to call it, of the sun, till on reaching the extreme limit of the sun's disc it passed out of sight; an observation which

at first suggested and in the end afforded complete proof of the rotation of the sun on its axis. It was further observed that the spots were not scattered indiscriminately over the surface of the sun, but were always found in two main zones or belts running parallel to the sun's equator and extending on either side from a point a few degrees north or south of it to a point which would correspond to about forty degrees N. or S. latitude on a terrestrial globe, while on the equator itself they were very rarely found, and never near the poles. Nor did it long escape notice that as the spots were very unevenly distributed over the sun's surface, so also their frequency varied greatly at different times, that sometimes for many years very few spots were to be seen, while at other times great numbers of spots, and those of unusual size, presented themselves; though it is only within recent years that the periodicity of these changes has come to be recognised. It has now, however, been established as the result of systematic observations carried on for a period of more than fifty years, that the spots go through a complete series of changes, including a maximum and minimum epoch, in a period of about eleven years and one-tenth, known as the "sun-spot cycle."

Such then are the main *facts* which the telescope has revealed concerning the spots on the sun. Let us now consider the *theories* which scientific men have founded on these facts, in reference, first, to the nature and origin of the sun-spots themselves; and secondly, to their influence on atmospheric and other changes on our earth.

I. Two fundamentally different views have been put forward of the nature and origin of a sun-spot—one ascribing it to causes at work within the sun itself, the other to agencies affecting the sun from without.

The first view is that which was advocated by Sir John Herschell (though apparently only as an alternative hypothesis) in a passage in which he suggests that the spots might be disturbances in the sun's atmosphere analogous to cyclones upon our earth. Referring to the fact, already noticed, that the sun-spots "mainly frequent two zones on the sun's surface nearly corresponding to the regions on our globe in which the trade-winds prevail," he says: "The resemblance is so striking as most strongly to suggest some analogy in the causes of the two phenomena; and it has been held that as our trade-winds originate in a greater *influx* of heat from without on and near the equator than at the poles, combined with the earth's rotation on its axis, so the maculiferous (or spot-bearing) belts of the sun may owe their origin to a greater equatorial *efflux* of heat, combined with the axial rotation of that luminary." And again, after dwelling upon the dimensions of some of the

larger spots referred to above, he says, "What are we to think, then, of the awful scale of hurricane and turmoil and fiery tempest which can in a few days totally change the form of such a region, break it up into distinct parts, open up great abysses in one part and fill up others beside them?" And undoubtedly there is much in the appearance of the spots and of the changes which they undergo, as viewed with high telescopic power, to lend probability to such a view.

The other view is that which supposes the spots to be produced by the impact of meteoric masses, such as are known to follow in the track of comets, on coming into contact with the sun; a theory which has just now a special interest attaching to it, owing to a possible connection which it suggests, between the great sun-spot of November last and the comet which passed so near to the sun in September.

There is an interesting passage in the writings of Mr. R. A. Proctor,<sup>1</sup> in which he ably maintains this view. After referring to certain appearances observed in connection with the great sun-spot of 1859, Mr. Proctor says, "There are indeed reasons for believing not only, as I have already indicated, that the outburst in the sun was caused by the downfall of meteoric masses, but that those masses were following in the train of a known comet, precisely as the November meteors follow in the train of Tempel's Comet. For we know that the November meteoric displays have been witnessed for five or six years after the passage of Tempel's Comet, in its thirty-three years' orbit, while the August meteoric displays have been witnessed fully one hundred and twenty years after the passage of their comet (Comet II., 1862). Now only sixteen years before the solar outburst witnessed by Carrington and Hodgson, a magnificent comet had passed even closer to the sun than either Tempel's Comet or the second comet of 1862 approached the earth's orbit. That was the famous comet of the year 1843. Many of us remember that wonderful object. I was but a child myself when it appeared; but I can well remember its amazing tail, which, in March, 1843, stretched half-way across the sky."

It may well be believed that the two meteors which produced the remarkable outburst of 1859 may have been stragglers from the main body following after that glorious comet. We do not insist upon the connection. We rather incline in fact to the belief that the disturbance in 1859, occurring as it did about the time of maximum sun-spot frequency, was caused by meteors following in the train of some as yet undiscovered comet, circuiting the sun in about

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<sup>1</sup> "Pleasant Ways in Science," p. 118.

eleven years, the spots themselves being, I believe, due in the main to meteoric downfalls.

There is greater reason for believing that the great sun-spot which appeared in June, 1843, was caused by the comet which, but three months before, had grazed the sun's surface. As Professor Kirkwood, of Bloomington, Indiana, justly remarks, "Had this comet approached a little nearer, the resistance of the solar atmosphere would probably have brought the comet's entire mass to the solar surface. Even at its actual distance it must have produced considerable atmospheric disturbance. But the recent discovery that a number of comets are associated with meteoric matter, travelling in nearly the same orbits, suggests the inquiry whether an enormous meteorite, following in the comet's train, and having a somewhat less perihelion distance, may not have been precipitated upon the sun, thus producing the great disturbance observed so shortly after the comet's perihelion passage."

In view of the strong grounds which have recently been adduced for believing that the great comet, which is now passing out of sight, is a reappearance of the comet of 1843, my readers will probably agree with me that it is at least a very remarkable coincidence that in each case an enormous sun-spot should have been developed shortly after the comet had passed the sun.

The fields of inquiry opened out by the connection indicated above between comets and sun-spots, are among the most fascinating in the whole range of astronomical research; but we must pass on to consider, in the second place, the effects of these outbursts of solar energy as they concern our earth.

II. Those effects have been supposed to manifest themselves in two ways: first, in variations in the weather corresponding to the variations in the frequency of the solar spots; and secondly, in disturbances of the earth's magnetism, accompanied by displays of the Aurora occurring simultaneously with the appearance of exceptionally large spots.

When the sun-spot period was at first discovered, it was not unnaturally supposed that we had at length found the clue to that for which meteorologists had been so long eagerly seeking—the cycle of the weather. Since the sun's heat is the primal source of all the phenomena which we call the weather, any variation in the amount of that heat, so it was argued, must be accompanied by a corresponding variation in the weather. And in the abstract this reasoning must be admitted to be sound enough. But when the attempt is made to trace the connection between the sun-spot cycle and the weather in sufficient detail to be of practical advantage, the problem is

found to be anything but the simple one which it was at first supposed to be. Indeed the first attempts were made in an altogether wrong direction, it having been assumed, not unnaturally perhaps, but quite erroneously, that the periods of greatest sun-spot frequency would be coincident with periods of diminished solar heat, and the periods of fewest sun-spots with periods when the sun's heat might be expected to be at its greatest. It has now, however, for some time been established that the reverse of this is the fact, and that, whatever else they may be, sun-spots are undoubtedly indications of increased solar energy. Still, when we make the attempt to trace the influence of these periods of increased solar heat upon the weather of our globe, the evidence of any such influence is so doubtful and conflicting as to be of very little practical value ; in other words, we are not much, if at all, better able to predict even the general character of a season than we were before the sun-spot cycle was discovered.

The truth seems to be, that though the increase and diminution of the sun's heat which accompanies the increase and diminution in the number of the spots, does, and indeed must affect the weather of the whole globe, yet as regards particular localities the general effect is so overlaid and masked by the various local influences which determine the climate of a place, that it can seldom be traced with any certainty ; moreover, in this case the same general cause may produce opposite effects in different parts of our globe, as there is good reason to believe that the very same increase in the sun's temperature which intensifies the heat of a dry and torrid region, may at the same time by raising increased volumes of vapour from the ocean occasion an increase of cloud, with cold and wet weather, in those regions to which the prevailing currents may carry these abnormal masses of vapour.

The connection between the sun-spots and the weather, though a real one, is therefore not of such a kind that we can with our present knowledge found upon it anything in the nature of a weather cycle.

The evidence of the connection between sun-spots and disturbances in the magnetism of the earth is of a very different nature, and is indeed such that it is difficult to understand how it can be questioned by anyone who has that evidence before him.

It may be safely affirmed that whenever the sun-spots are exceptionally numerous or of unusual size, their development is attended by disturbances of the earth's magnetism and brilliant displays of the aurora ; and that when the sun-spots are few and small, such disturbances are comparatively rare.

It would be easy to multiply instances in proof of this con-

nection. We shall merely cite one of the most remarkable (already referred to in another connection) as described<sup>1</sup> by Sir John Herschell:—

There occurred, on the 1st September, 1859, an appearance on the sun which may be considered an epoch, if not in the sun's history, at least in our knowledge of it. On that day great spots were exhibited, and two observers, far apart and unknown to each other, were viewing them with powerful telescopes, when suddenly, at the same moment of time, both saw a strikingly brilliant luminous appearance, like a cloud of light, far brighter than the general surface of the sun, break out in the immediate neighbourhood of one of the spots and sweep across and beside it. It occupied about five minutes in its passage, and in that time travelled over a space on the sun's surface which could not be estimated at less than 35,000 miles. A magnetic storm was in progress at the time. From the 28th August to the 4th September, many indications showed the earth to have been in a perfect convulsion of electro-magnetism. When one of the observers I have mentioned had registered his observation, he be-thought himself of sending to Kew, where there are self-registering magnetic instruments always at work, recording by photography, at every instant of the twenty-four hours, the positions of three magnetic needles differently arranged. On examining the record for that day, it was found that at that very moment of time (as if the influence had arrived with the light) all three had made a strongly marked jerk from their former positions. By degrees accounts began to pour in of great auroras seen on the nights of those days, not only in these latitudes, but at Rome, in the West Indies, on the Tropics, within eighteen degrees of the equator (where they hardly ever appear); nay, what is still more striking, in South America, and in Australia, where, at Melbourne, on the night of the 2nd September, the greatest aurora ever seen there made its appearance. These auroras were accompanied with unusually great electro-magnetic disturbances in every part of the world. In many places the telegraphic wires struck work. They had too many private messages of their own to convey. At Washington and Philadelphia in America, the telegraph signal men received severe shocks. At a station in Norway, the telegraphic apparatus was set on fire; and at Boston, in North America, a flame of fire followed the pen of Bain's electric telegraph, which, as my readers perhaps know, writes down the message upon chemically prepared paper.

It would be easy, as has been said, to adduce further instances; but those of my readers who witnessed the magnificent displays of aurora on October the 2nd, and November the 17th last, or read the accounts which appeared in the daily papers of the violent magnetic disturbances by which they were accompanied, and will bear in mind the fact that on both occasions a sun-spot of extraordinary size was visible at the time, will hardly doubt that, whatever uncertainty there may be as to the supposed connection between the sun-spot cycle

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<sup>1</sup> "Essays on Scientific Subjects."

and the weather, the connection between sun-spots and the magnetism of our earth has at any rate been clearly established.

G. T. RYVES.



#### ART. V.—THE CHARGE OF THE BISHOP OF MEATH.

*Our Country and our Church.* A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Meath at his sixth Visitation, October, 1882, by the Most Rev. Lord PLUNKET, D.D., Bishop of Meath. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, and Co.

IN regard to the Church of Ireland, her position and prospects, no man has a better right to speak than Lord Plunket, the Bishop of Meath. The Charge which he delivered at his recent Visitation deals not only with the concerns of the diocese of Meath, but with the leading social and religious features of the recent agitation in Ireland, considered chiefly, of course, in their relation to the Protestant Church. In bringing before our readers those portions of the Charge which, in a hopeful vein, weigh the evil and the good of disestablishment and disendowment, and give the outlook of the Church as she stands, we pass by the comments which have been made upon the Charge in political or party columns, and we also omit any allusion to statements recently made, both on this side the Channel and on that, about the probable effect of Mr. Gladstone's policy, and of lawless agitation, upon the scattered parishes of the Church, and upon the Church as a whole. It is our purpose, out of the deep interest which we take in the Church of Ireland, that the honoured Bishop should speak for himself. Certainly, as regards ourselves, we have no desire, to point a moral, in any way whatever, at the expense of the Irish Church.

In the diocese of Meath there are, at present, 79 parishes, with a "Church population" of 13,000 souls. According to a Parliamentary Report in the year 1802, of the 92 incumbents then holding livings in the diocese of Meath, 47 (that is a clear majority) did not reside within their parishes; of these, 19 were pluralists, who resided in other parishes, and did their duty in Meath by proxy. Again, in the year 1802, there were 12 benefices without churches, and 54 without glebe-houses. In 1882 all the members are residing in their parishes.<sup>1</sup> There is now no incumbency

<sup>1</sup> "If we include four clergymen temporarily absent from ill-health and two who, from the want of a suitable residence within the parish, are obliged to reside beyond its limits, but within easy reach of their duties."



without at least one church; and in place of 54 parishes without glebe-houses, as in 1806, there are now only 8 in that condition. It is a satisfaction also to know that since the date when Alexander Irwin reviewed the work of church-building and restoration that had up to that time been accomplished, all the principal parish churches in the diocese of Meath have been renovated, and some new ones built, at a cost in all of not less than £20,000. The Bishop thankfully bears witness to increasing tokens of vitality among both the clergy and the laity of the diocese; and he makes mention of many pious and charitable efforts, signs of an ungrudging and cheerful liberality. "It certainly is reassuring to find," adds the Bishop, "that notwithstanding the decrease in our Church population which emigration and the deterrent influences of the present agitation have brought about, the number of those confirmed this year has exceeded by thirty that of the year 1879. In such a fact we have, I think, a very significant proof that our Church in this diocese is alive, and that even amid the exceptional difficulties of the present time her ministers, with God's blessing, are showing themselves faithful to their sacred trust."<sup>1</sup>

Turning now to the national questions discussed in Lord Plunket's Charge, we find, at the outset, a reference to the ordeal of the last three years. "During that period," says the Bishop, "our country and our Church have had to pass through a severe and unexpected ordeal":—

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<sup>1</sup> "Our diocese," says the most reverend prelate, "is at all times a poor one. It contains no large towns, and scarcely any factories or commercial establishments, while much of its thinly-peopled grazing tracts are owned by landlords who reside for the most part, and spend their money, elsewhere. It is, therefore, encouraging to find that the amount paid in for the support of the ministry in our 79 parishes during the past year is somewhat over £6,000. But there is an even more cheering fact which I gladly notice. The Report of the Committee of Missions and Charities for the Eastern Division alone of this diocese (including 40 parishes) has just been put into my hand, and I see that over and above this sum above-mentioned as forthcoming for distinctly parochial purposes, there has been also contributed by these parishes for extra-parochial objects a sum of more than £1,000 during the past year. Of this amount £603 has been given for extra-parochial charities of a diocesan character, such as the Meath Protestant Orphan Society, the Meath Education Fund, and the Meath Mission to Roman Catholics; £47 to Home Missions extending beyond the diocese, such as the Irish Society and the Scripture Readers' Society; £57 to the Bible Society and the Jews' Society; £129 to Foreign Missions, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, and the Spanish and Portuguese and Mexican Church Aid Society. Lastly, a sum of £262 is given to charities and works of mercy, such as the Dublin Hospitals' Sunday Fund, the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, the St. Patrick's Home for Nurses to the Sick Poor, and other similar agencies." Evidently in the diocese of Meath there are to be found many who, like the churches of Macedonia, do not regard a time of "deep poverty" an unfit time for the "riches of their liberality."

When last I addressed you it was a time of comparative quietude and hopefulness. Since that date we have been enduring the throes of a social revolution. So, alas, has it ever been with this our unfortunate native land. Possessing within itself many elements of prosperity, it would yet almost seem as if Ireland, humanly speaking, were doomed by its geographical position and political surroundings to become of necessity the prey of agitators. Too near England to be a separate kingdom, and too far to admit of a complete oneness in feeling and interest between the two countries, Ireland has been used by England's enemies from time to time as a convenient seed-plot for disaffection. From among the Irish people themselves, from France, from Spain, from Rome, from America have periodically started up hordes of malcontents, and adventurers, and visionary theorists, and religious enthusiasts, each in their turn heralding some new form of spurious patriotism, and each working thereby on the imaginations and feelings of the Irish peasantry—a peasantry naturally generous, moral, religious, and brave, but unstable, alas, as water, and pliable as the reed that is shaken by the wind. Nor is this all—for contending political parties in our own Imperial Parliament have not seldom aggravated these complications by bidding for the Irish vote, and by making weak concessions for party ends to the popular clamour. Again and again have we thought that at last we had reached the beginning of better days. Again and again we have been bitterly disappointed.

The present phase of agitation cannot be regarded as less formidable than its predecessors. It has not, perhaps, been attended with such dangerous and widespread outbreaks of violence as have characterized some former seasons of disturbance; but it has been marked by individual deeds of cowardice and brutality, the very thought of which makes the blood run cold. Above all, it has been the means of disseminating principles that cut at the root of all probity and morality. The master-principle of the movement, in short, is *Communism*, and the master-motive whereby its adherents are gained over to its ranks is *cupidity*.<sup>1</sup>

Into the political principles which connect themselves with such a subject the Bishop did "not invite" his listeners to enter. But the events which he had been describing involve something more than merely political issues. They concern the fundamental principles of religion and morality. They affect, moreover, most nearly the interests of the Church—not merely her financial security, but her spiritual obligations towards the country.

In the presence of such a crisis, his Lordship remarks, it is well to look first for some encouragements, some special reasons for thankfulness:—

Had we been called upon to face a land-league agitation at the time when our clergy, as ministers of a State-protected Church, received their

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<sup>1</sup> We may be excused for referring, in regard to this matter, to the articles in these columns (*THE CHURCHMAN*, vol. iii.).

tithe from the poor, or even when they drew their tithe-rentcharge from landlords, some of them in very needy circumstances, how intolerable would have been our position, both as regards the obloquy and outrage we should have had to endure, and the cruel straits to which we should have been inevitably reduced. Now, however, the very disaster which seemed most to threaten our downfall, has been overruled for our good. Our separation from the State has taken away one at least of the handles whereby our enemies were wont to bring us into disrepute; and our dissociation from all connection with the land, whether as receivers of tithe or rentcharge, has saved us from those fresh complications which an agitation such as the present would at that time have brought about. Time, too, has been given us to complete our financial organization before being confronted by the present distress.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, the Bishop touches upon special incentives to action. The Church of Rome has allied herself for the purpose of what seemed an immediate advantage with a Radical contingent, which will go far, in the opinion of many, to involve her in ultimate ruin:—

Her priests, with some noble exceptions, have held out brotherly hands from time to time to a motley crowd of agitators, who laugh to scorn the fundamental principle of "obedience to authority" that underlies her whole system, and, as a natural result, many of her people have gradually become enamoured of that very spirit of communism, which, upon the Continent, is at the present time being used to humble her to the very dust.

The Church of Rome has raised a spectre, and will find it hard to lay it.

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<sup>1</sup> In a preface to his Charge, Lord Plunket points out that the advantages to which he had referred, as following in the train of disestablishment, consisted in their extrication from certain difficulties attendant on a form of agrarian and ultramontane agitation peculiar to Ireland. He says:—

"In addressing the clergy of my diocese I felt myself bound in honesty to recognise certain advantages that have, in my opinion, accrued to our Church, by reason of her separation from the State. These advantages I look upon as very real gains; and I am willing to go further, and avow my conviction, that in balancing the gains and losses of disestablishment, the gain to our Church on the whole will be found to outweigh the loss. But while so saying, I do not wish it to be supposed for a moment that I therefore regard our disestablishment as having been an unmixed blessing. On the contrary, it was just because I painfully realized the many discouragements which disestablishment had brought in its train, that I deemed it right to call the attention of my fellow-Churchmen to some of the encouragements which should be placed in the opposite scale. That we have much to dishearten us cannot be denied. Notwithstanding every effort, our Church has not as yet been able to make adequate provision for the support of her ministry. The income that can be offered to a clergyman is miserably small, and, what is worse, it depends mainly upon the precarious, and at times capricious, church-offerings of his parishioners. It follows of necessity that the independence of a clergyman's position is often seriously imperilled, and his means not seldom cruelly straitened. Nor has he now, as in former days, a reasonable prospect of some better provision for his declining years."

The coalition between the Ultramontane and the Radical element in Ireland cannot long endure. Churchmen may well be assured that God has a special work for them to do in the land; and a stirring watchword is given them by the Bishop: "Hold the fort!" Let not the pastor who has the charge of but a few sheep in the wilderness think his labours thrown away. Every parish is a post of honour given by God. "These isolated lights shining in dark places are witnesses for Him, and He has entrusted to our Church the solemn responsibility and the honourable duty of seeing that they shall not be extinguished. Every church throughout the land wherein the pure doctrines of our Church are taught, and the means of grace duly provided, is a centre around which our own people can rally and find safety from the snares of surrounding error. They are centres, too, wherein the evangelist can sally forth and spread the truth in the regions round about.

"The duty of endeavouring to win over our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen," continues the Bishop, "should engage our prayerful attention more than ever at the present emergency:—

"I do not mean," says the Bishop, "that this season of distraction and turbulence is one, in which, humanly speaking, such efforts are likely to be attended with immediate fruits. But if it be the case that a change in the religious feelings of the Irish peasantry, such as I have ventured to foreshadow, is impending in the future, if a spirit is beginning even already to manifest itself which, in its further developments, may tend to shake the allegiance of many to the Church of Rome, and if the danger then to be feared will be lest not a few, repelled by the pretensions and the dogmas of Vaticanism, may be tempted to rush headlong to the brink of infidelity, how important it is that their minds should have been accustomed beforehand to a knowledge of the fact that there is an alternative to adopt, a more excellent way to follow; that there is an ancient Church in this land which traces her lineage to the times of St. Patrick and St. Columba; a Church which for seven centuries from that date was untrammelled by any foreign yoke until the fatal day when, at the Synod of Cashel, Ireland's Ecclesiastical and National Independence was surrendered to an English invader armed with the authority of a Papal Bull; a Church within whose bosom her sons can enjoy to the full that liberty of conscience and judgment to which God invites them, without, at the same time, renouncing their obedience to Him Whose service is perfect freedom; a Church which disowns and rejects all that is new and false in systems of man's invention, without at the same time breaking loose from all that is old and true in the traditions of the past; a Church which takes Holy Scripture for her only rule of faith, the Holy Spirit for her only Interpreter and Guide, and Christ Jesus for her only Head! It is, I say, of vital importance that the claims and history of this Church, even of the Church to which, through God's mercy, it is your privilege and mine, brethren, to belong, should be continually kept before the eyes of our Roman Catholic fellow-Christians; and, above all, that no oppor-

tunity should be lost of circulating throughout the length and breadth of this land that Holy Bible to which our Church fearlessly appeals as witnessing the purity of her faith, and which she believes is able to make wise unto salvation all those who are only willing to receive its message into their hearts !

In taking leave of this vigorous and timely Charge, which we earnestly commend to the consideration of all who, like ourselves, are keenly interested in the welfare of the Church of Ireland, the true Church of St. Patrick, we venture to assure the most reverend Prelate that his words will be read on this side the Channel with sincere sympathy and the heartiest good wishes. In the midst of discouragements and difficulties, the Churchmen of Ireland have done, these last twelve years, right noble work. According to Lord Plunket's watchword—"*Hold the Fort*"—may they still hopefully labour, in the love of Christ, "for their Country and their Church."



#### ART VI.—CATHEDRAL STATUTES.

THE lamented death of the Archbishop of Canterbury has not only removed from the Church of England a ruler of rare judgment and ability, who long ago gained the confidence and the affections of the vast majority of Churchmen in this country, but it has also deprived the Cathedral Commission of a Chairman whose well-balanced and judicial mind was greatly needed among a body already materially weakened by the death of Sir Henry Jackson and by the resignation of Lord Coleridge.

We cannot conceal from ourselves that it is no easy matter for the Prime Minister to select, from the Episcopal Bench, a successor to Archbishop Tait, who has been incomparably the ablest and the most trusted Primate within the memory of the present generation.

An inquiry into the state of the cathedral churches in England and Wales is no novelty. In November, 1852, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the subject, and the Commissioners reported at great length in 1854 and 1855. Some of the recommendations contained in their three Reports have been embodied in legislation ; but much more remains to be done before we can clear away the dust and the cobwebs of ages, which now obscure and impede the utility of those grand foundations that form so prominent a feature in our ecclesiastical system.

The first Commission to inquire into the state of the Esta-

blished Church, with reference to ecclesiastical duties and revenues, was appointed by letters patent during the ministry of Sir Robert Peel, on February 4th, 1835, with special reference to the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales; to the amount of their revenues and the more equal distribution of Episcopal duties; to the abolition of commendams and to the state of the cathedrals and collegiate churches, with a view to the suggestion of such measures as might render them most conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church, and make better provision for the cure of souls with reference to the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices. The Royal Commissioners set to work in good earnest upon the first branch of the inquiry, and applied themselves so zealously to its investigation that, on March 17th, 1835, they presented to his Majesty King William the Fourth a full and ably-drawn report on the territory, revenue and patronage attached to the several dioceses in England and Wales. This first report, containing their suggestions and recommendations, was laid before Parliament and was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on March 19th, 1835. The Commission was renewed in the same terms on June 6th, 1835, after a change of government consequent upon the accession of Lord Melbourne to office, and three several reports were made to his Majesty on March 4th, May 20th, and June 24th, 1836.

The second report deals more especially with cathedrals and collegiate churches, with the residence of the clergy, and with pluralities. The third report contains important proposals for the appointment of Commissioners by Parliament, who should prepare and lay before the King in Council schemes for carrying into effect the recommendations of the Royal Commissioners, and for empowering the King in Council to make orders ratifying such schemes and having the full force of law. The final report contains some further propositions and modifications of the former reports, and deals with the remaining parts of the inquiry. The nature and extent of those recommendations are so well known as to render it superfluous to advert further to them than to remind our readers that the greater portion will be found embodied in the Act of 6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 77, passed August 13th, 1836, under which the new Bishoprics of Manchester and Ripon were founded; and the existing dioceses were completely remodelled by a new adjustment of the revenues and patronage of each see, and by extending or curtailing the parishes and counties theretofore subject to their spiritual jurisdiction; and the "Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England and Wales" were created as a body politic and corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal, and with power to prepare and lay before the King in

Council schemes for carrying into effect their recommendations.

We have dwelt somewhat at length upon the labours and industry of the Royal Commissioners of 1835, before directing the attention of our readers to the first report of the Commissioners appointed in 1879 and 1880, for inquiring into the condition of the cathedral churches in England and Wales, which now lies before us, in consequence of the deep feeling of disappointment with which we have received the result of their labours so far as her Majesty's Commissioners have been pleased to communicate them to the public. In their brief report of little more than two pages, the Commissioners announce with remarkable complacency, that they have held sixty-two meetings in a space of thirty-one months, while they hold out a promise that the more important communications that have been made to them will be appended to a future report.

On turning to the recommendations themselves, we find that the Commissioners consider that the only satisfactory way of expressing those recommendations, is to embody the same in the form of suggested statutes, which either have been, or are to be, prepared and drafted by the Dean and representative Canon of each cathedral in accordance with the resolutions at which the Commissioners may in each particular case have arrived. The suggested statutes of twenty-nine cathedrals are announced to be in course of preparation; but, although the report is dated February 8th 1882, none of them had seen the light at the time when Parliament was prorogued; though in reply to a question addressed to the Government in the House of Commons on November 20th, Mr. Courtney, Secretary to the Treasury, stated that "Eight of these reports are nearly completed, and are expected to be presented before the end of the year, and there will be no avoidable delay in the completion of the remainder."

One of the objects aimed at by the Commissioners of 1835, was to introduce order and uniformity in the cathedral foundations; but we entertain grave doubts whether the Royal Commissioners are treading closely in the steps of their distinguished predecessors, as they intimate that while following certain general principles, which in their judgment ought to characterize all cathedral foundations, they have striven to avoid everything that might savour of a forced and unnatural uniformity. These are vague words, which require further elucidation than is afforded by the first report presented to her Majesty. The main, we might almost say the sole, object of this report is to recommend a novel mode of legislation in

respect to Cathedral Statutes, of so startling a nature that we must quote the words of the report itself :

We recommend that your Majesty be empowered by legislation to appoint a Committee of Privy Council for Cathedral Purposes, such Committee to have the duty of approving Cathedral Statutes, and of sanctioning amendments when required, and to consist of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, and the following persons, being members of the Church of England : the Lord President, the Lord Chancellor, and two other members of the Privy Council.

In the case of new statutes, suggested by your Majesty's Commissioners, we recommend that the Committee of Privy Council for Cathedral Purposes be authorized to examine and approve, or, if they see fit, amend them, and that such statutes having obtained your Majesty's sanction, have the force of law.

We recommend further, that the Dean and Chapter of any cathedral should have the power of submitting at any time a new or amended statute to the visitor for his approval, and of submitting a statute so approved to your Majesty in Council ; the statute when sanctioned by your Majesty, on the advice of the Cathedral Committee, to become a statute of the cathedral.

We humbly recommend that for the establishment of the proposed Committee of the Privy Council for Cathedral Purposes with the powers indicated, application should be made to Parliament as soon as conveniently may be.

The report was speedily followed by the introduction of the Cathedral Statutes Amendment Bill into the House of Lords, on May 19th, by the Archbishop of Canterbury as Chairman of the Commission. The Bill embodied the above-mentioned recommendations of the Commissioners, increasing, however, the number of Privy Councillors other than those specifically mentioned from two to four, and provided a scheme whereby the Cathedral Statutes might be varied and modified from time to time by the hybrid committee recommended in the report itself.

It was scarcely to be expected that so startling and, as we venture to think, so unnecessary an innovation in the mode of procedure should pass through the House of Lords without challenge and without protest. The Bishop of Exeter in moving the rejection of the Bill characterized it as mischievous and unnecessary, while he considered that to pass a bill of such a nature would be to "legislate in the dark." Neither the Bill itself, nor the report—probably the most meagre that ever issued from a Royal Commission after sitting for two years and a half—gave any adequate idea of the suggested schemes. Yet in the absence of all the information that had been laid before the Commission, the Legislature was asked to hand over the cathedrals to these two irresponsible bodies ; one being the Royal Commissioners, and the other a Committee of



the Privy Council, to be specially appointed for the purpose of giving the force of law to the statutes submitted to them by the Commissioners in the first instance, and after the expiration of the Commission by the Deans and Chapters with the approval of the Bishop. Lord Cranworth, as one of the Commissioners, defended the Bill, and intimated that opportunities would be given for the fullest discussion, while the machinery of the Bill would bring everything to light.

The mode of procedure proposed in the Bill does not commend itself to our judgment, and, we venture to think, is not calculated to give satisfaction to Churchmen generally. It savours too much of hole-and-corner legislation. The appointment of the four unnamed members of the Privy Council rests entirely, as does the appointment of the Commissioners, with the Prime Minister, while no safeguard is provided that the Cathedral Committee of Privy Council shall be fairly representative of the Established Church, beyond the provision that its members shall belong to the Church of England. But we hold that such a Committee is wholly unnecessary, and is calculated to lead to disunion and to engender uneasiness rather than to remove them. Is it reasonable that Parliament should be asked to hand over our cathedrals and everything connected with them to Commissioners who have taken the extraordinary course of withholding from Parliament the important information, which they admit that they have received on the subject, until the controlling and enacting power has been finally transferred to a body one half of whom are not even named in the Bill? If legislation be required, it should take place in the light with the fullest information and the most thorough discussion after the separate reports have been presented to Parliament.

The so-called safeguards provided in the Bill of last session for ensuring an opportunity of discussing the suggested schemes have hitherto proved, so far as the House of Commons is concerned, to be no safeguards at all. For, although it is provided that the draft statutes shall lie on the table in both Houses of Parliament for twelve weeks, before they are submitted to her Majesty for approval, it is well known that a private member has little chance of being able to bring on a subject of that nature in the House of Commons at an hour when discussion is possible.

It is to be hoped that before another Bill is introduced the reports on most of the cathedrals will have been published, and that something more than the vague statement of general principles, which the Commissioners enunciate in their first report, will have been submitted to her Majesty, so as to enable the outside world to form a judgment upon the result

of the labours of a Commission which came into existence in 1879. To illustrate the full force of the Bishop of Exeter's remark, that to pass such a Bill would be to legislate in the dark, we would call attention to the proposal of the Commissioners to permit due flexibility in the ordering of the cathedral services, to suggest arrangements for ensuring, as far as possible, that the cathedral pulpit shall be occupied by the most able preachers that can be found in the diocese or out of the diocese, and to lay down rules which shall reserve to the Bishop suitable rights and privileges in relation to the cathedral. Excellent and desirable as all these objects are in themselves, they are capable of being treated in such a way that not only the ruling body of the cathedral, but the whole diocese, might be laid by the ears, and irreparable mischief ensue to the Church.

One recommendation of the Commissioners commends itself to our judgment, as we venture to think it will to that of most Churchmen. It seems to us highly desirable that members of capitular bodies should identify themselves more closely with the diocese, and that their term of residence should, as far as possible, be extended to eight or nine months, and that they should not hold preferment that would be inconsistent with the regular performance of diocesan duties. We hope the time is fast approaching when a truer perception of the duties of capitular bodies will be forced by public opinion upon our rulers, when high appointments in the Church will cease to bear a political aspect, and when Deans and Canons will be found, as, thank God, many have been found, devoting themselves heart and soul to the great central work, which it behoves the Established Church to carry on in every large town and city throughout the kingdom. This is indeed a reform which would give renewed strength and vitality to our cathedral bodies: but unless a happy change comes over some of the easy-going members of those bodies, and unless by their own inception or by the recommendations of the Commissioners they hasten to reform themselves, their days will be numbered.

One change of a somewhat startling nature we should not regret to see accomplished, namely, that the office of Dean should be merged in that of the Bishop, and that the latter should become the Dean of his cathedral church, while the emoluments arising from an office which in too many instances is regarded almost as a sinecure, might be transferred partly to a fund for the creation of new sees where such are still needed, and partly to the common fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for making better provision for the cure of souls in populous districts.

The fate of the Cathedral Statutes Bill in the House of Commons was never in doubt. It reached that House on the 10th of July, and was entrusted to the charge of Mr. Beresford Hope, who is also a member of the Royal Commission. The second reading was moved by him on the 15th of August, immediately before the adjournment for the holidays, in a brief and half-hearted speech, delivered in more solemn tones than the right honourable gentleman is wont to use in that august assembly, where his quaint eloquence and "Batavian grace" have been immortalized by the late Mr. Disraeli. Nothing in the nature of a debate took place; the supporters of the Bill fled; and before half-past twelve o'clock the House was counted out, and the Bill became a dropped order.

In conclusion, we would respectfully urge the Commissioners to take the public as well as the two Houses of the Legislature a little more into their confidence, for, notwithstanding the assurance given by them that publicity will eventually be given to their schemes, we think we have a right to complain that nothing more than the very faintest glimmering of light is vouchsafed in their report as to the suggested schemes. Nor can they be surprised that the fullest information is desired at a time when the Legislature is asked to create a new machinery for manufacturing cathedral statutes by the aid of two co-existent but distinct bodies with correlative duties, who, by their joint action, are to give them vitality and eventually the force of law.

C. J. MONK.



## Short Notices.

*The Teacher's Prayer Book.* Being the Book of Common Prayer, with introduction, analyses, and notes. By ALFRED BARRY, D.D., D.C.L., Principal of King's College, Canon of Westminster, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. Eyre & Spottiswoode.

**T**HIS work consists of the Prayer Book interleaved. The design is excellent, and the plan most convenient. The reader at once finds the notes and comments in *juxtaposition* with the portions of the Prayer Book to which they refer.

The author sets forth his object in the preface: it is "to supply to Churchmen, and especially to those who have to give religious teaching, some knowledge of the origin, the principles, and the substance of the Prayer Book which they are continually using, and which perhaps through that familiarity is apt to be imperfectly understood." He has "not therefore thought it necessary to encumber its pages and embarrass its readers with quotations from authorities," although, as he says, he has made use of the many excellent works, ancient and modern, on the Prayer Book itself and on Christian antiquities, which are now within the reach of the student,

and embodied in the book the results of the study and reading of some years.

The work has evidently been prepared with great care, and with an honest endeavour to state the facts of the case. We need hardly say that the author is a loyal Churchman, and well qualified by his learning and ability to fulfil his object.

The general introduction gives a valuable history of the Prayer Book, and of its revisions and sources.

We regret that we have to differ with Canon Barry, when he states that the revision of 1552 was "pressed on by the Crown, influenced by some foreign reformers of the growing Calvinistic school, *against the advice of Cranmer* and his chief colleagues in the Episcopate." It is true that Calvin wrote to the King and the Protector on the importance of progressing in the work of reformation, but it is equally true that Cranmer took a leading part in the advance. In fact, Cranmer informed Calvin that "he could not do anything more profitable than to write often to the King." Cranmer, far from being jealous of the advice of the foreign Reformers, anxiously sought their opinion and co-operation. He invited Bucer and Martyr, and others, to assist in the work of reformation. Archbishop Parker, who was no friend of Puritanism, states the fact as follows :

"Archbishop Cranmer, that he might strengthen the evangelical doctrine in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, from which an infinite number of teachers go forth for the instruction of the whole kingdom, *called into England* the most celebrated divines from foreign nations." He adds that he liberally maintained them, with their wives and children.—*Antiquitat. Britann.*, p. 508, ed. 1729.

Bucer having declined the first invitation, Cranmer wrote to him a second time, urging him in earnest terms : "Come therefore to us, and give yourself to us as a labourer in the Lord's vineyard."\* But while Cranmer in the revision of 1552 lent a ready ear to the suggestions of the continental divines, he exercised his own judgment and rejected some of their proposals. Cardwell having remarked that Bucer's advice was not taken in every instance, continues as follows :

"For instance, in Bucer's 'Censura,' in the 'Scripta Anglicana,' p. 467. In the Prayer for the Church Militant was a prayer for the dead ; he recommends the omission of it, and proposes other words in its place ; the prayer for the dead was omitted, but Bucer's proposition was not adopted (p. 468). He wishes the oblatory clause to be altered, and proposes a form for the purpose ; the clause was omitted, but Bucer's form was not adopted."—*The Two Liturgies, preface*, 1841.

Bucer recommended with earnest entreaty that the words of address in Communion—"The body of our Lord Jesus Christ," etc.—should be retained. But his advice was not taken in this matter.

Cranmer was so completely identified with the book of 1552 that, on the accession of Queen Mary, he published a manifesto, in which, while he denounced the Mass as blasphemous, he undertook "to prove against all that will say to the contrary" that "the Communion Book set forth by the most innocent and Godly Prince, King Edward VI., in his High Court of Parliament, is conformable to the order which our Saviour Christ did both observe and command to be observed."†

The author of the "Teacher's Prayer Book" divides "the Festivals of the Church" into the "red-letter" and "black-letter" days, the former relating to Scriptural saints, and the latter relating to others who were supposed to have attained eminence in the faith. Wheatley, who had no tendency to Puritanism in any shape, designates the latter as "*Romish Saints' Days and Holidays*." He states, and in this Nicholls concurs

\* Strype's 'Memor., Appendix,' No. xliii. † 'Memorials of Cranmer,' Strype, p. 437.

credit on all concerned in it. Three volumes have been reviewed in these columns. Now that we have received the fourth and concluding volume, we are able only to repeat our praise, and, regarding the Dictionary as a whole, to strongly recommend it as "complete" in the richest sense, thoroughly trustworthy, and showing everywhere all through the most painstaking diligence, great good judgment, and rare literary power. We have tested this work in several ways. We have tried it with Dryden, and Shakespeare, and Goldsmith, and Hooker; with the Prayer Book and the Bible, and, month after month, with the *Lancet*. In no instance have we been disappointed. Turning from the pages of the Dictionary, we have looked into old authors, from whom sentences in illustration have been given; and in no instance have we observed the slightest inexactitude. There may be, no doubt, a few mistakes, but we have not found any. In a Supplement appear additional words and additional meanings, mainly scientific. An Appendix contains pronouncing vocabularies of ancient names, of modern geographical names, etc., etc. Of the illustrations we can write in unstinted praise; they add much to the interest and the helpfulness of the work. The printing—in good clear type—is wonderfully well done. Lastly, considering how much information this Imperial Dictionary supplies, it is remarkably cheap.

"Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools."—*The Gospel according to St. John*. By the Rev. A. PLUMMER, M.A., D.D., Master of University College, Durham. Pp. 380. Cambridge University Publishing Warehouse, 17, Paternoster Row.

The Commentary in this volume, which we find under the head of "Notes," is a really good one, and if judged according to what it professes to be, it will stand comparison with the work of any Commentator of the day. The ably-written Introduction, so far as we have read, is sound and satisfactory. The Notes—we have read many pages of them—are really good, as we have said; they are suggestive, scholarly, and sound. Here and there, however, we should like to insert, in an evangelical sense, a qualifying remark. For instance, on iii. 5, the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration is, apparently, laid down with positiveness. Dr. Plummer says: "The outward sign and inward grace of baptism are *here* clearly given." We have italicized the word "*here*," because, to tell the truth, we do not understand it. Does he teach that every infant (or adult) who is baptized, is actually "*born of water and the Spirit*"? Again, we should be glad to see, in a book "*for Schools*," the truths of Inspiration set forth more firmly. Once more, it may be from lack of sweetness and light, but we fail to see why Mr. Matthew Arnold, or Cardinal Newman, or the author of *Ecce Homo* should be quoted; we are sure that Dr. Plummer could express in his own words, tersely and with force, all that was necessary to be said.

In his exposition of vi. 26—58, Dr. Plummer shows clearly that our Lord's reference was "not exclusively, nor even directly, to the Eucharist." He quotes from Dr. Westcott, whose observations (in the "Speaker's Commentary") have seemed to us unanswerable; and he sums up by stating that the "primary reference is to Christ's propitiatory death," and the secondary reference is to *all* those means by which the death of Christ is appropriated. Dr. Plummer remarks, we may add, that in all places where the Eucharist is mentioned in the New Testament we have *σῶμα*, not *σάρξ* (Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24 *et seq.*). In John vi, the Saviour says *ἡ σὰρξ μου*, "my flesh is meat indeed . . .," and so all through His discourse.

*Recent Expeditions to Eastern Polar Seas.* T. Nelson & Sons.

In this attractive little volume, which has twelve engravings and two charts, appears a well-written account (1) of the Voyage of the *Hansa* and *Germania* in 1868, (2) of the Voyage of the *Tegethoff* in 1872. The narrative, in each case, is full of interest. This is a capital gift-book for boys, and deserves a place in every parish and lending library.

*Gesta Christi.* A History of Humane Progress under Christianity. By C. LORING BRACE, author of "Races of the Old World," "Dangerous Classes of New York," etc. Pp. 480. Hodder and Stoughton.

The author of this book, says the preface, has been engaged for some thirty years in a practical application of the principles of Christianity, with the view of curing certain great social evils in the city of New York. He has also been a student of the Roman Period and of the Middle Ages, particularly with reference to the influence of Christianity on the laws and customs of nations. It is natural, therefore, that he should desire to show the progress of the humane ideas, practices, and rules taught or encouraged by the Christian religion; and he has done well in writing the condensed history now before us. In his preface he touches upon the social customs of the Roman, Middle, and Modern Periods; the position of woman, slavery, marriage, rights and property, education, war, pauperism, the duel, etc., etc.: he seeks to show "the achievements of Christ." Many passages of the book are interesting, and a good deal of information is given. Here and there we cannot follow the author. We do not agree with him, *e.g.*, in his attack upon "Church and State." His account of Buddhism, as we think, is rose-tinted in excess. We cannot accept every sentence in his well-written chapter on Divorce. In regard to divorces in the United States, the statistics will startle some who have not studied this question. "Conviction," he says, "is growing among the most thoughtful persons in the United States, that if a licence in divorce increases, such as has been allowed in a few of the States, the utmost peril threatens the most important interests of society." Quite true. In the State Connecticut, in 1864, there was one divorce to every ten marriages.

*Ralph's Year in Russia.* A Story of Travel and Adventure in Eastern Europe. By R. RICHARDSON, author of "Almost a Hero," etc. Pp. 350. T. Nelson & Sons.

This is a pleasing boys' book of travels. It gives a good deal of information, and the anecdotal adventures are judiciously intermingled, while the illustrations add much to the charm. The river journey ends at Astrakhan.

*Common British Insects.* Selected from the typical Beetles, Moths, and Butterflies of Great Britain. By the Rev. J. G. WOOD, M.A., author of "Homes without hands," "Bible Animals," &c. With 130 figures, by E. A. Smith, engraved by G. Pearson. Pp. 280. Longman, Green & Co.

This is the book of the kind. In the first place, the book is not too big; secondly, the selection is judicious; thirdly, the illustrations are charming; fourthly, the subject is handled in a most interesting manner. We should add that the gilt-edged volume—as to binding, printing, paper, admirable—will prove to many a thoroughly acceptable present. Two or three specimen sentences may be quoted:—

The first genus of the Silphidæ is *necrophorus*, a word which signifies "carrion-bearer," in allusion to the singular habits possessed by all the beetles of this genus. They do not content themselves with merely eating their food, but they

bury it, and then lay their eggs in it, so that it serves not only as a feast for themselves, but as a provision for their future young. In consequence of this habit, they go by the popular name of BURYING, or SEXTON BEETLES. It is a very appropriate name, for there is scarcely any dead animal, or portion of an animal, which they will not contrive to bury; and if it be too large for one beetle, several others will take a share in the work.

They will bury birds, frogs, rabbits, pieces of meat, or anything of a similar kind, and do it with wonderful rapidity; thus rendering a doubly important service, by removing the decaying animal matter from the surface of the earth, and helping to fertilize the ground by burying it below the surface.

*The Fireside Annual*, 1882. Conducted by the Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK, B.D. London: "Home Words" Office.

The leading story in the *Fireside* for 1882 is "Dayspring," by Mrs. Marshall, a tale of the times of Tyndale. Many of the articles are well written, and by well-known men. The extracts, which are numerous, are interesting; some of high value. There are several pleasing illustrations. We gladly recommend this wholesome Annual in its usual bright and tasteful cover.

*Wayside Snowdrop*. By M. E. WINCHESTER, author of "A Nest of Sparrows," "Under the Shield," &c. Seeley.

Miss Winchester's two stories, now so well known, have been, more than once, warmly recommended in these columns. "A Nest of Sparrows" is, in its way, one of the best religious stories we have ever seen; and it is hardly to be wondered at if "Under the Shield" has proved quite as popular. The style is simple, easy and natural; there is literary skill of no mean grade, but the tone is hearty, and the whole book is thoroughly real. The tale before us, in some respects, perhaps, is hardly so successful an effort. Some of the incidents strike us as improbable. Yet the way in which father, mother and child are brought together again, after years of separation, is not an unpleasing variety in story-telling surprises. There are several graphic sketches of the lower working-class life.

*A History of the Jews in Rome*, B.C. 160—A.D. 604. By E. H. HUDSON, author of "The Life and Times of Louisa Queen of Prussia," &c., Pp. 377. Hodder & Stoughton.

A well written and really interesting work. Here and there, as we have read, we have been inclined to say, "This might have been abridged." Nevertheless, on the whole, we cannot say that the book is too big. It gives a great deal of information, and is, as we have said, very readable.

*Our Little Ones*. Illustrated Stories and Poems. Edited by W. T. ADAMS, with 380 original illustrations. Griffith & Farran.

This is a charming volume for little readers. The illustrations are excellent, and the stories—so we are told—are "short and sweet." Altogether, this is a very choice gift-book.

*Mission-Room Addresses* By CHARLES MACKESON, Reader in the parish of St. Saviour, South Hampstead. Pp. 136. George Bell & Sons, York Street, Covent Garden.

Mr. Mackeson is known as the Editor of the "Year Book of the Church," and as an able writer who takes great interest in religious movements. We have heard of his success among the working-classes as a preacher and "Reader;" and from an interesting preface to the little book before us, written by Lord Nelson, we learn how it came to pass

that these "Mission-Room Addresses" were published. We have read a passage here and there with much satisfaction. Mr. Mackeson evidently knows how to speak as well as to write. It is one of the most encouraging signs of the times that laymen are both able and willing to help in doing the Church's work among the working-classes.

*Every Boy's Annual.* Edited by EDMUND ROUTLEDGE, F.R.G.S.

*Every Girl's Annual.* Edited by Miss A. A. LEITH. Geo. Routledge & Sons.

Year after year these favourite Annuals make their appearance, and are welcomed probably by an ever-increasing number of youthful readers. Both volumes for 1882 seem quite up to the usual standard. There are stories, and useful and pleasing papers; the coloured illustrations are exceedingly good.

*The Sunday Magazine*, 1882. Edited by the Rev. BENJAMIN WAUGH. (Isbister & Co.)

Well known among the leading periodicals of its kind, the *Sunday Magazine* seems to keep up to its standard fairly well. In the Annual before us there are many well-written and useful articles. Some of the illustrations are exquisitely beautiful. The tales, by Dr. George MacDonald, and others, we confess we have not read. Handsomely bound and altogether attractive volume.

*Stories from Livy.* By the Rev. ALFRED J. CHURCH, Professor of Latin in University College, London. (Seeley, Jackson & Halliday.)

To two or three volumes of this series attention has been called in our columns. The volume before us is worthy of its predecessors. That Professor Church found a great difficulty in transforming Livy's ornate diction into the simple style he has adopted in these "stories," we can easily understand. But the work has been really well done. The coloured illustrations are, as usual, very attractive.

*Some Experiences of a Barrister's Life.* By Mr. SERJEANT BALLANTINE. New and revised edition. Pp. 473. R. Bentley & Son.

We are not surprised that after five editions of this readable work have been issued, Serjeant Ballantine has offered his "Experiences" in a more convenient and cheaper form. The book has an interest of its own, and many who have never seen or heard the eloquent Serjeant will read it for the sake of the information which its very chatty pages supply of men and manners of the generation now passing away. It is full of anecdotes. We observe with pleasure a strong protest against Vivisection.

*Historic Landmarks in the Christian Centuries.* By R. HEATH. The Religious Tract Society. Pp. 340.

Each "century" a chapter. The idea is a good one and it is fairly worked out; really an interesting book with much useful information. There are eighty-four illustrations. The volume is very tastefully got up, and makes an attractive prize which may be read and thought over as well as looked at.

From Messrs. Ward, Lock & Co., we have received *History of the Reformation*, by MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, translated from the author's latest French edition, a book of 864 pages. The book is well printed, in clear type; it is one of the many serviceable editions—very cheap and handy—of standard works—for which the English reader is indebted to these publishers.



Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have published, as part of their "Clerical Library," *Outlines of Sermons on the Old Testament*. The outlines in this volume are longer than those on the New Testament; they are fuller, and consequently fewer. A large part of this book, says a prefatory note, "is here printed for the first time." Whether the consent of all the preachers was obtained before publication we do not know. In the list of names we observe Dr. Boulton, Deans Bickersteth, Church, and Vaughan, Bishops Magee, Wordsworth, and Basil Jones. Many of the preachers are Nonconformists.

*More Outlines for the Little Ones to Colour*, is one of the very pleasing gift-books published by Messrs. Wells Gardner, Darton & Co. Mr. Pym's pretty pictures are well known. This is a very good shilling's worth.

*Sunny Hours and Pretty Flowers* is one of the many attractive books for which little folks are indebted to Messrs. Dean & Son, 160a, Fleet Street. The verses are simple. As to the pictures, the criticism of children in the nursery, little boys and girls, one and all, will be summed up in the word "Delightful!" Certainly there is a freshness and quaintness about these coloured pictures which gives them a peculiar charm.

*The Pearl of Days* is an excellent little periodical, lively and informing. Issued by the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association, 13, Bedford Row, W.C. It contains many good illustrations. The annual before us is very cheap. It may be mentioned that the yearly volumes for 1881 and 1882 may be had bound together. (S. W. Partridge & Co.)

From Messrs. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., we have received the Second Edition of Dean PLUMPTRE'S *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. This is one volume of Messrs. Cassell's "Commentary for Schools" series.

We heartily recommend *The Day of Days Annual*, vol. xi. ("Home Words" Office). The interesting Magazine called *The Day of Days*, edited as is well known by the Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK, B.D., is wholesome and informing. The Annual is a cheap gift-book.

From the Cambridge University Press Warehouse (17, Paternoster Row) we have received the second portion of the Commentary, by Professor LUMBY, on the Acts of the Apostles, a volume of the well-known series, "The Cambridge Bible for Schools." The first portion of the learned Professor's work was very favourably reviewed in THE CHURCHMAN a year or so ago; and the volume before us seems quite as good as its companion. We venture to suggest that the two parts should be published in one volume. As to the meaning of the word "*began*" ("Jesus began both to do and to teach") we are not quite in agreement with Dr. Lumby. True, the "book of the Acts of the Apostles may be called a history of *beginnings*." But the book has always seemed to us a narrative of what our blessed Lord "*went on doing and teaching*," even as we read (St. Mark xvi. 20), "*they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them.*"

From Messrs. Letts we have received several specimens of their well-known Diaries. (Letts, Son & Co., 33, King William Street.) To mention some of these, we have No. 42, and No. 31, a rough diary or scribbling journal, with a week in an opening; these are the largest size, and have blotting-paper between the pages. *Letts's Diary*, No. 35, No. 26, and No. 13, small size, very handy, very cheap; like the rest, admirably turned out. *Letts's Diary*, No. 8, is a handsome volume, thick paper, 365 pages. *The Clerical Diary* is cheap at two shillings, and the commercial *Tablet Diary* at one shilling. The gem of the whole is No. 20, *Letts's Pocket*

*Diary and Almanack*; this is in fact a pocket-book in miniature and a purse; bound in russia, it is one of the daintiest of useful little books we have ever seen.

We gladly recommend *The Work-a-day World*, by E. WORDSWORTH (Hatchards), "Thoughts for Busy People." Two other good books by the same author may be known to some of our readers, "Thoughts for the Chimney-Corner" and "Short Words for Long Evenings." The titles of the chapters in the earnest effort before us are such as, "A Blind Child," "Is it Catching?" "The Old Man's Garden." For the class of readers to whom some of Bishop Oxenden's admirable little books prove so easy to be understood, these "Thoughts"—homely, affectionate, and deeply devout—may prove very helpful.

*The Teacher's Storehouse* (E. Stock) vol. vii., is a cheap treasury of material for working Sunday-school teachers.

A pleasing gift-book, illustrated, is *Little Foxes that Spoil the Vines* (T. Nelson & Sons): "loving words for little folks;" short and simple; very cheap. From Messrs. Nelson we have also received *The Landseer Series of Picture Books*; four wonderfully cheap books with full-paged coloured plates of Landseer's dogs, horses, &c.

From Messrs. W. H. & L. Collingridge we have received the Annual of *Old Jonathan* (vol. vii., third series); wholesome and cheap. The magazine, illustrated, is well known. From Messrs. Collingridge we have also received *The City Diary*, 1883; a good shilling's-worth.

*The Girl's Own Cookery Book*, by PHILLIS BROWNE ("The Girl's Own Paper" Office), is intended to fill the place of a guide, or key, to cookery. The little book, which we hear is a very good one, has a preface by Sir J. R. Bennett, M.D.

*The Christian Remembrancer* (Suttaby & Co., Amen Corner), an old favourite, keeps up its high reputation among good pocket-books.—The first issue of *The Clergyman and Church Worker's Visiting List* (J. Smith & Co., 52, Long Acre) was recommended in *THE CHURCHMAN* last year. We gladly repeat our praise of this handy Pocket Book, well got up in all respects, and very useful. It is a general register and complete record of Church work and workers.

*Little Wide-Awake* (Routledge & Sons), an admirable annual for the smaller boys and girls, is as attractive as usual; the coloured pictures this year are of a novel type.

From Messrs. Marcus Ward and Co. we have received, as usual, some specimens of their charming Cards. It is difficult to apportion praise, particularly where space is limited; but all the cards received by us are good, while some are specially attractive and of high artistic merit.

We are glad to recommend *The Daily Offices and Litany*, a well printed little book, with paper covers. (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co.) By the Rev. EVAN DANIEL, M.A., Principal of the National Society's Training College, Battersea. The store of books of this kind is scanty. Canon Daniel has done a good work well. His expositions are clear, succinct, and sufficiently full. Once or twice, as we read, a sentence seems to us not called for.

A pleasing story is *The Children of Abbotmuir Manse*. (Nelson & Sons.) Quiet, interesting, and wholesome.

Many readers of really good tales will gladly welcome a new work by Miss HOLT (Shaw & Co.), *The Red and White Rose*, well worthy of

ranking with the other volumes of the gifted writer's charming historical-story series.

The December number of *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* contains a thoughtful paper on "The supply and preparation at home and abroad of labourers for Missionary work." By the Rev. F. E. WIGRAM.—In the *Church Sunday School Magazine* appears "Sunday Schools as the Mission Field." Part II. By Mr. EUGENE STOCK.—We very gladly call attention to the publications of the Missionary Leaves Association (5, Tyndale Place, Islington, N.). The monthly periodical, edited by the Rev. R. C. BILLING, *Missionary Leaves*, price one penny, as more than once we have remarked, is well worth reading.—*The Christmas Carillon* is the extra number of *The Girls' Own Paper*. Very cheap.—*Our Little Ones* (Griffith & Farren), is a charming monthly magazine for the younger children, beautifully illustrated.

In the *Foreign Church Chronicle* (Rivington's) appears, as usual, much that is interesting and informing. The reviews in this periodical, as we have before remarked, breathe oftentimes a good Protestant tone. We quote one of the reviews in the present number without abridgment, as follows :—

*Foreign Churches in Relation to the Anglican: an Essay towards Reunion.* By WILLIAM J. E. BENNETT, M.A., Priest of the English Church, Vicar of Frome Selwood, Somerset. (Griffith & Farren, 1882. Pp. 233.)

Mr. Bennett is the author of *The Distinctive Errors of Romanism*. That volume, written forty years ago, showed that the author recognized that there was a difference between the doctrines of the Church of Rome and the Church of England, and that he repudiated the former and held firmly to the latter. From the book lately published we should not gather that he had ever opened his eyes to the facts of the sixteenth century. He argues as though the Churches of Rome, Greece, and England were identical in their doctrine, and, on that hypothesis, maintains that all English Churchmen in Roman Catholic dioceses ought to attend the worship of the Roman Church, while a mild suggestion is thrown out to "our dear Roman Catholic brethren," that they, in like manner, should attend the worship of the Church of England. It is idle to refute a proposal which subordinates truth to order, and orthodoxy to peace, and is founded upon an assumption which is demonstrably false.

We notice that Mr. Bennett proposes to "sanctify what has been said by the words of Bishop Andrewes," and thereupon he quotes the prayer for the Catholic Church: "for the Eastern, its deliverance and union, for the Western, its adjustment and peace." Those are Dr. Newman's words, not Bishop Andrewes'. Bishop Andrewes wrote: "Pro Ecclesia, ut stabiliatur, adaugeatur: Orientali, ut liberetur, adunetur: Occidentali, ut restitatur, pacifice agat." If those latter words had been translated, as they ought to have been translated, "for the Western, that it may be reformed and cease its aggressions," Bishop Andrewes' sentiments would not have been misrepresented to the many men and women who have used his *Private Devotions*, and have been misled by a mistranslation. Mr. Bennett quotes Mr. Oxenham's *Eirenicon of the Eighteenth Century* as though it were a genuine publication of an Anglican Churchman, instead of the pious fraud of a Papist.

One of the best of good gift-books this season is *Belt and Spur*. (Seeley's.) "Stories of the Knights of the Middle Ages from the Old Chronicles," with 16 illustrations. These stories are told as the chronicler tells them, sometimes in an abridged form, but as far as possible in the spirit and style of the original. The deeds of the Scottish Knights in the reign of Edward III. are related by Jean le Bel, whose writings were so largely used by Froissart, and the "Jousts of St. Ingelberth," are related by Froissart himself. Some of the stories, again, are taken from rhyming chronicles or historical poems. The illustrations are mainly adapted from

illuminated manuscripts in the British Museum. *Belt and Spur* is a very attractive volume.

We have received from the Religious Tract Society the volumes for 1882 of the *Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home*. Month by month some allusion to these valuable periodicals appears in THE CHURCHMAN, and our notice of the Annuals, therefore, need not be long. Better, fuller, cheaper volumes for our parish and lending libraries cannot be had. In the present writer's own parish a loan of the *Leisure Hour* or of the *Sunday at Home* is always acceptable. To lend the volumes is to do a really good work.—We also gladly recommend the Annuals of the *Children's Prize* and the *Cottager and Artizan*.

*The Holy Land*. After lithographs by Louis Haghe, from original drawings by DAVID ROBERTS, R.A., with historical descriptions by the Rev. GEORGE CROLY, LL.D. Division II. The Jordan and Bethlehem. (Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.)

The first portion of this splendid work was warmly recommended in THE CHURCHMAN a year ago. With the second volume before us we gladly repeat our commendation. The work is, indeed, an excellent one, view it how one may, and merits hearty praise. Of the printing, paper, binding, as well as of the plates, it is enough to say that we have here a very beautifully-finished volume, an ornament for a drawing room table. It is a really good gift-book, moreover, as interesting and instructive as it is attractive; just now particularly welcome.

Several volumes have reached us too late for notice in the January CHURCHMAN.—Messrs. Bemrose & Sons' Calendars (*Daily and Scripture*) are good.—The Religious Tract Society has published some cheap and pretty New Year's Cards.—A brief notice must be given of *Cassell's Family Magazine*; the Annual for 1882. This is a handsome volume, and full, as usual, of very interesting matter. Many of the illustrations are charming; artistic, and very pretty.—For the fireside circle there is not, we think, a more attractive periodical than this. The Tales appear to be really good.—A review of that remarkable book *The Merv Oasis* is unavoidably postponed.

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## THE MONTH.

### THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE tidings of the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury were received with sincere regret in every parish throughout the land. The lingering hope of a partial recovery had been dissipated by the return of severe symptoms during the trying weather of the previous fortnight, and the reports of gradually growing weakness indicated that the end was drawing near. Early in the morning of the first Sunday in Advent, the ecclesiastical anniversary of his wife's death, the Archbishop fell into a quiet sleep, and, sleeping, died.

It was on the 3rd of December when Archibald Campbell Tait, the honoured and beloved Primate of all England, passed away, in the seventy-second year of his age.

On the following day, Monday the 4th, the New Law Courts were opened by Her Majesty the Queen. *The Court Circular* contained the following:—

The Queen received early this morning the sad though not unexpected intelligence of the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for whom Her Majesty entertained the greatest respect and a sincere affection.

This event has deeply grieved the Queen, who would have wished to mark her sense of the Archbishop's loss by postponing her visit to the Royal Courts of Justice; but as all the arrangements have been completed for the ceremony, and as a postponement would cause serious inconvenience, Her Majesty has decided on making no change in the proceedings of to-morrow.

The story of the last few days of the Archbishop's illness was not one of severe suffering. The sands of life ran slowly out; the remarkable vitality of his constitution, indeed, was shown in the slowness of his passing away. At any moment of restlessness, if one of his daughters or his son-in-law, Mr. Davidson (his Chaplain), or the Bishop of Dover, asked if they should say a prayer, he would say "Yes," and as soon as one began to pray he became quiet. The repetition of a hymn, again, had a quieting effect, and he would join in the saying of the hymn.

*The Times* says:—

He would join in the little services. When on Friday he felt that he was dying, he said, "What day is it?" Some one answered, "The 1st of December." The Archbishop remarked, "The very day poor Catherine died," referring to his wife, who died on that day four years ago. "We shall soon meet." It is, however, noteworthy as evidence of something more than a coincidence of dates, that he never looked on the anniversary of her death as the 1st of December, but as Advent Sunday. Almost his last connected sentence showed his thoughtfulness for others. He thanked Dr. Carpenter for his care and kindness, and added, "I am so sorry not to have put your old coachman into the Whitgift College. I did hope to put him there;" this being an institution founded by Archbishop Whitgift partly for his servants and partly for some of the inhabitants of Croydon. At the commencement of his illness, the spirit of devotion to his duty, which was a marked characteristic of his life, impelled him to go to Osborne to confirm the sons of the Prince of Wales in August last, against the strongly expressed opinion of his medical adviser. "It is the last thing I shall do for the Queen," he said, "and I mean to do it." He caught cold, and the attack of inflammation of the lungs which came on was the beginning of his last illness.

By the death of the Primate, says *The Times*, the Church

of England, as well as the whole Anglican community scattered throughout the world, has lost something more than a titular chief:—

It has lost the example of a genial and lofty character united to the mature powers of a keen and cultivated intellect; it has lost the leadership of one who was untiring in all good works, comprehensive in charity, tolerant in opinion, and singularly fair to all opponents; above all, it has lost the guidance of a firm and temperate judgment, never vehement, never hasty, and very seldom at fault, such as is oftener, perhaps, associated with eminence in civil affairs than with the Primacy of the Anglican Communion. Dr. Tait will long be remembered as a worthy occupant of the archiepiscopal throne, not because he magnified his office, but because he administered it with unfailing good sense, never pandering to ecclesiastical pride, and always striving to infuse his own *mitis sapientia* and judicial moderation into the government of the Church.

A practical test of ability and greatness, says *The Guardian*, is influence on others. "It is not the highest, but, so far as it goes, it is a criterion. Judged by this measure, Archbishop Tait was a considerable power in the Church of England. No Archbishop for many generations has had such command of his Bishops, and certainly no Primate has been so largely accepted by the laity as the representative of the clergy to them, and as their exponent in the House of Lords. Indeed he was, above all his obligatory functions, the advocate of the laity."<sup>1</sup> Were the clergy not jealous of the Archbishop's power? *The Guardian* asks this question, and adds:—

While the country is indebted to the Archbishop for the timely use of peremptory action, by which at intervals he made the clergyman feel that the Church is not his, nor the congregation's which may acquiesce in his particular views, and that the Liturgy is not a private office-book for a select confraternity, but the Book of Common Prayer for the use of the Church of England, there is no use in disguising the fact that the Primate is asserted by the clergy to have miscalculated their position and underrated the worth of their claims.

Certainly among the clergy of the Evangelical School there was no "jealousy" of the great Archbishop.

*The Record* says:—

From the time when as Senior Tutor of Baliol he promoted and signed the "Four Tutors'" remonstrance against Tract XC. until the other day when he wrote his recently published article on Mr. Mozley's Oxford Reminiscences, Dr. Tait has been the avowed and on the whole the con-

<sup>1</sup> The man he praised loudest, says *The Guardian*, was Dr. Arnold, and the explanation of this is not his conversion to any view or theory originating with that singular reformer, so much as genuine love for the form and colour of Christianity represented in the great schoolmaster's life and work, and entire sympathy with his undogmatic and non-clerical estimate of the Church.

sistent opponent of High Church principles. His masculine mind revolted against the narrow antiquarian lines within which it was sought to confine the Church of Christ, and both as a writer and an ecclesiastical ruler he fought against the inroads of Tractarianism and Ritualism.<sup>1</sup>

Seldom has London seen a more magnificent pageant than that of Monday, the 4th, when the Royal Courts of Justice were formally opened by the Queen. All the judges drove in state from Westminster. All England, it is said, was there by representation:—

While the princes, the judges, and other illustrious personages were on their way to the Courts, the Queen was approaching by way of Hyde Park and Constitutional Hill the thoroughfares in which a truly popular demonstration of loyalty awaited her. . . . The cheering of the multitude continued unceasingly until Her Majesty had passed out of sight into the Great Hall of the Courts of Justice.

Parliament was prorogued on the 2nd to the 15th of February. During the five weeks of the supplementary portion of the Session, the House of Commons confined its attention almost exclusively to the one object of its assembling—the Rules of Procedure.

The condition of Ireland, in regard to crime, seems somewhat less serious.

Arabi Pacha, with four of his chief followers, arraigned for political and military rebellion, entered a technical plea of "guilty" before their judges at Cairo. The sentence was commuted into banishment for life.

Mr. Anthony Trollope, the novelist, died after a short illness.—Professor Challis, an able and venerated man, has entered into rest.—Many tributes of respect to Professor Palmer have been published.—The *Church Missionary Intelligencer* announces, with deep regret, the death of the Rev. H. W. Shackell.

The appeal in the Prestbury case has been dismissed. Unless a further appeal to the House of Lords is decided on by the English Church Union, Mr. De la Bere is now definitely deprived of his living for persistence in unlawful innovations and ceremonies, and for contumaciously disregarding the orders of the ecclesiastical judge.

Mr. Raikes, we gladly note, has been returned by Cambridge University.

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<sup>1</sup> The *Record* also remarks: "While we are far from agreeing with all the late Primate did, we acknowledge with thankfulness the indebtedness of the Church of England to the man who, often misunderstood and often assailed, yet kept straight on, guiding the charge committed to him with a firm step and a steady eye along a road which in the main we believe to have been wisely and rightly chosen. Most sorely does the Church need the qualities which were so strongly developed in Archbishop Tait."

# THE CHURCHMAN

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FEBRUARY, 1883.

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## ART. I.—THE NEW DEPARTURE.

IT is one of the difficulties of perfect fairness in controversy that we are often unable to ascertain with accuracy the real opinions of any considerable bodies of men. This is especially the case when people are not united as a corporate body, and therefore there is no dogmatic or authoritative statement of their opinions. If, for example, we are brought into discussion with those who term themselves "The Brethren," we may be perfectly satisfied that we are giving a fair and faithful representation of what we believe to be their teaching; but still we cannot prove our statements by authority; for there are no authoritative documents, and what one "brother" admits, another may deny. It was, doubtless, this difficulty that led to the peculiar language of the 31st Article. The Council of Trent did not define the doctrine of propitiatory sacrifice in the mass until the year A.D. 1562, and consequently in A.D. 1552, when the Article was drawn up, the framers of it could not refer to any authoritative document, but could only condemn what they knew to be the current teaching of the Church of Rome. They therefore used the expression, "*in which it was commonly said.*"

There has been just the same difficulty with reference to that remarkable movement which originated at Oxford about fifty years ago, beginning with Tractarianism, and now developed into Ritualism. It has all along professed to be an effort for the revival of Church Principles, and as such has been heartily supported by a considerable number of loyal and true-hearted Churchmen. By "Church Principles" they have understood the real principles of the Church of England; and, as loyal Churchmen, they have welcomed the movement, believing it to be an effort to recommend and develop those principles.



In this they have been encouraged by the use of the epithet "High." The Ritualistic party call themselves "High Church," and so do many of that large class of Churchmen to whom I have just referred. The result is that, although they have not altogether approved of some things which they have read or seen, still, on the great, broad basis of High Churchism they have considered that they have more affinity with that movement than they have with those whom they designate "Low." They sincerely disapprove of many things said and done by Ritualists, but they cannot quite get over the fact that if Churchmen are to be classed as either High or Low, they and the Ritualists, at all events, class themselves together as High.

But many amongst us have for a long time been profoundly convinced that the Church principles of the loyal, conscientious, traditional High Churchman are totally different from the Church principles of the Ritualist; and that the epithet "High" means in the language of the two classes two totally different things. In the one it means a faithful adhesion to the Prayer Book and its principles; but in the other a dissatisfaction with the Prayer Book, and a craving after something beyond: in the one a rising to it, and in the other a departure from it. To many amongst us this has been perfectly plain for years. But still it has been impossible to prove it, for there have been no authoritative documents; and, even if there had been any, they would not have been likely to contain any such avowal. It has been seen perfectly clearly in sermons, in pamphlets, in books, and in the ceremonial imitation of Rome. But still, individual words and actions could only be regarded as proofs of individual opinions, and therefore, although they left no doubt on the minds of observers, they could not be accepted as absolute proofs of disloyalty against any of those who were not themselves guilty of disloyal acts.

But a great change has now taken place, and we are brought into altogether a new position. After the Church Congress at Derby there can no longer be any doubt on the subject, for we had there what was as nearly an authoritative statement as under the circumstances it is possible to expect. It is needless to speak of that well-known body, the English Church Union. The E.C.U. was formed as a centre for the Ritualistic movement, and it has ever since maintained its position as the most widely extended and influential organization in existence for the maintenance of Ritualistic principles.

I believe, also, that it has been considered the most moderate of the various kindred associations, so that it embraces several who, as they express themselves, are not prepared to go to extremes. Now, at the Derby Church Congress we had the

advantage of hearing a most important avowal from the President of this influential organization. Of course, we who do not belong to the Union have no means of knowing how far he spoke as the mouthpiece of the Council, or simply gave expression to his own personal opinion ; but all must admit that when the President of the Union, on such a great occasion, delivered a carefully prepared written paper at the request of the Bishop of the Diocese, we may regard that paper as approaching as nearly as possible to an authoritative declaration of the principles and purposes of the Union.

What, then, did the President of the English Church Union say? What line did he pursue? The subject of discussion was "Proposals for Liturgical Improvement," and Canon Venables accordingly made several important practical suggestions which he thought might tend without the slightest alteration of principle to increase the interest of our Liturgical worship. But the President of the English Church Union did nothing of the kind. He made one proposal, and one only, namely, that those who wished to do so should be at liberty to abandon our present Prayer Book altogether, and adopt in its place the First Book of Edward VI. His words were: "In discussing the question of Liturgical Improvement, the proposal I have to make aims not so much at any change in our existing Prayer Book, as at the alternative use along with it of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI." Nor was this all, for almost immediately afterwards he avowed his preference for the unreformed liturgies, and the Use of Sarum, above our English Prayer Book. He said, "Those who are at all acquainted with the unreformed Service books of the English Church must often have wondered how it came to pass that from a revision of originals so rich and varied as the Sarum Breviary, and the great English rite of S. Osmund, there should have resulted anything so meagre in comparison with them as our existing daily Offices and Liturgy." There is no mistaking these plain and outspoken words. There is the distinct avowal of a preference for the unreformed Service books, while our own Prayer Book is described as being so meagre in comparison with them that it is a wonder how it could have been derived from such rich and varied sources. Nor is this an isolated sentence. In another passage, he says, "In this respect it is impossible to deny that our existing Communion Office is open to grave exception." The one object of the whole paper, indeed, is to give such evidence of the inferiority of our existing Liturgy as may induce the Bishops to give permission (which, of course, they have no power to do) for the substitution under certain circumstances of another book.

It is of no use, therefore, any longer to maintain the delusion that the movements of the English Church Union are prompted by any love for the English Prayer Book. That book is condemned as "meagre," and "open to grave exceptions." The preference is given to the unreformed services, and especially to the Use of Sarum; and it must be plainly understood that if anything is suggested as a *via media* or a *modus vivendi*, the two parties between whom it must be a *via media* are on the one hand those who avow their preference for the Use of Sarum, and on the other those who with their whole heart delight in the reformed worship of our dear old Church of England.

But I have heard it said that the Use of Sarum was itself a reformed service, and free from many of the abuses of Rome. Thus Mr. Wood calls it "The great English rite of S. Osmund." But surely he was mistaken in that expression, for, though used in England, it was not an English rite. Osmund was a Norman Count, and having fought in the army of William the Conqueror, was, as a reward for his services, first created Earl of Dorset, and then appointed Bishop of Salisbury. At the time of his appointment there was great religious dissension in the country occasioned by the introduction of the Gallican liturgy by William the Conqueror, which was resisted by the English; and Osmund compiled the Use of Sarum in order, if possible, to harmonize all parties. His chief work, therefore, was to introduce, as far as possible, the Gallican element; and in no sense whatever can that use be called "The great English rite of S. Osmund."

But its origin is of little importance as compared with its contents. The great question is, "What is the real character of the book which is thus preferred to our 'meagre' English Prayer Book?" And it would be an important contribution to the present controversy if any of those who exalt its excellence would inform us of any one particular in which it differs in principle from the Romish Missal and Breviary. There is not space in such a paper as this for the investigation of its identity in all important points with the liturgies of Rome; but it would be extremely interesting to know in what that richness consists of which we heard so high an encomium at the Derby Church Congress.

Three things may be briefly mentioned:

(1.) The Use of Sarum was certainly rich in Legends, and that to the exclusion of Scripture. On such a subject we surely cannot have a better authority than the preface to that First Book of Edward VI., which is now so strongly recommended. In that Preface it is said:

"These many years past this godly and decent order of the ancient

fathers hath been so altered, broken, and neglected by planting in uncertain stories, legends, responds, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations, and synodals, that commonly, when any book of the Bible was begun, before three or four chapters are read out, all the rest were unread."

And of these Legends, etc., the same preface adds, "Some be untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious." If it is the omission of such Legends as these that makes our Prayer Book "meagre," all I can say is, Let us thank God for its meagreness.

(2.) Then, again, the Use of Sarum was rich in complicated and senseless ceremonial. The Preface already quoted says of these ceremonies :

"Some at the first were of godly intent and purpose devised, and yet, at length, turned to vanity and superstition; some . . . because they were winked at in the beginning, they grew daily to more and more abuses, which, not only for their unprofitableness, but also because they have much blinded the people and obscured the glory of God, are worthy to be cut away and clean rejected."

It may be well, perhaps, to give one illustration from the Sarum Missal: "Here let the priest uncover the cup, and make the sign of the cross with the host five times—first beyond the cup on every side, secondly even with the cup, thirdly within the cup, fourthly as the first, fifthly before the cup." This is given simply as a specimen, and some may say that there is no harm in it. But I can scarcely believe it possible that anyone will hesitate to apply to it the language of the Preface. "This excessive multitude of ceremonies was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken, than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us."

(3.) The Use of Sarum was rich in saint worship. For example, in the Missal the priest did not confess to God alone (I suppose that would have been meagre), but was directed to say, "I confess to God, to blessed Mary, to all the saints, and to you; because I have sinned too much by thought, word, and deed by my fault: I pray holy Mary, all the saints of God, and you to pray for me." Again, in the Litany, the Use of Sarum was far in excess of the modern Church of Rome. In the modern Romish Litany I count only forty-seven persons to whom prayer is addressed, including the Virgin, two arch-angels, and the twelve apostles; but in the Use of Sarum according to Bishop Short,<sup>1</sup> there were no less than 116 persons addressed. Possibly some Gallican saints may have been added by S. Osmund. On that point I am not pre-

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the Church of England," § 744.

pared to speak; but of this I am certain, that in regard to the worship of saints, all true English Churchmen will rejoice in the meagreness of the Church of England Prayer Book, and have no desire for the richness of the Use of Sarum.

Now this is the book which, before the assembled Church Congress at Derby, was avowedly preferred to our English Prayer Book. When, therefore, it is said that there is a clear preference for the worship of Rome, no one can any longer regard it as a calumnious or unfounded accusation. We have the open, plain, and undisguised avowal of the President of the English Church Union, that the English Prayer Book is "meagre," and the Use of Sarum rich; the English Communion Office open to grave objections, and the unreformed liturgies so superior, that it is a wonder how anything so inferior as the English Prayer Book could have been compiled from such rich materials. Let no one, therefore, from this day forward, suppose that it is the object of the Union to uphold the Reformed Church of England, or to maintain its worship; but let it be clearly and distinctly understood, that the preference has been publicly given to the Use of Sarum and the unreformed liturgies.

But the avowal of a preference, it may be said, is not a distinct proposal; and if we had nothing more than such an avowal, it might possibly be supposed that there was no intention of any practical action. Such a supposition, however, is rendered impossible by the proposal which followed, viz., that there should be the alternative use of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

Now let anyone look for a moment at the line of argument, and the meaning of this proposal is self-evident.

The argument is, that because the unreformed liturgies and the Use of Sarum are superior to our English Prayer Book, therefore we are to give the liberty to make use of the First Book instead of our own. Is it not obvious that the whole force of the argument depends on the fact that the First Book of Edward approximates to these unreformed liturgies more nearly than does our present book? It is preferred because it is more in accordance with that which is considered the best, viz., the Use of Sarum. This proposal, when regarded in connection with the avowed preference, carries with it its own condemnation, and ought at once to put all true Churchmen on their guard.

We are brought to exactly the same conclusion by the historical position of the book. The Reformation was not a sudden act, and our English Prayer Book was not born in a day. The work began with the King's Primer in A.D. 1545,

which was followed in A.D. 1548 by the first Communion Service—the chief object of which was the restoration of the cup to the laity; but the first reformed Liturgy for morning and evening worship was the First Book of Edward VI., in A.D. 1549. Now let no one undervalue, for one moment, the greatness, or importance, of the work which was accomplished in the publication of this book. The compilers cleared away such a vast amount of Romish superstition and error that it is impossible not to admire the courage and wisdom with which they acted. They were perfectly justified, therefore, in describing it as a godly book, and in ascribing their success to the gracious help of the Holy Spirit Himself; nevertheless, when the book was published it was found that there were some parts in it which still required alteration, and a revision became necessary. There were certain things still left which required removal, so that when any further change was objected to by the Papists it was answered: "That it was no wonder that the corruptions which they had been introducing for above a thousand years were not all discovered and thrown out at once" (Bishop Burnet). Besides which, there were certain expressions which it was just possible to understand in the Romish sense.<sup>1</sup> It was clearly of the utmost importance to avoid the possibility of any such doubt or misapprehension; and as the Reformers had no desire that their trumpet should give an uncertain sound, the book was carefully revised. In the Act of Parliament which sanctioned the revision the reason was given as follows:—

"That there had been divers doubts raised about the manner of the ministration of the Service, rather by the curiosity of the ministers and mistakers than of any other worthy cause; and that for the better explanation of that, and for the greater perfection of the Service in some places where it was fit to make the Prayer and fashion of Service more earnest, and fit to stir Christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God, therefore it had been by the command of the King and Parliament perused, explained, and made more perfect."

The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was the result of that revision; and, although it was subsequently both slightly

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<sup>1</sup> There was a passage, for example, quoted in the *Guardian* of December 6th, 1882, in which Gardiner is reported to have said: "Willeth children to be taught that they receive with their bodily mouth the body and blood of Christ, which I allege, because it will appear it is a teaching set forth among us of late, as hath been also and is by the Book of Common Prayer, being the most true Catholic doctrine of the substance of the sacrament in that is there so Catholicly spoken of." I do not say that Gardiner was right in this statement, but I do say that if there was anything to justify his assertion, it was most desirable that as soon as possible it should be removed.

altered and added to in 1560 and 1604 till it reached its present form in 1662, we must regard that Second Book as the completion of the great work of the Reformation so ably, but still imperfectly, commenced in the First. The history, therefore, places the First Book in exactly the same position as that in which it was placed in the argument of Mr. Wood, viz., an intermediate position between the Use of Sarum and the present English Prayer Book. It was a great and noble effort, but yet not complete. It was a great movement in the right direction, but there were still in it certain most serious defects; and, what was more important, it contained certain passages which those who were so disposed might misinterpret in the Romish sense.

Yet this is the book to which we are now invited to return; and it is only reasonable that we should ask the reason why. We are content with our beloved old English Prayer Book, in which, ever since we began to worship at all, we have poured out our hearts in holy communion with God. Why should we either forsake it, or throw the whole Church into confusion by the admission of an alternative service?

Certainly not because the First Book is less "meagre" than the second; for, beyond all controversy, it was the more meagre of the two. Morning and evening prayer began in it with the Lord's Prayer, and therefore contained neither texts, address, confession, nor absolution. They also ended with the third Collect, and therefore contained none of the prayers for the Queen, Royal Family, &c. The "Prayers and Thanksgivings on several occasions" were not included, so that the familiar words of the "Prayer for all Conditions of Men," as well as the "General Thanksgiving," were not in it. The Commandments were not there; and the Catechism contained nothing about the Sacraments. And what has become of some importance since the subject has been mooted, there was no Ordination Service. It is well to bear this in mind, because it is the fashion with some persons to quote the 36th Article as giving a sanction to the First Book. And Mr. Wood said, in his address at Derby, that "at this very moment it<sup>1</sup> has the direct sanction and approval of the 36th Article." But he must have either forgotten or ignored the fact that the ordinal to which the 36th Article refers was published quite independently of the book, and was never made a part of it. In 1552 the ordinal, with certain changes, was introduced into the Second Book; but it was never made a part of the First. The Article, therefore, has no reference of any kind whatever

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<sup>1</sup> *Guardian*, Oct. 11. I observe that the words "As regards the Communion Office" have been added in the authorized report.

to the First Book, and in that book there was no Ordination Service.

It must be clear, therefore, to the most superficial observer, that the attraction of the First Book does not consist in its richness. If our own Prayer Book is "meagre," the First Book is much more so. The changes subsequently made have been chiefly in the direction of addition, and there must be some other reason which renders it so attractive. And what is that reason? There is an expression in § 743 of Bishop Short's "History of the Church of England," which answers the question. The Bishop there says: "On the whole, this book forms a connecting link between the Missal and the Prayer Book." Now, if this be the case, it is no wonder if those who prefer the Missal desire the substitution of this book for our present Prayer Book. The time may not be come for the introduction of the Missal itself; but that may follow in time, if they can now secure the connecting link. If this be the case, the reasons which lead men now to desire it are precisely those which led the Reformers to reform it. It is nearer Rome than our English Prayer Book. Therefore it was that the Reformers reformed it, and therefore it is that they who prefer "the unreformed liturgies" desire to return to it. This may be seen very clearly in Mr. Wood's address. He enumerates several of the advantages that he considers would be gained by a return to it, such as a closer conformity to the order of "the canon" of the Mass; the omission of the Ten Commandments, and the "Dearly Beloved;" "the reservation for the sick;" "the unction of the sick;" and prayer for the dead.

To these he might have added the restoration of an altar in place of "the table" with its "fair white linen cloth;" and of the name "The Mass" in addition to the "Holy Communion;" the sanction for auricular confession in the Communion Service, combined with the omission of the General Confession in the Morning and Evening Prayer; the omission from the words of administration of the clause, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving;" and the presence of certain other expressions which it was just possible for "mistakers" to understand as teaching the localization in the consecrated elements of the actual human person of our blessed Redeemer now seated at the right hand of God.

But there is one other result of a return to the First Book which is of supreme importance, though I have not yet seen any notice of it in the recent discussion, viz., that by returning to the First Book we should get behind the date of the Articles. The Articles were not drawn up till the year A.D.



1552, so that by adopting the First Book we should go back to a date at which the Articles did not exist, at which, in fact, the Church of England had drawn up no formal dogmatic protest against the errors of Rome. The Reformation began with the reform of the Liturgy, before there was any authoritative statement of distinctive truth, and when the minds of men were passing through a rapid transition. To this transition period the First Book belongs; and if we were to decide on adopting the Liturgy of the transition there would be a manifest inconsistency in combining with it those definite statements of truth which were carefully drawn up afterwards when the great gulf was past, and the work of the Reformation in essential points complete.

With all these facts before us, it is impossible to mistake the character of the proposal made. Whether we look at the history or the contents of the book, we are brought to the same conclusion. It is not a proposal to improve our Prayer Book or to adapt it to the special demands of the day. It is a proposal to depart from the Prayer Book altogether, and to return to the transition state through which the Church of England passed in the transition days of the Reformation. The First Book of Edward bore just the same relationship to the Use of Sarum that Basingstoke does to the city of Salisbury. The Reformers halted awhile there on the up line, but they could not rest, so they soon left it to complete their journey. We are now invited to return there; but is there any thinking man who can suppose for one moment that we are intended to remain there, when we have the public avowal of the undenied preference for "the unreformed liturgies" and the Use of Sarum? Is it not perfectly clear that the attraction to the First Book is simply this, that it is a station for the express train on the direct down line to Sarum?

And now, how will this proposal be received? or rather, how will it be received by that large body of men who wish to be considered "High Churchmen," and who mean by that expression that they entertain a loyal, loving, and faithful allegiance to the grand old Church of England, into which they were received at their baptism, and of which those who are clergymen have been its appointed officers ever since their ordination? Will they, or will they not, be prepared for this new departure? Are they prepared to abandon all the historical loyalty of their party; to give up their beloved Prayer Book as "meagre" and "open to grave objections;" to throw overboard their Articles and the latter part of their Catechism; and to go boldly back to the period of transition, when much, we fully admit, was improved, but nothing defined; when great things were done, but when much still remained to be done; and

when nothing was matured or consolidated as we now have it in our Articles and Liturgy? If they are prepared for such a movement, it will certainly be a new phase in the character of the historical, loyal, and influential High Churchmanship of England.

E. HOARE.

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## ART. II.—PRESERVATION OF PAROCHIAL REGISTERS.

**W**HAT a dry subject! Well, it is true that there is a certain dryness in any tabulated collection of bare facts. We readily admit that to few are the materials of history readable. Yet Parochial Chronicles have the charm which belongs to individuality and locality; and when they are so complete that there is scarcely a parish without its register, then in their entirety the personal and local are merged in the national, and what at first sight seemed only to appertain to individuals is found in reality to be of value to the whole nation and to be part and parcel of its history.

The written record of the baptisms, the marriages, and the burials of parishioners from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, is the only substitute we have in the past for the modern invention of the Decennial Census. In their continuous registration of particular facts these parish books describe, with a minuteness graphic to those who can understand them, the rise and fall of towns; the distribution of population; the relative importance of the South as compared with the North of England, of the East as compared with the West. With unerring accuracy they point to the recurrence of plagues; to the fat years and the lean years, and to their effect upon the lives and the marriages of the people. They throw light upon our nomenclature, and on all the curious inquiries respecting surnames and Christian names. They describe exactly the social and commercial condition of those whose names are entered. They are our only index to the average duration of life; it was by an appeal to parish registers that Sir Cornewall Lewis supported his theory that centenarians were not to be found. No pedigree can be proved in a court of law without recourse to them. They are in a very large sense the title-deeds to the landed property of this kingdom; and not the million owners of land, but the thirty millions who are their heirs at law, are deeply and personally interested in the preservation of the proofs of their title. To this dry subject we desire to call the attention of Churchmen.

In September, 1538, the first order for the systematic keeping

of Parochial Registers was promulgated by King Henry VIII., through his Ecclesiastical Vicegerent and Lord Privy Seal, Thomas Cromwell. From time to time the practice has been confirmed by Act of Parliament, by Canon, by Episcopal injunction. At length in the year 1813 an Act called "Rose's Act" was passed. This statute is characterized as "extraordinary" by the Select Committee of the House of Commons which considered the subject in 1831. Yet, in truth, it is not more extraordinary in its adaptation of means to ends than the ordinary ecclesiastical legislation of Parliament. Among its absurdities may be mentioned its title, which includes the registration of births, but provides no means for ascertaining their date; a clause which directs transcripts of the registers to be sent to the Bishops, but fails to provide any compensation for the work of the transcriber, the sender, or the receiver; another which directs such transcripts to be arranged and indexed, but obliges no person to perform the duty and provides no compensation for the work, and no penalty for its neglect; another which appropriates to certain charities fines which it omits to impose; another which authorizes the punishment of transportation on any person falsifying a register, half of which is to be shared by the informer! This statute remains unrepealed and unamended. But in 1838 the Civil Registration Act was passed, and the Parochial Registers since that date have lost some of their unique and national, though not their ecclesiastical value. The importance of registers previous to that date remains undiminished.

Mr. Borlase, member for East Cornwall, introduced last session into the House of Commons a Bill for preserving Parish Registers. The method of preservation which he proposes is the removal of every register from its own parish to London, there to be indexed and deposited in a strong room. The transfer of the Scotch Church Books to Edinburgh in 1854, and the Irish Church Books to Dublin in 1870, are cited as precedents. The opportunity for discussing the Bill did not arrive, but in some shape or other it will probably reappear next session.

The arguments in favour of not only the better preservation of, but also of easier reference to, Parochial Registers are unanswerable. They are perishing year by year, and little by little—a name here, a page there; a volume here, a set of volumes there. In their entirety they are, for practical purposes, inaccessible, because they are dispersed in ten thousand different places. The replies of the incumbents to the Parliamentary inquiry in 1831 unfold a dismal tale. Processes of destruction which seem to have no limit are going on everywhere and always, varying in degree but not in kind. Destruc-

tion by damp, by storm, by fire ; loss by carelessness, by fraud ; mutilations and interpolations ; the replies may be summed up in the words that these records are "imperfect," "indistinct," "illegible," and "torn." As time rolls on, the ink grows faint and ever fainter. The care of a succession of faithful incumbents is marred by the carelessness of a single individual. But all authorities agree that the three greatest enemies of the Parochial Registers are fire, fraud, and the gradual fading of the ink. How shall we place them beyond the reach of such mischances ? Is no fraud practised in London ? Are there no fires in London ? Is the metropolitan atmosphere a specific against fading ink ? Let us not forget that half the records of Parliament were destroyed in the fire which consumed the old Houses of Parliament. The axiom of the Fire Insurance Offices is that in a town the risk is increased, because your security depends not only upon your own but upon your neighbour's carefulness. An *undistributed* risk is the very risk which no insurance office will accept. A parochial fire may indeed once in fifty years take away from us a single register, but a single fire in the Record House will take away from us for ever every register. Tested by the simple canons of insurances, the risk to the registers, if collected in London, would be a hundredfold greater than if scattered over the country. These are the main reasons why, for the sake of preservation, we deprecate their removal.

But to an antiquary there is another argument against the spoliation of the country for the enrichment of the capital. "*Genius loci vetat.*" Those parochial records belong to their several parishes. They are often the oldest manuscripts in the place. The parishioners are the persons who mostly desire to refer to them. They or their predecessors paid for them ; for their use they were primarily and chiefly designed ; they have a primary claim to their custody. A journey to London and the expense of a search in a London office would amount to a practical exclusion of parishioners from their own parish books.

We have now stated the objections to the method, not to the principle of Mr. Borlase's Bill. We have also indicated some reasons why Churchmen cannot be satisfied with things as they are.

There is a method of saving our Parochial Records, plain, sufficient, and easy of application. An unreadiness to apply it, is evidence of an indifference which is a national scandal. The plan is to multiply our copies of our registers by printing them, and to facilitate reference to them by indexing them. Sir Thomas Phillips, the antiquary, in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1831, said, "The only way of securing them is by transcript." Since his day we have improved in

in these pages,<sup>1</sup> by the obvious remark that preaching makes known to others the meaning of Holy Scripture which methodical study has ascertained. It will hardly be expected that anything new remains to be gathered from a teacher who has been before the world for nearly a millennium and a half. The interest, whatever it may amount to, will mainly lie in comparing the ideas of that far-off time with those of our own age.

The previous training of the Christian preacher has been of late a matter of much solicitude. Great orators, both in Church and State, have been produced from the busier haunts of men as well as from the Universities. Nevertheless, all sections of the Church, and the laity perhaps especially, have prayed to be delivered from an unlearned clergy. St. Augustine takes up this subject, and while warning us that the preliminary secular teaching is to be acquired elsewhere, and not to be looked for in this book, he adds:—

By the art of rhetoric, both truth and falsehood may be enforced. Who then would dare to say that truth should stand unarmed against falsehood? Shall the teacher of that which is false know how to attract his hearer, while the defender of the truth fails through ignorance? Shall the one set forth his fallacies with brevity, clearness, and plausibility, while the other is tedious to hear, difficult to understand, nay hard to believe? Shall argument assail the truth and advocate error, and shall it fail us in defending the truth and refuting falsity? Shall that power which awes, which melts, which excites and arouses the hearer, be found on the side of error, while a frigid sluggishness drones forth sleepy truisms for the verity of the faith? Who is such a fool as to confess such an opinion? Why, then, do not good men engage in such studies as may fit them to fight for the truth, since bad men use them for their own evil ends? All that belongs to the art of persuasion has been handled by masters in that science from times of old, and may be acquired at the proper age.—c. ii, p. 3.

What is that proper age, according to Augustine? The time of youth, he replies, for it must be acquired speedily or not at all. For the chiefs of Roman eloquence declared that he who cannot learn it quickly will never learn it.

But Augustine pronounces a very clear opinion, that example is far before precept in making an effective speaker. Where there is genius and fervency, to hear or to read true eloquence is the best mode of instruction. A great speaker may, indeed, fashion his speech according to rule, but the process is instinctive, not conscious or intentional. "He fulfils the rhetorical precept because he is eloquent. He does not employ it in order to be eloquent."

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<sup>1</sup> THE CHURCHMAN, November and December, 1882.

As a matter of fact and experience, Augustine tells us he had known very many persons who, without knowledge of rhetorical rules, were more eloquent than others who had learned them. But that he had not known one who could be so accounted without hearing or reading the debates and speeches of eloquent men.

In listening to this ancient Doctor on this subject, we must remember that he combined both these functions in his own person. In his unconverted days he was a teacher of the art of rhetoric. As Bishop he was one of the most persuasive of preachers. If the conclusion just drawn from his experience be true, we may learn something of the cause of our confessed deficiency in this respect. Surely, if eloquence thus breeds eloquence, dulness and insipidity must in like manner propagate their own brood. What is there to suggest even the idea of pulpit eloquence to persons trained up from boyhood as most of our clergy are? The power of the Spirit of God waking up all the sensibilities of the renewed heart can break through what seemed inveterate stupor. But, taking Augustine's dictum of experience, would it be found largely reflected in modern times? It would probably require many qualifications, like most other broad statements; but would it not be admitted that the preaching of Charles Simeon on the one side of the Church, and of Canon Liddon on the other, had been fruitful not only in certain schools of doctrine, but in the production of many effective and powerful advocates of their teaching?

But we must return to our author. Having thus dismissed the question of preliminary training for the Christian preacher, he proceeds to consider his duty.

In his definition of that duty the subject of controversy at once presents itself. The Christian teacher is defined as "one who, being the defender of the true faith and the vanquisher of error, teaches what is good, and unteaches what is bad" ("Defensor rectæ fidei ac debellator erroris, et bona docere, et mala dedocere").

It is difficult to understand the position of our own age in respect to religious controversy. Sometimes it seems as if the one portion only of Augustine's definition of the preacher's office were accepted. It is said to be his duty, "*bona docere*." If you ask further, "What about '*mala dedocere*'?" the answer is very dubious. Some "bad things," bad morals, for example, want of charitable judgment and so forth, no doubt ought to be "untaught." But if we proceed to ask, "Is he not, then, to be '*defensor rectæ fidei*'?" the answer again becomes vague. "What is the '*recta fides*'? Surely you do not require him to maintain all the dogmas of the Thirty-Nine Articles? Nay,

the Athanasian Creed is rather narrow and severe. That also should be somewhat slurred, and scarcely 'defended,' at least with any vigour." Then, "*debellator erroris*"? There our modern critic of the preacher parts company altogether. "No war in the pulpit, no contention, no strife of opposing systems! Is not Christianity a religion of peace? And are we any of us sufficiently sure of anything to justify controversy? Good men will soon see that they must do good in their own way, and be equally glad to see others doing good in their way also." This seemed the practical meaning of a recent article in the *Times* on the late Archbishop of Canterbury; at least, if it had any practical meaning. Then, again, a large part of the public seems to understand, by "controversy," argumentative teaching against Roman doctrines wherever they may be found. Dr. Pusey's school may pour forth its volumes large and small, and may inculcate its dogmas from the pulpit, contravening, one by one, each doctrine of the Church of England in favour of mediæval teaching. But the Protestant speaker or writer who ventures to defend his faith is at once branded as a controversial party-writer. Why more so than others who have taken the opposite side? Why should Canon Gregory, at the last Church Congress, charge Canon Hoare with introducing "party spirit," when all that he did was to reply with vigour, energy, and unfailing good-temper to the opposite "party" manifesto of Mr. Wood? There is, at any rate, *something* that is "error." If the Christian preacher is not to be a nerveless, silken declaimer, he must be as Augustine describes him, "*debellator erroris*," whether that error lie in the field of morals or of doctrine. No man was ever yet the teacher of his age who had not a vigorous theory to defend, and clear principles of philosophy or theology upon which his teaching was based. Controversy there must be, as certainly as there are truth and error. The modes of controversy are another thing.

There are, then, according to Augustine, two duties before the Christian preacher, construction and destruction—"docere" and "*dedocere*," "*defendere*" and "*debellare*." He must, therefore, consider well the condition of his hearers. Three chief anxieties will accordingly press upon him. Opposition must be conciliated; inattention aroused; ignorance instructed. Hence to rouse the feelings and bring the hearer into sympathetic receptiveness, may require every resource of eloquence; while for the purpose of instruction, illustrative anecdote and close reasoning will be needed in their turn.

But what shall be said for the minister of Christ who is but too deeply conscious that he lacks that gift of genius? The venerable teacher tells him (c. v. 7), that however precious

that gift, yet to speak with wisdom is that which alone is truly profitable to man. This brings us back once more to the firm footing laid down in the previous books. For what is wisdom? We have this reply:—

A man speaks wisely, just so much more or less, as he has advanced in his knowledge of Holy Scripture. Not simply in frequent reading and committing its words to memory, but in the understanding and diligent search into its varied meanings. For there are those who read negligently. They read with verbal memory. They do not cultivate the understanding. Better than these is the mind less retentive of the words, provided the very heart of Scripture is discerned by the eye of the soul. Best of all is the accurate memory coupled with a true Scriptural understanding.

We have heard all this before, the reader may say. Doubtless! The very point of these papers is to show that what we hold to be true is just what the great teachers of the fifth century believed also. This is the Reformation doctrine, repeated through successive generations, echoed by the leaders of the Evangelical revival, and needing repetition in each succeeding age. If the pulpit becomes sterile, if God seems to forsake His own ordinance, it will be found, not that men are less eloquent, but that they have studied the Word of God more imperfectly. They know less of its harmonies and its hidden wisdom; less even of its very language. They consequently reverse the teaching of 2 Tim. iii. 15-17; they are made less "wise unto salvation;" they have profited less in doctrine, reproof, instruction in righteousness; they are less thoroughly furnished unto all good works. Who shall wonder, then, if this doctrine or that calls them aside; mediæval chimera, or modern unbelief?

But the humble-minded servant of Christ may draw much encouragement from the assurance of this eloquent Father, who may be heard thus to comfort him. You cannot speak eloquently, but you may speak wisely. You must learn the very words of Scripture: rich in them, the poverty of your own language will be of less importance. Your own words may be feeble, they will acquire power from the weight of Scripture testimony. Your own utterance may fail to give pleasure, the proof you allege will gratify the understanding.

But is nothing to be done to help us to speak not only with wisdom but with eloquence? Again, Augustine says, "Yes; read and listen to those who speak not only with eloquence but with wisdom also; eloquence is sweet to hear, wisdom is health." Therefore, saith Scripture, not the multitude of the eloquent, but "the multitude of the wise is the health of the world." Bitter medicines may be needful, unwholesome sweets must be shunned; but if the sweetness may be wholesome, and



the medicine sweet, how much better! Is it not so in the Church? Have not some expounded the Divine utterances not only with wisdom but with eloquence? May not their sweet teaching well occupy our leisure and our study?

The difficulty remains very much where Augustine left it. The revealed wisdom of Holy Scripture for our matter of teaching—the influence of the best models we can find to form the style; so much was known and recommended more than 1400 years ago, and the advice must be repeated still.

But this discussion about the wisdom of Holy Scripture, compared with the human eloquence which is to illustrate and enforce it, raised another inquiry. Is not Holy Scripture eloquent as well as wise? There were “judicious critics” in the last century who thought some apology needful for Shakespeare’s style, and looked with compassion on the barbaric art which found expression in the unclassical interior of Westminster Abbey. One of these worthies is said to have published an edition of the Bible in the most polite English of that age. He would hardly sympathize with Augustine’s opinion of the style of the sacred writers. “Where I understand them,” he says, “it seems to me, that while nothing can be more full of wisdom, nothing can be more eloquent. I venture to say, that those who understand their words rightly will perceive also that they are precisely those which ought to have been used; there is an eloquence which befits youth, and another which befits age. Indeed, nothing ought to be called eloquence which is not in harmony with the position of the speaker. In like manner, there is a peculiar eloquence which becomes those inspired men whose authority is supreme. With this they spake; no other befits them, and it can befit no others.”

Our author had said that he would not go back to the schools, and must refer those who needed instruction and criticism, such as they could give, to the teachers of rhetoric. Nevertheless, this inquiry into the eloquence of the sacred writers roused the old spirit within him; and he cannot refrain from some critical discussions akin to those which he had no doubt often carried on with his pupils in his earlier days. “It is not,” he says, “so much that every beauty of language found in other works may be paralleled or surpassed in Holy Writ, but that, while eloquence is never wanting, it is never unduly prominent. The words seem not to be the choice of the writer, but to grow, as it were, spontaneously out of the matter. You might imagine Wisdom to be coming forth from her home in the breast of the wise; and Eloquence, like some inseparable attendant, to follow without summons.”

Augustine dwells, then, admiringly on passages selected from

the learned St. Paul, and the herdsman Amos (Rom. v. 3-5; 2 Cor. xi. 16-30; Amos vi. 1-6). He points out the climax, the artistic grouping and succession of members of the sentences, the vigorous invective, the march of the majestic language, the beauty of the intonation. Such, he says (c. vii. 21), is a specimen of divine eloquence, not the product of human art, but wisdom blended with eloquence by the mind of God. It is not wisdom aiming at eloquence, but eloquence never departing from wisdom. It has been acutely observed that the rules of oratory existed in the genius of the orator before the grammarian reduced them to formal statement. Is it wonderful, then, that we should detect them exemplified in those whom He sent forth who created genius?

Scripture being thus the subject-matter with which the preacher must deal, what shall he do with its darker portions? Augustine tells us (c. ix. 23) that some passages which the most lucid eloquence can hardly make clear, ought not to be used for popular discourses, unless for some urgent occasion. Such passages are rather to be discussed in books, or in private conversation with sympathetic companions who may bring willingness and capacity to the investigation. Surely a wise admonition! How many preachers venture into depths they have never fathomed, flounder about helplessly for their twenty or thirty minutes, and retire serenely unconscious of the confusion and perhaps doubts they have sown in some listener's brain! A warning against such a result is our next admonition. "Eloquence, if you will, but clearness above all things! There is such a thing, says Cicero, as a purposed negligence, an apparent indifference to polish and to sound in order to use the word which shall be unmistakable." Yet Augustine would not advocate vulgarity, when compelled to abandon ornament, unless, indeed, the African ear should require a good broad provincialism to make it understand. The Salvation Army has carried this to excess, but anecdotes are not wanting of racy country pastors waking up slumbering rustics with some rousing word of their own vocabulary. May not all receive the lesson which follows (c. x. 24)—"To what avail is that fine language which is not understood by the hearer, since the only end of speaking is to be understood? The teacher, therefore, will shun all words which do not teach. If he can find a pure word which his hearers will understand, he will of course prefer it; but if not, he will use language less approved in society, if only he can thus thoroughly teach the very thing he has in view"? We are warned that this consideration is more important in preaching than in conversation, since in the latter case a question may receive the answer which shall clear up an obscurity. We may fear that an English congregation

would scarcely suggest the experience which Augustine (c. x. 25) records. He says that a crowd eager for instruction will show by its movement whether it understands. The speaker must mark that restlessness, and turn the subject from side to side with various illustration, until he perceive the signs of contentment. Then let him pass on, and be careful not to cause weariness by useless iteration. It will be long before our orderly pews give forth these nods of acquiescence or shrugs of doubt. But at any rate we are reminded that the discourse prepared beforehand or committed to memory cannot bend itself to these necessities. Clear, then, the teacher must be, even if he lack brilliancy. "The man of good sense loves not words, but truth in words. What is the use of a golden key if it will not open the door? Why object to a wooden one if it can give us admittance?"

If clearness be so important an element in preaching, has beauty of language no place and no value? Yes, says Augustine (c. xii. 27), quoting Cicero's dictum: "To teach is absolutely necessary; to give pleasure adds sweetness; to sway the hearer is the victory." So, then, the eloquent preacher must please and sway the hearer's mind with the sweetness of his language and the weight of his argument, if the practical end is to be gained. But there is something more powerful still than gifts of oratory. Before any attempt to speak (c. xv. 32), prayer should go up for himself and for those whom he is to address.

The hour is at hand when the preacher is to speak; let him lift up his thirsting soul that he may utter that with which God has filled him. Who can make us say what we ought, and in the way we ought, save Him in whose hand both we and our discourses are?

Shall we then fall back on the promise of the Lord (Matt. x. 19, 20)—"Take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak"? Does that promise cut away the whole ground of all preparation, of all human gifts, and therefore of all such discussions as the one before us? It is a temptation, we fear not to say, directly addressed to the mental indolence of the facile speaker. It belongs to the same class of presumptuous sins which the Saviour repelled when He refused to cast Himself down from the temple-roof. It is not trusting, it is "tempting the Lord our God." What answer does Augustine make to this suggestion? It runs thus: "As well may we refuse to pray, since it is said, 'Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask Him.'" Why should the Apostle Paul have written those Epistles to Timothy and Titus which ought to be before the eyes of all Church teachers, if without premedi-

tation or study we may throw ourselves on the unfailing aid of the Holy Spirit?

In the concluding portion of this book the master discusses the varied styles of language which the Christian speaker should have at his command. He takes as his motto the dictum of the great Roman orator. He is the eloquent man whose delivery is in proportion to the importance of his subject, subdued, even-tempered, or vehement. All things in religion are, indeed, of weighty importance, yet all are not equally solemn or equally soul-stirring, and the language of the preacher ought to reflect these gradations. How much reading and preaching are marred in our day from a want of perception of this obvious necessity! Monotony in one, tasteless emphasis thrown on insignificant words in another, vehement declamatory utterance of insignificant sentences in another, produce much the same effect on the hearer. The first may lull the attention, but the others disgust it through perpetual irritation and purposeless effort. It is doubtful whether much can be done in this respect to improve a speaker, beyond drawing his thoughtful attention to the importance of the subject. If we once feel the speaker to be playing upon his voice, and throwing in his piano and forte passages, his diminuendo and crescendo, as though it were some artificial musical composition, farewell at once to all salutary impression. But when the subject itself masters him, when sustained argument, deep feeling, righteous vehemence, each in its turn brings with it the evenly balanced utterance, the sadder, deeper intonation, the more rapid torrent of expostulation, then Augustine's threefold distinction is at once exemplified and justified. But this, in its higher manifestation, is genius. Yet surely a cultured taste should preserve many more than it does from flagrant departures from that which after all is but natural utterance.

Augustine gives many illustrations of these varied styles of oratory and their several uses. That which may be most interesting is a personal anecdote of his own experience.

It appears that, in a certain Mauritanian town, there were broils very much like the Irish "faction fights," recurring annually, and leading to much loss of life. It was an occasion for a Christian Bishop to interpose, and he seems to have made one of his greatest efforts. "I dealt with them," he says, "with all the power I could command, to pluck from heart and hand this cruel and inveterate evil. I thought I had done nothing when I heard their cheers. But, when I saw them weeping, I felt assured. Their cheers proved mental instruction and pleasure. Their tears showed that they were really influenced. When I saw these I believed that the

savage custom, inherited from distant forefathers, was vanquished at last. And we thanked God together when my sermon was ended. And now, through the aid of Christ, eight years have passed away, and there has been no attempt to renew those atrocities." A great preacher indeed!

But without dwelling longer on these distinctions of style, we are finally warned by an admonition, never out of place (c. xxvii. 59): "Whatever the power of the utterance, the life of the speaker carries yet greater weight." The man whose life echoes his words, desires in his discourse that his hearers should love his teaching rather than his language; he prizes the truth above the manner, and would have the words servants to the teacher, not the teacher to the words. So says the Apostle, "Not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect." To "strive about words" is not to be careful about truth overcoming error, but about your mode of expression being preferred to that of another. To speak eloquently as well as wisely is to speak the truth in words not rising above the need of plainer passages, more glowing and elegant as the elevation of tone requires, while they shall be vehement where the weight of the subject calls for power. But at least, if a man cannot be both wise and eloquent, let him rather speak wisely what he cannot utter eloquently, than speak eloquently what is but foolishness. If he cannot even do this, then let him so live that his very life may be an example, and his manner of living be itself a continual sermon."

One more subject remains. Human nature is the same in all ages. To phrase it in the vernacular, it is just this: "May a man *crib* his sermon?" It may amuse some to find the same question mooted all those years ago, which meets us so often now.

"Here is a man," says Augustine (c. xxix. 63), "who has a good delivery but no power of composition. May he take the wise and eloquent writings of others, commit them to memory, and preach them to the people?" He may, replies our Bishop, provided that he practise no deception. He must not profess it to be his own, and he must make that which he could not *compose*, become his own by *composing* his own life in accordance with it.

Finally, whether we deliver that which is our own, or that which comes from borrowed sources, prayer must go forth that it may be suitable to those who hear, that the preacher's utterance may be blessed, and the hearing ear given to the people. When the issue has been prosperous, let thanks be ascribed to Him Who gave the discourse. Let him who glories, glory in

Him "in Whose hands are both we and our words" (Wisdom, vii. 16).

In this simple, sensible, pious strain the venerable Bishop of Hippo gave his advice to those who would hear, all those centuries ago. If he has not much that is new to tell to this century on this well-worn subject, neither should we have many new discoveries to reveal to him. It is sufficient for us, and restful to our minds, to observe that there is not a discordant note between us. He has no thought or desire in preaching but to exalt the Word of God; so to handle it as to make it clear to the people; and so to impress it, that they may obey its precepts and accept its teaching. No false doctrine can obtain permanent lodgment in a Church which follows this rule in its pulpits. The saddest sign in our day is the frequent poverty of Scripture preaching, and, too often, its almost utter absence. The cessation from controversy which some crave may be only the stillness of death. If it be the desire of the soul to cease from human war-cries and vexatious bickerings, that it may listen in quietness to the voice of God, there is life in that silence. Some of us would do well to come apart and rest awhile from conflict in that spiritual audience-chamber. So replied Latimer to the scholastic teachers from whom, in middle life, he was escaping. "It is enough for me that Christ's sheep hear no man's voice but Christ's. As for you, ye have no voice of Christ against me, whereas, for my part, I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. So, fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God."

He who has thus "talked with the Lord his God" is the preacher that Latimer was to his own people. He is the preacher Augustine has described. He is the preacher for whom our own age is waiting.

T. P. BOULTBEE.



#### ART. IV.—LIFE OF BISHOP WILBERFORCE. VOL. III.

*Life of the Right Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, D.D., Lord Bishop of Oxford, and afterwards of Winchester.* With Selections from his Diaries and Correspondence; by his Son, REGINALD G. WILBERFORCE. Vol. iii. pp. 480. John Murray.

**W**HATEVER else may be said about the concluding volume of Bishop Wilberforce's "Life," this, at least, will be admitted on all sides—it is interesting in the extreme. The period which its narratives cover—from 1861 to 1873—was

one of singular interest; and not a few of its events will probably prove of profound importance in political, as well as in ecclesiastical circles. During this period the Bishop was a conspicuous power: he went everywhere and knew everyone; a man of winning ways, of steadfast purpose and untiring energy, with many attractive qualities, who was always ready to speak upon any subject, and was able to adapt himself to any audience—the brilliant Bishop naturally showed himself a leader. According to his son, indeed, his place upon the Episcopal Bench, in regard to influence, was the highest.

The first volume of the "*Life*," says Mr. Reginald Wilberforce in his preface, described the preparation for the Bishop's work; the second, the period of struggle; and the concluding volume is "an attempt to portray him as he was during the last ten years of his life—the 'undisputed leader among the English Bishops.' The effort in Convocation to obtain a Synodical condemnation of '*Essays and Reviews*'—a result obtained at first only by the casting-vote of the venerable Archbishop—shows how divided were the counsels of the Episcopate; and the man, therefore, who could and did reconcile these conflicting counsels into unanimity, stepped, by so doing, into the position of actual, though not of nominal, leader. Again, in the troubles concerning Dr. Colenso, it was Bishop Wilberforce who penned the address signed by forty-one Bishops. In the Pan-Anglican Synod the pastoral letter which was agreed upon was his work. The first report of the Ritual Commission was drawn up by him; and the skill with which he averted restrictive legislation in 1867, when nearly the whole Bench of Bishops were in favour of a measure of the kind, explains still more clearly the ascendancy which was conceded to him by his Episcopal brethren."

"When it is further remembered," adds Mr. Wilberforce, "that in the year after he was called away the Bishops did introduce the Public Worship Regulation Act—a measure the evils of which they did not foresee—it will be felt how much the Church had been indebted to his foresight and courage."

Now, of the Bishop's "courage" there is no question; but as to his "foresight," opinions are diverse. In the first place, the Ritual Commission, of which the Bishop was a leading member, recommended legislation; "aggrieved parishioners," said its Report, should be provided with an easy and effectual process for complaint and redress. But let this pass. Mistakes, no doubt, were made, both in and out of Parliament, during the year 1874. To turn to the main question. Although the Ritualistic revolt, from one cause or another, may seem successful, it ought to be "remembered" that, not alone against the Public Worship Regulation Act has resistance been obstinate. In

Diocesan Conferences, or at the Church Congress, and in the newspapers, stress is laid upon the uncanonical character of the Public Worship Regulation Act and of its Judge; but it ought to be "remembered," that disobedience to Bishops has been just as persistent under the Church Discipline Act as under the Public Worship Regulation Act, and that Ritualistic lawlessness has flouted not only Lord Penzance but Sir Robert Phillimore. Now Sir Robert Phillimore was Judge in the Court of Arches before the Act of 1874 was even thought of; and his Canonical, Convocational, full-orbed Churchiness as Judge was never dimmed. It is convenient, no doubt, in certain circles to ignore these facts; just as it is one day to protest against Law Courts, and the next day to forget the protest and invoke their aid. One thing is certain: during the period of this third volume Ritualist lawlessness was growing; and the question is, in what way was the Bishop's "foresight" related to it?

An objection to this volume should be stated at the outset. A reviewer in the leading journal says that the volume will be read with avidity because, for one reason, it reveals the Bishop as the most entertaining of gossips, and affords the most fascinating glimpses into the personal arcana of the public life of his day. The "Greville Memoirs" were freely censured as too outspoken; but their indiscretions are almost discreet by the side of some of the extracts given from Bishop Wilberforce's diaries and correspondence. The reviewer "can only marvel at the audacity of the revelations." Similar criticisms have appeared in other journals. The *Standard*, for example, remarks: "The same inability to appreciate at its real value the contents of Bishop Wilberforce's Diary, which has led his son into publishing so much that is injurious to the writer, has prevented him, we suppose, from considering its effect on others. Yet there are several persons mentioned in the third volume who cannot, we should think, be well pleased at the freedom which has been taken with their names, or the names of their nearest relatives. We have noticed this want of proper reticence in the earlier portions of the work; we are sorry to find that there is so little improvement in the latest." Again, the *Spectator*, in a similar vein, remarks, that a book of this kind ought to be written "on the principle of not inserting anything privately said or written by any living person of a nature to give pain to that person without his full consent." The "revelations" of this volume, in fact, are both injurious to the Bishop, and exceedingly indiscreet in regard to other persons. As a biographer Mr. Wilberforce has been to his father what Mr. Froude has been to Carlyle. He does not appear to bear the consequent criticisms, however, with the



meekness exhibited by Mr. Froude. In a letter to the *Times*, replying to caustic criticisms on his work, Mr. Wilberforce says, that whereas the reviewer had mentioned its amazing indiscretion, "if you could see the materials which I have not yet published you might marvel at its amazing moderation." A letter of "this alarming character," replies the leading journal, "will give a painful sense of insecurity to many now living, as they fondly believe, in the happy enjoyment of mutual confidence. The late Prelate was an Englishman of a not uncommon sort. He talked freely and unreservedly. Having objects and work in hand, he was disposed to like those who helped him; not so well those who would not, or did not. In the *mêlée* of dinner talk, whatever hit his taste or his purpose found a ready access to his mind, and a good place in his memory—in his note-book, too, it now appears. Thence it often found its way into letters written in the gush of confidence to dear and valued friends. The Bishop was a partisan, and lived among partisans. He heard plenty of gossip, listening to it, and imbibing it, no doubt, frequently in advance of the retailers, who told a good story without any wish that it should be told again." On the whole, it must be admitted that the Bishop's diaries, notes, and confidential letters contain many inaccuracies, harsh judgments, and strong expressions, which he would himself have corrected or toned down.

The opening pages of this volume contain some touching references to the Bishop's bereavement. In July, 1861, Mrs. Sargent entered into rest. The Bishop deeply felt the loss. In his diary he notes that one of the last words of the beloved one was, "There is a glad sound of victory in Heaven." Writing to Mr. Gladstone, he says:—

We lay her remains to-morrow by her husband's and her children's, moving once again that sacred ground, of which the stirring is as if men ploughed into my heart.

Mr. Gladstone replied: "We feel very deeply with you under the laceration of spirit which Mrs. Sargent's death must have brought upon you. However bright her lot may be, you, with your immense labours, and the cravings of your mind and heart, must sorely indeed feel the privation; only we trust that in this also your Master will be enough for you."

Of the Bishop's loyal love for his wife many beautiful tokens appear in these pages. On July 6th he lost "dearest Mrs. Sargent;" in the previous month, on the 11th, his wedding-day, he had talked with her of her daughter's "wedding—as a dream when one awaketh." In December, 1862, he wrote at Farnham:—

I am strangely overset; almost expecting to find *her* coming to this bedroom in which I write, and which we occupied together. O life! O death! O blessed Will of God, to Thee I bow!

On the narratives of the Bishop's Irish tour in the autumn of 1861, we make no comment; but a passage in Lord Carlisle's<sup>1</sup> diary is worth quoting:

The Bishop preached in the Castle chapel admirably. It was on the incompleteness of everything here. I never knew him put forward more power. He preached only from notes. It was a sermon that could not leave one quite what it found one . . . . He talked of the tenderness of nature he had found in Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel under cold masks. When the Bishop was much attacked about the Hampden transactions, Peel made him explain it all, then told him not to mind it. "How I have been attacked!" with much emotion.

This reference to Peel may be compared with that on page 23. Wilberforce did not reckon him "morose and sullen."

Some extracts from the Bishop's diary, pp. 33-35, afford proof of his incessant toil; no other man, probably, either could or would so move about from place to place. October 16th he started from London for Wolverton; he preached at Wolverton on the 17th and 18th: opened school and went on to Rugby. Next day, at Derby, he preached to 2,000 workmen of the Midland Railway Company; "back to Tamworth, and out to Ingestre with Lord Shrewsbury." On the 20th, "prepared sermon for Lichfield" in the morning; drove to Colwich in the afternoon and preached. Next day, church consecrated at Kingcote, and he preached. On 22nd, at Lichfield, "up early and finished sermon; cathedral excellent, services striking; luncheon, Lord Lichfield presiding; preached at afternoon service." On 23rd, S. P. G. meeting in Derby. Next day, "early breakfast, and in with Lord Vernon, Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lichfield, &c., &c., to Derby;" preached. Next day, S. P. G. meeting. On 26th, "off for York; very much tired at night. Reading and thinking about Oxford sermon." Next day (Sunday), Bishopthorpe; "preached at Minster;" "sleepy, *ehou*, at afternoon service; *must* eat no luncheon on Sunday; walked with Archbishop five miles," and so on. After two "capital" meetings he left Bishopthorpe on the 31st, writing his Oxford sermon all day in train, *vid* Manchester to Shrewsbury. On November 1, there was "a grand gathering at the service," a hundred clergy; "great luncheon; Lords Powis, Dungannon, &c." Next day, S. P. G. meeting; "off for Oxford. Finished sermon in train. Dined and slept at Principal's of Jesus." Next day

<sup>1</sup> According to Lord Carlisle's diary, the Bishop told a characteristic speech of the Bishop of Exeter. A lady to whom he was showing his place at Torquay, bored him with indiscriminate praise. At last she said, "And it is so Swiss!"—"Oh, very Swiss; only there are no mountains here, and there is no sea in Switzerland!" The same story, *mutatis mutandis*, is told in Lady Bloomfield's "Reminiscences" of Archbishop Whately and the Bay of Dublin.

(Sunday), "Merton service; Confirmation and Celebration early; thence to St. Mary's; great gathering, preached with interest." Next day, the 4th, business; party at Cuddesdon. Next day, meeting in Oxford; "same party at Cuddesdon." The 6th, "Merton service—meeting in Hall; then off to London; on to Shardeloes." The 7th, "up early and prepared sermon; then wrote letters; Coleshill Church consecrated, all went well, D.G." On the 8th, the Bishop rode through Wycombe to Shirburn Castle, where he met a large party of neighbouring clergy at dinner. The diary records: "Tired—very—at night." No wonder! On the 9th we read: "Up early; prepared sermon and wrote letters, preached and celebrated. Rode after luncheon to Cuddesdon. Drove into Oxford—Warden of All Souls." The next day (Sunday), he preached twice; one sermon old, the other new. On Monday morning, at eight o'clock, off for Banbury; preached at Great Barford. On Tuesday, preached in Banbury. On Wednesday, the 13th, up to town and down to Aylesbury. As to the next two days, we quote the diary entries, thus:—

*Nov. 14.* Breakfast; church 10.30. Wrote with Cust. Meeting of societies. Disraeli spoke for an hour on Church; clever electioneering speech to Clergy and Church. On by rail; wrote, &c.; and by Derby to Chatsworth, Lords Carlisle, Belper, C. Cavendish; Gladstone, &c.

*Nov. 15.* Morning, walked with Gladstone, Lord Carlisle, Duke, &c., to conservatory and grounds. Conservatory in great beauty. Then over House with ladies; then rode with Gladstone, Duke, and Lord Carlisle. Oak tree on fire; and Gladstone's characteristic energy displayed in putting it out. All the sons here, and pleasant.

In the same year Dr. Wilberforce busied himself about the Missionary Bishops Bill. He wrote to Mr. Gladstone:—"There is a keen feeling on the subject throughout the Church, and it is one of those questions of liberty for which we look anxiously for some help from your presence in a Cabinet which needs some sets-off for all our high appointments being given to those who have, and because they have, rejected the principles of our Church." This is strong language; but Dickens's term "Pickwickian" may cover it. In a clever postscript, the Bishop remarks:—"You have always objected to the Jerusalem Bishoprics Bill, and on that we must be thrown if Shaftesbury triumphs." The Bill failed to pass into law, but a license was obtained for the consecration of Mr. Staley as Missionary Bishop in the Sandwich Islands.

Some passages in the Bishop's diary, relating to the death of the Prince Consort, have a touching interest; they supply evidence of the deep feeling with which he took part in the funeral. For instance:—

Dec. 23. Off with the Dean for Windsor. The funeral most moving ; many honest old politicians in tears as it proceeded. Those two princes at their father's feet. His power for good gone.

In July of the following year the Missionary Bishops Bill was again introduced. There was more than one sharp passage of arms between the Bishop and the Chancellor, and on the whole Lord Westbury got the worst of it. On the advice of Lords Derby and Granville, the Bishop withdrew the Bill.

In a letter to a bishop about lay-deacons, Wilberforce, with characteristic confidence, makes this statement :—" If you find laymen who will work under you, I would by all means use them—without their giving up their pursuits—in the service of the sanctuary. But I would not call them deacons, nor ordain them with laying on of hands. I am persuaded that having a double order under the same name, *i.e.* deacons who have renounced all for the ministry, and those who have not, is contrary to primitive use." This statement, we believe, is erroneous. The lately expressed opinion of the Bishop of Durham, regarding " primitive use," may here be quoted. In his Charge, Bishop Lightfoot says :—

Against this measure (the Permanent Diaconate) I have no objection to urge on principle. I do not see how I can find fault with the pursuit of secular avocations in the ministers of a Church whose chief Apostle was a tent-maker. Precedents, too, in later ages are sufficiently frequent to justify this combination of the spiritual office with the secular work.

There are some deeply interesting passages relating to Sisterhoods. One striking sentence in a letter to Mr. Carter, about Clewer, may well be quoted :

" Evasion seems to me the very clinging curse of everything Roman and Romanistic."

The volume contains several good anecdotes. Here is one :

A conversation arose after dinner as to the difficulty of putting some English words into Latin. " You cannot put *hearse* into Latin," said one. " Oh ! that is very easy," said the Bishop, " *Mors omnibus.*"

Here and there in this volume appears an edifying passage upon prayer. The tone of the Bishop's language is deeply spiritual.<sup>1</sup> For instance, in replying to one who had asked him about the apparent failure of his ministerial work, he writes :—

Show the people that you have a pastor's heart, and I do not think they will be long in giving you the natural return, the support of the parish. I cannot tell you how earnestly I long for such a change in your ministry in its fundamental character. I see not the love of Christ, I see not the

<sup>1</sup> As regards Prayer and Missions, the Bishop's language does no discredit to his Evangelical training. But in looking out those passages of the diary which relate to his spiritual life we somehow miss feelings of joy.

love of souls, I see not faith in your Master's presence in it. Your ministry looks to me like the stunted unwilling service of that fearful character, the mere professional priest. God knows if this is so. I speak but of the aspect which outwardly your ministry wears. My *advice*, for which you ask, is : PRAY—pray for more thorough conversion of heart—pray for ministerial zeal—pray for love to Christ. Pray for the outpouring of the Spirit on your own soul and on your ministry, and then live in your parish, live for your parish, work in it as a man only can work who has come to his work from intercession for his people.

In a letter to a clergyman of whose rubrical deficiency some parishioner had privately complained to the Bishop, we observe a statement that on St. Bartholomew's Day, which fell on a Sunday, "the proper course would have been to read the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Saint's day." Now, we do not defend disobedience. *When the law is clear, i.e.,* when among reasonable men there is no dispute upon a point, or when the Courts have given a decision about it, an incumbent ought to obey the direction of the Ordinary. As a rule, indeed, the proper course, in our judgment, is to submit to the formally expressed direction of the Ordinary. A clergyman may doubt whether he is legally bound to read the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Saint's day on a Sunday ; there is no rule on the point ; but clearly this is one of the cases where the Bishop is empowered by the rubric to "take order."

In September, 1862, Archbishop Sumner died, at the age of eighty-two, after a long illness. At the end of August the Bishop had been staying with Mr. Gladstone, and the diary records : "Drove to Aber, and walked up the valley with Gladstone ; a good deal of talk with him about Church promotions, &c. He takes more part than I thought. But spoke of the Bishop of Chester as bearable for Canterbury !!!" The notion of Graham for Canterbury called forth three notes of admiration, and it seems as though for several days Wilberforce could hardly speak of it. On the 5th, however, the day before the good Archbishop died, he wrote to Mr. Gladstone : "If such a conjuncture happened as we spoke of, Lichfield or Winchester would be a thousand times better for the Church than Chester to push into the vacant chair." As soon as he heard the chair was vacant he wrote "a few hasty lines" to Mr. Gladstone, "not knowing what haste there might be in resolving on the successor." He thought that the Archbishop of York would be the best ; otherwise the Bishop of Winchester. He "very earnestly" desired, indeed, that his friend's influence should be used for getting Bishop Sumner to succeed his brother. This would leave "a good appointment for Lord Palmerston." Who, then, should succeed Bishop Sumner at Winchester ? On this point Wilberforce was silent. Bishop

Sumner at this time, it may be noted, was seventy years old. On September 10 Mr. Gladstone replied, saying that he had written to Lord Palmerston, urging strongly the appointment of some one who combined in his own person moderation with learning and piety, and glancing favourably at age as a condition of fitness for the primacy, and finally referring, by way of example, to the Archbishop of York. Mr. Gladstone further said that he thought this appointment would not be made; yet, if it were, he said that in his mind there was not the smallest doubt that the Bishop was the person who ought to succeed to York. On September 25 the diary records:—

(Doncaster.) Called on Dr. Vaughan, who told me that the Archbishop of York had to-day received the offer of Canterbury, and accepted. God be praised! He can overrule all.

The next day the Bishop wrote to an intimate friend, as follows:—

I suppose to-morrow's papers will tell you that York goes to Canterbury; quite surely an answer to prayer, looking at what we might have had. We shall have peace and holiness, and a steady adherence to Church principles in him. God be thanked . . . I preached to marvellously still church, *full* here (Doncaster) to-day.

After the appointment had been made to Canterbury, Mr. Gladstone, we read, "wrote to Lord Palmerston strongly pressing the appointment of the Bishop of Oxford to York. That Mr. Gladstone failed in securing this appointment for the man whom all England looked upon as the most peculiarly fitted for the Archbishopric of the Northern Province, and that the Bishop's former curate was appointed instead, is now a matter of history." The following letter expresses the Bishop's thanks to Mr. Gladstone for the part he had taken:—

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,—I thank you from my heart for having let me see your letter. It humbled and it cheered me. Humbled me to see how far too kindly you judged of me; cheered me more than I can say to know that such a man as you so wrote about me.

To the Bishop, no doubt, the disappointment was severe. "There must be some history," he wrote to a friend, "if only we could get it, because only last week Sir C. Wood had told Admiral Meynell that I was to be appointed." To Bishop Tait, in the first instance, the Archbishopric was offered; and if he had gone to York, Lord Palmerston might have promoted Wilberforce. In the diary, at all events, appears this entry:—

Dec. 16.—(Windsor). Talk with the Dean; he told me that if London had taken York, I was to be offered London.

Three months before this bit of gossip was recorded, the  
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Bishop and Lord Palmerston had met on a platform at Winchester. In his diary Wilberforce writes :—"Lord Palmerston at meeting; very, very clever—twisted one sentence of mine sorely." This sentence was :—"The schoolmasters are to be religious teachers; not teachers of religion." As everybody knows, the Bishop's relations with the Premier were not very friendly. According to the *Times*, Samuel Wilberforce was "never out of collision with Lord Palmerston from March 30, 1837,<sup>1</sup> when the former as rector of Brightsome delivered an attack on the latter so tremendous that the Duke of Wellington, sitting in the chair, only abstained from interfering, he said, for fear of drawing the fire upon himself. This was reported at Oxford as a very grand achievement, but there is no doubt it cost Samuel an Archbishopric. He had his amusement, and he paid for it." This is flippant. Wilberforce would have been recommended for the Archbishopric, no doubt, if such an appointment had been thought expedient by Lord Palmerston and the noble Earl with whom on such questions the Premier took counsel; but he was not trusted. When Bishop Thomson was translated to York, it was said that his ability, backed by the high position, would make him a match for S. OXON, and he was.

It may be convenient, in this connection, to quote a few of the Bishop of Oxford's remarks on Lord Palmerston. In March, 1863, he had written to Mr. Gladstone about the Premier's "wicked appointments," insults "to every sound Churchman;" and in June he wrote to Mr. Gordon, in a very bitter vein, as follows :—

"That wretched Pam seems to me to get worse and worse. There is not a particle of veracity or noble feeling that I have ever been able to trace in him. He manages the House of Commons by debauching it, making all parties laugh at one another. . . . I think if his life lasts long it must cost us the slight remains of Constitutional government which exist amongst us."

In his triennial Charge (November, 1863) the Bishop "touched on the hindrances which had been alleged in the answers sent by the clergy, which fell under three heads: Dissent, bad cottages, and beershops." He "did not," says the biographer, "class Dissenters and beershops together as hindrances." This is true. Yet some pungent criticism of the Charge was spoken in the House of Commons, later on, by an able and respected Nonconformist whom Mr. Gladstone placed upon the Treasury Bench.

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<sup>1</sup> The meeting was at Winchester (vol. i. p. 107). In his speech, Lord Palmerston took a line which Mr. S. Wilberforce "considered inconsistent with true Churchmanship."

Chapter IV. (1861—1866) contains several passages of interest with regard to the Court of Appeal. The aim of Wilberforce was to remove the spiritual element from the Judicial Committee; questions of doctrine should be brought before Referee Prelates. In a marvellously clever letter to Lord Westbury (p. 109), he wonders that "one of so clear an intuition and so masterly an intellect" should not dislike presiding at "that most anomalous Court." He says:—

I propose, not that the ecclesiastics should be asked how the Church is to decide, but that whenever a question of the Divine law is involved in the decision, the ecclesiastics should be asked what is the doctrine of the Church of England.

In the same subtle letter the Bishop says, that if in the Gorham case had gone forth an "ecclesiastical answer that the Church of England taught that every rightly baptized infant was regenerate," this "would have saved us from the schism under which we have ever since languished." Now, if the reader will turn to the second volume of the "Life" (THE CHURCHMAN, vol. iv., p. 125), he will see how groundless is the assertion that the Gorham judgment drove Manning to Rome. He "went over" in the year 1850, but he had made up his mind about "unity" in the year 1841. Newman went over in 1845.

In February, 1865, at Lambeth, we read in the diary, there was a "long discussion on Court of Appeal;" we read also of the "Archbishop of York's great wrath." Some of the Bishops who were present, probably, may not remember his Grace's "wrath;" but in any case, if meetings at Lambeth in those days were miserable and quarrelsome, S. OXON, according to rumour, was sometimes the cause. The feeling on the part of the majority of the Prelates seems to have been that it was best to leave things alone and not to have any fancy Court. Further, it is possible that the scheming of one of their number to obtain a leadership in the Episcopal Jury was seen through and tacitly opposed.

In 1864 the synodical condemnation of "Essays and Reviews" was brought under the notice of the House of Lords, and the Lord Chancellor (Westbury) declared that Convocation had no legal right to pronounce such synodical condemnation, because as all appeals must lie to the Crown, and as there was no appeal to the Crown from such condemnation, therefore the condemnation was illegal. The opinions of Sir Hugh Cairns and Mr. Rolt differed *in toto* from the Lord Chancellor's. He had threatened, however, to give a "grave admonition to the contumacious Prelates," and he made a personal attack upon the Prelate who had been the leading spirit in obtaining the condemnation. He said the "judgment is simply a series of well-lubricated terms—a sentence so oily and saponaceous



that no one could grasp it." The Bishop's dignified and impressive reply was received with cheers; and no devout and thoughtful person could doubt that on this, as on previous occasions in the "Essays and Reviews" controversy, he was speaking with all his heart in defence of the truth of God. Lord Derby wrote to him:—"I am glad to have been spared the pain of witnessing the Chancellor's disgraceful exhibition in the House of Lords, though I own I should have liked to have heard your crushing reply."

In November, 1866, the Bishop wrote to a friend:—"We have begun again on the Ritual Commission, and there is a great wish to condemn lights, incense, &c. I *hate* them as novelties; but I see so plainly that the party who hate all real Church progress are the people who object to them, that it makes me very doubtful how far we can go in repression without repressing that development of real Church life in which is our hope." This sentence will repay study; and it may be compared with other similar sayings; he would not act as though his action were the result of attacks.<sup>1</sup> But there is in it something more than a dislike of "Puritanism." There is a dread of Parliamentary interference, of "Erastianism." Yet further, it is evident, we think, that Wilberforce was desirous of "saving" all that ritual which persons inclined to go over to Rome might (in ignorance) call Catholic. In a remarkable letter to the Primate, December. 1865, he argues that an Episcopal attempt to reduce ritual, to define, repress, &c., would "drive many over to Rome;" and on December 29th he uses these words:—"I did not mean to imply that I approved of the use of the vestments and incense; so far from it, I have prevented it in my diocese." But that he desired to prevent it *in the Church*—that he was content vestments and incense should be declared illegal—he did not say. Before the meeting at Lambeth, in February, he had taken counsel with Mr. Gladstone; and the result was that no Episcopal address was issued. The Bishop received memorials from two Rural Deans, and these Mr. Wilberforce prints side by side. To Mr. Fremantle, now Dean of Ripon, the Bishop writes just as one would expect; he "deplores" and "trusts." To Mr. Butler, now Canon of Worcester, he says, "The Church's rule ought not to be altered." On every side the question was asked, "What *is* the Church's rule?" Wilberforce gave no reply. "The Bishop sounded no uncertain note," says his

<sup>1</sup> In his pamphlet, *Letter to the Dean of Ripon* (Simpkin, Marshall & Co.), Mr. Golightly showed, clearly enough, the Bishop's inconsistency as to Cuddesdon: "The Bishop having declared that the report of the archdeacons negatived every charge which I had brought against the College, proceeded to confirm those charges by making greater changes in the system of the College than I could have ventured to urge upon him."

son. We cannot agree with him. In his own diocese, no doubt, he prevented scandalous excesses ; but in regard to "the Church's rule" in general, his sound, we think, was designedly uncertain. We shall explain ourselves later on.

In his Charge he described the Ritual development as being "like some brilliant fantastic coruscation, which has cast itself forth from the surface of the weltering mass of molten metal which, unaffected by such exhalations, flows on with its full stream into its appointed mould. Those burning sparks witness of the heat of the mass from which they sprang; they are not, in their peculiar action, of its essence or its end." This is pretty. But when we turn to matter of fact, what do we find ? If legislation simply repealed the Rubric which was quoted as legalizing the restored ornaments, no rule as to ritual would remain ; yet legislative measures, like legal proceedings, would, Wilberforce trusted, be avoided ; peace would be obtained if only Ritualistic clergy would place the matter in their Bishop's hands. This is all ; was it enough ? We think not. Again, in February, 1867, the Bishops (of Canterbury) sat with closed doors, and a reply to the Lower House, moved by Bishop Wilberforce, and seconded by the Bishop of London, was carried unanimously. Its concluding words are :—"Our judgment is that no alterations from long-sanctioned and usual ritual ought to be made in our churches, until the sanction of the Bishop of the diocese has been obtained thereto." Has this resolution, good as it is, brought us nearer to peace ? It has not. Again, when Lord Shaftesbury proposed to introduce a Bill on the basis of the 53th Canon, Bishop Wilberforce wrote to Mr. Gladstone :—"It was *exactly* the idea for his cramped, puritanical, persecuting mind." Against this "gagging Bill" the Bishop planned and plotted with success. He spoke to the Bishops of "ignominy," "shameless party spirit," "terrible evil," and so forth. The end of it was, Archbishop Longley, over whom, unhappily, Wilberforce had great influence, gave way. The noble Earl was to be "hounded off" by being told that the Archbishop was preparing a Bill. But what was in the mind of Wilberforce ? The Bill which the Archbishop proposed to introduce, drawn up by Bishop Ellicott, rested, if we remember right, on the Canons and usage ; and this measure would have been favourably regarded by many High Churchmen ; it was not so "narrow" as Lord Shaftesbury's, and it was approved by the great majority of the Bench, Bishop Wilberforce included. But Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Archbishop "very strongly," and after an interview with the Primate and the Bishop of London, he had reason to believe that a Commission would be proposed. Lord Derby informed the Archbishop that the Cabinet were unanimously of opinion

that any proceedings in regard to Ritualistic practices had better be taken by a Commission "than through *immediate legislation*." Bishop Wilberforce thereupon wrote to his Grace:—"I reserve my own opinion, that *no legislation* is best of all." So far, then, he is consistent; he steadily opposes legislation. He shows himself still, as we shall see, on the side of the Ritualists. He delights in generalities about "the liberty of congregations and the restraining and directing power of the Bishops;" in the House of Lords he declares that he is a Richard Hooker man, holds a middle position, and so forth; but in private, what does he say? and on the Commission, how does he act? We take our answer from the volume before us. His son writes thus:—

Some of the members agreed to form a private committee, and to move *pari passu* with the meetings of the Commissioners. This committee consisted of Lord Beauchamp, the Bishop of Oxford, the Dean of Ely, Canon Gregory, the Right Hon. Sir R. Phillimore, the Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard, the Right Hon. A. J. Beresford Hope, and the Rev. T. W. Perry. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol joined, but after one or two meetings, deserted and went over to the other side. This committee, although less than a third of the whole body, was enabled, by showing a united front, to really guide the Commission, and to virtually settle the Report.

The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, probably, had no liking for a caucus; he saw very well what was going on. But what of the Report, nominally Mr. Hubbard's? Again we quote from the "Life":—

This draft Report, as the diary shows, was in reality drawn by the Bishop, and the secret of its success was the moderation of tone, and the judicious use of the word "restrain" with regard to vestments, instead of the word "abolish" or "prohibit." The main body of the Commissioners failed to perceive the elasticity of this word, which, in fact, did leave a loophole for the regulated use of vestments.

The Wilberforce caucus prevailed; a loophole was left for the Mass Vestments. What of Wilberforce himself? Again we quote the "Life." In a private letter to his son Ernest, he says:—"I was most anxious, for the sake of the Ritualists, there should be no making of the vestments in themselves illegal." Exactly. This is what we have said all along. He wished that "the rule of the Church" should remain undefined; his own words as to the Church's rule are convicted of being purposely obscure. We quote the portion of this private letter which reveals what was in his mind. He says:—

I was most anxious, for the sake of the Ritualists, that there should be no making of the vestments in themselves illegal; because:

1. This would, to a certain degree, have altered the standing of the English Church.

2. It would have prevented any use of them where the people do not object.

3. It would have stood in the way of any such gradual return to a higher class as alone can, I think, be useful.

In addition to this letter, so significant, it is hardly necessary to quote evidence against the Prelate who a little while before had solemnly declared, in the House of Lords, that he was not an extreme man. Yet it may be well to quote one other entry upon this matter :—

*Aug. 5.*—Commission ; all day strong against a vote of no allowance of vestments in parish churches—beat 13 to 9. Bishop of Gloucester, as usual, all the heat of a deserter against me. Very much down. May God avert the evil I dread !

Here we may answer a question to which we have already referred. Granted that Wilberforce, although a High Churchman, fond of what Kingsley called “the pomp and circumstance of worship,” was no Romanizer, and had personally no sympathy with the extravagances of Ritualists, why did he not *speak out* as Hook did,<sup>1</sup> and why did he throw himself on the side of those who wished to “save”<sup>2</sup> all the erroneously termed Catholic Ritual ? The answer, we believe, is this :—One “evil” which he dreaded was the secession of his daughter. He kept on yielding, and trimming, and leaving “loopholes,” because he so hoped to keep his daughter and son-in-law in the Church of England. But it was all in vain. In August, 1868, he wrote in his diary these most touching words :—

*Aug. 29.*—At luncheon a terrible letter from H. Pye, which almost stunned me. He is going over, after all, to Rome, and of course my poor E——. For years I have prayed incessantly against this last act of his, and now it seems denied me. It seems as if my heart would break at this insult out of my own bosom to God’s truth in England’s Church, and preference for the vile harlotry of the Papacy. God forgive them ! I have struggled on my knees against feelings of wrath against him in a long, long weeping cry to God. May He judge between this wrong-doer and me !

Later he heard that they had really gone over (October 23rd), and then he writes in his diary :—“Lord, have mercy upon them, and forgive them, and let it not be the loss of their souls too ! I hardly yet see it in all its bearings, only that bonds and afflictions abide me.” Again he writes, to a dear friend, how he has “striven, guarded, and prayed against this in all its most distant approaches.”

“Painful, indeed, it is,” we quote his biographer, “to with-

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Review*, October ; *CHURCHMAN*, December, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> The diary (Feb. 13) : “Hot fights in the Jerusalem Chamber, and I know not how much I shall save.”

draw the veil which overshadows this mournful episode; yet, unless it is done, the Bishop's life would be incomplete." We simply repeat our opinion, which we know is strongly held by others, who admired and liked Wilberforce, and knew him intimately for many years, that one "evil" which he "dreaded" when he threw his weight on the side of the sacrificial vestments, lights, and so forth, was the secession of his dearly loved daughter.<sup>1</sup> Many a High Churchman, we may add, has "laboured" as he did, and equally in vain. When a man or a woman receives Rome's notions of the "Catholic" Church, no loop hole in the rubrics of the Reformed Church of England is likely to prevent reception of Rome's notions of the "Catholic" ritual.

In September Archbishop Longley was taken seriously ill, and in October he died. It was a singular coincidence that the announcement of Mr. and Mrs. Pye's perversion appeared in juxtaposition with the death of the Archbishop. Wilberforce had no expectation of succeeding: he had received from the Premier, September 28th, a letter which he could interpret very well. He wrote to a friend that the fear of injuring his election-cry would "prevent Disraeli, in this, doing what, from his convictions, would be his own course." This was an utter mistake; Disraeli always distrusted him.

The Premier's letter was characteristic; and we quote the chief portions of it:—

I think the Chief Minister of this country, if he be ignorant of the bent of the national feeling at a crisis, must be an idiot. His means of arriving at the truth are so multifarious. Now, certainly, I hold that the long pent-up feeling of this nation against ultra-Ritualism will pronounce itself at the impending election. The feeling has been long accumulating; its repression might have been retarded; circumstances have brought an unexpected opportunity, and what I presumed to foretell at one of our Church meetings, some years ago in Bucks, has come to pass. The questions of labour and liberty are settled; the rise of religious questions may be anticipated in an eminently religious people, undisturbed in their industry and secure in their freedom.

It will be a Protestant Parliament, though it may not be a Church Parliament.

But there can be no doubt that every wise man on our side should attract the Protestant feeling, as much as practicable, to the Church of England.

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<sup>1</sup> October 24 he writes to his son Ernest: "I do not see how I am ever to have them in my house, except when I am dying. The reason against Henry's coming equally excludes them." To which Mr. Reginald Wilberforce adds, in a note: "By his house the Bishop meant his Episcopal residence at Cuddesdon, not his private residence at Lavington, in which latter house his brother Henry was frequently a guest after he had joined the Roman Communion."

The point of this letter Wilberforce was far too clever to miss. He saw clearly that Canterbury was out of the question. He had written, September 11th, to the Premier; grieved "at the attitude of the Church party;" astonished that Dean Hook should oppose Lord Henry Lennox (at Chichester); expected that Deans and Prelates should be selected from High Church circles, &c.

Bishop Tait<sup>1</sup> went to Canterbury, Bishop Jackson to London, and Dr. Wordsworth was appointed to Lincoln. It may be that, but for electioneering considerations, Disraeli would have offered Wilberforce the See of London; and certainly his great administrative powers would have been of signal service in the metropolis. His translation, however, would not have been acceptable to "the snuffling Puritan clique" (p. 271), which was opposed no less to Bishop Wilberforce than to Mr. Gladstone. The diary, on December 11th, says: "Gladstone as ever; great, earnest, and honest; as unlike the tricky Disraeli as possible."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gladstone was by this time in office again.

Mr. Reginald Wilberforce, we should judge, is a strong Liberal in politics, and Gladstonian in Church matters—like his father. It looks as if he had taken some pains to place Mr. Gladstone in the most favourable light. He makes no comment, for instance, on the appointment to Exeter of Dr. Temple—a writer in "Essays and Reviews," a book which "had been synodically condemned by Convocation"—he simply states that the Bishop refused to be on the Commission for Dr. Temple's consecration.<sup>3</sup> His narrative of the Irish Church

<sup>1</sup> "The Duke told me," writes Wilberforce at Blenheim, "of Disraeli's excitement when he came out of the Royal Closet. Some struggle about the Primacy. Lord Malmesbury said also that when he spoke to Disraeli he said, 'Don't bring any more bothers before me; I have enough already to drive a man mad.' My belief is that the Queen pressed Tait, and against possibly Ely, or some such appointment."

<sup>2</sup> In writing to an old friend he says, "Yes, Lothair is all you say. But my wrath against D. has burnt before this so fiercely that it seems to have burnt up all the materials for burning, and to be like an exhausted prairie fire—full of black stumps, burnt grass, and all abominations." He records with glee the *mot* of Lord Chelmsford, who was Lord Derby's Chancellor, but not Mr. Disraeli's, uttered at Knowsley in the year of his dismissal, "The old Government the Derby, this the Hoax." He picks up Court gossip: "Erskine said, 'When Lord Chelmsford surrendered the seals to the Queen, he held them back a minute and said, "I have been used worse than a menial servant; I have not had even a month's warning."'"

<sup>3</sup> In the diary, January 16, 1870, the Bishop writes: "Gladstone has produced a very unwholesome and threatening excitement by the appointment of Temple. With a very high opinion of Temple personally, I deeply regret the appointment, because he has so obstinately refused to part himself from the 'Essays and Reviews' in their censured parts."

agitation is clear and full of interest. Some injustice was done to the Bishop,<sup>1</sup> we think, in regard to his votes and speeches on Mr. Gladstone's Bill after the election; and harsh words were written by "party" pens, Evangelical perhaps as well as Tory. "Misrepresentations" were "widespread." The present writer was waiting for a friend in the lobby one evening when the Bishop was expected to speak on the Government side: in came the Bishop, and it seemed, somehow, as though he was being led by a Cabinet Minister. A politician, standing near, said: "They've got him, sure enough!" For something of this we think Wilberforce was to blame. It was known that he had been busying himself, *more suo*, on the Government side. One thing he did may be mentioned. As soon as the election returns were complete he wrote to Archbishop Trench to suggest a "compromise." Again he wrote (December 30th), forcibly stating that the decision of the constituencies was irrevocable; resistance, as to Disestablishment, was useless, even if, by some strange chance, Disraeli came in again. Who is he?—"a mere mystery-man," ready "to sacrifice any man, purpose, principle, or Church," "wholly unprincipled," &c. What then?—come to Gladstone: "a tolerably satisfactory result" would "follow *immediate* action on your part." This letter was widely read. The Irish Episcopate, however, would not plead with Mr. Gladstone. Yet the Bishop was prepared to publish his appeal "to the Irish Church to settle the whole question in a generous and friendly manner with Mr. Gladstone." He wrote a pamphlet; but Mr. Gladstone advised against its publication—it was too much to put on the Bishop individually. Archbishop Trench, moreover, eagerly deprecated the publication; and so the question of Disendowment was decided, as was most fitting, in Parliament. In his speech in the House of Lords, in committee, the Bishop frankly stated, that he believed the Disestablishment of the Irish Church would not tend to appease Irish discontent.

On December 23rd, 1868, Lord Cairns delivered the judgment of the Judicial Committee in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*. The Bishop wrote to a friend:—

I fear the effect of the judgment in many quarters. It is so palpably one-sided, and meant by Cairns to please the *Times*. I hear the lawyers were two and two, and the Archbishop of York gave the casting-vote for

<sup>1</sup> The diary:—"I am very sorry Gladstone has moved the attack on the Irish Church. . . . It is altogether a bad business, and I am afraid Gladstone has been drawn into it from the unconscious influence of his restlessness at being out of office. I have no doubt that his hatred to the *low* tone of the Irish branch has had a great deal to do with it." A later entry: "To Windsor. The Queen very affable. 'So sorry Mr. Gladstone started this about Irish Church, and he is a great friend of yours,' &c."

it. The Ritualists have brought it on us ; but it is a very serious thing to have the Supreme Court decide to satisfy the public, and not as the law really is.

It is "a very serious thing," surely, that a Lord Bishop should make such a charge without warrant against the highest Court of the Realm. As to the gossip thus carelessly repeated, and, we must add, indiscreetly printed and rashly defended,<sup>1</sup> it has no foundation. There were five lawyers on the Court.

In September, 1869, Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Bishop concerning the See of Winchester ; the "time was come for him to seal the general verdict, and ask if he might name me for Winchester."

Of the Bishop's work in his new diocese but little information is given. There is a silence, too, about his relations with Evangelicals. His diary records :—"Very low ; kindness everywhere." That he laboured with success, is in great measure, we believe, due to the fact that he was careful to consider the feelings of the "Low Church" clergy and laity with whom he had to deal. We heard, indeed, at the time, that he took counsel with the "puritanical" Earl, who, of all men, could advise him in regard to the masses ; we heard, moreover, that the Bishop was strongly advised not to meddle with such matters as Evening Communion, and that he took the advice.<sup>2</sup> Any-

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop of York writes in the *Times*, January 6 :

"Mr. Reginald Wilberforce, on the Mackonochie judgment, asks, in answer to my saying there were six Privy Councillors 'present and able to vote,' 'Does the Archbishop mean to imply that Bishop Jackson, only just appointed to London, and who had not heard the argument, voted? Such an insinuation is not worth answering.' The best answer it could get would be what I now give—that Bishop Jackson was neither present nor voted ; that, as the cause originated in the diocese of London, he could not have been engaged in it ; and that, as he was not Bishop of London till 1869, he could not have taken part in a judgment delivered in 1868. More will not be required for this 'insinuation.'"

"The judges present at the hearing were Lord Chancellor Cairns, the Archbishop of York, Lord Chelmsford, Lord Westbury, Sir William Erle, and Sir J. W. Colville.

"I repeat that in no judgment in which I took part was the decision given by my casting-vote."

<sup>2</sup> Only four days before his death he delivered an address to the Rural Deans of his Diocese, on which the biographer observes :—"This last was published after the Bishop's death by the Rev. Canon Hoare, from notes which were made by him and some others at the time. . . ." The reply—as against the Diary—is unanswerable. If there be this want of authority even in copious notes, made by several listeners, and immediately revised with a view to immediate publication, what must be said of a few short notes jotted down in a private diary as they present themselves out of the fast-fleeting memories of a busy day's work? For ourselves, we hold that the Bishop was decidedly stronger against Confession than he was some years before. From one who was present we heard that he was exceedingly emphatic.



how, there is no doubt that after the year 1869 he was less inclined to fight for what is reckoned "Catholic" Ritual, while he was more pronounced in his condemnation of Romanizing Ritualism, and also more inclined to cultivate cordial relations with the Evangelical School.

We close the volume before us with mingled feelings. On the whole, it is a relief to quote, about the "Bishop of Society," the opinion of a relation and of a Prelate, who were both well qualified to judge:—

"Cuddesdon, then occupied by her (Mrs. Tait's) first cousin, Samuel Wilberforce, was soon a centre of attraction to us. Her intimacy with this relation was very close. She had a true admiration of his many marvellous gifts, and especially of that fund of *true religious feeling* which he had inherited from his father, and which formed after all the *deepest and strongest element in his most versatile character.*"

These are the words of the late Archbishop (*Catharine and Craufurd Tait*, p. 62), written a year or two ago.



#### ART. V.—FIRE FOUNTAINS.

*Fire Fountains.* By C. F. GORDON CUMMING. London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1883.

THE title of the work before us, *Fire Fountains*, is judiciously chosen, as also is the season at which it makes its first public appearance; though, indeed, the unusual mildness of the weather, at the time we are now writing, throws a certain degree of doubt on the latter assertion. This however is, of course, an accident which could not have been foreseen; and if the present winter should yet exhibit itself in its natural character, it will be pleasant for the reader to warm himself in imagination at those huge fountains of fire, the evolutions of which Miss Cumming has so graphically described. Viewing the matter in this light, however, we are not sure whether we should not ourselves prefer "*At Home in Fiji*" as a book for winter perusal to the present work. When all nature around us is bare and bleak, and we are enveloped in winter fogs, it is doubly delightful to be transported to those

"Summer isles of Eden lying, in dark purple spheres of sea,"

where we can revel in the luxurious vegetation of the tropics, and enjoy, by an effort of fancy, the balmy breezes, warmed by the Southern sun, and yet gently tempered in their warmth by the cool waves of the Pacific. Now the descriptions of

volcanoes in the Hawaii Islands, though they are more imposing than any which are to be found in the other work, do not represent these islands as desirable places of residence (unless, indeed, it were for missionary purposes). The scenery appears to be less uniformly beautiful than in Fiji, owing to the vast rivers of lava which from time to time lay waste the country. But besides this evil there are others of a more serious nature. The inhabitants of Hawaii live in continual insecurity, as they may at any time be visited by tidal waves, earthquakes, or volcanic eruptions. Of the first of these scourges there have been many in past years, the most remarkable of which took place in November, 1837. It was felt throughout the whole group of islands, but most violently in Maui and Hawaii, where it proved very destructive both of life and property. The description of it in vol. i. pp. 88-90, is most grand and awful. It came without any warning either from barometer or thermometer. The first indication of its approach was one which the natives did not understand. The sea suddenly retired from the harbour, and as suddenly returned. This was repeated several times, then at last it rose in a vast wall of water, carrying with it destruction on all sides, till it reached the villages far inland. Here, says the writer:—

The scene was even more terrible, because it happened at a time when about ten thousand persons had assembled here for religious instruction. A long day had been spent in Church services, and the people had either gone home to rest, or were gathered in groups on the shore, when suddenly, about 6.30 p.m., just at sunset, the sea commenced retreating at the rate of five miles an hour. The natives rushed eagerly in crowds to see this strange sight, when suddenly a gigantic wave formed and rushed towards them at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour, with an appalling roar. It dashed right into the village, rising twenty-feet above high water-mark, and broke with stunning noise, like a heavy thunder-crash. Mr. Coan says that from his house on the hill, the sound was "as if a heavy mountain had fallen on the beach." Then arose wailing cries of unspeakable anguish and horror. Men, women, and children, the old and the helpless, were struggling in the flood, amid their wrecked homes. Property of all sorts—clothing, food, domestic animals, floating timber, were swept out to sea; not a canoe escaped.—Vol. i. p. 89.

Equally terrible is the other element of destruction—fire—which continually bursts from its vast reservoirs, spreading desolation around it. A great part of Miss Cumming's first volume, and some parts of the second, is devoted to descriptions of the volcanoes and their irruptions; but we hardly like to make extracts from these parts of her book, because it would be impossible to do so without breaking off in the middle of a description, which would be unjust both to the writer and the subject. But we strongly recommend their perusal to all

Like them, they worshipped all sorts of living creatures—birds, beasts, and fishes. The distinctive feature in their roll of gods was the *fire-loving gods* of the volcano, the chief of whom was the goddess Pele. Human sacrifices, as well as sacrifices of swine and dogs, were common among them. But amid a mass of revolting absurdity, we may find (as, indeed, we may in most heathen mythologies) at least one tradition, or article of belief, which bears some faint resemblance to the real truth. It shines dimly through a mass of error, like

“A sunbeam which has lost its way.”

The belief we are now alluding to, or perhaps it was only a vague *hope*, is founded on a tradition that a certain deified king, named Crono, who was a great favourite with the people of Hawaii, would one day return, and, at his coming, would supersede all the lesser deities. A hope something similar to this has been prevalent at different times among several nations, including our own nation, among whom a tradition once floated about that King Arthur was not *dead*, but would one day come again, “and with him all good things.” Though how far this was really believed it is difficult to say. But there is something very touching in these legends, for they point obscurely to the coming of Him Whose advent is the true hope of the Church, even Jesus Christ, the desire of all nations. With the Hawaiians, however, this belief produced one result which was truly revolting. Supposing Captain Cook to be their expected god, they paid him divine honours, which he apparently felt himself obliged to accept without protest. For we never heard that he said, like Paul and Barnabas, “Sirs, why do ye these things?” But the conduct of his crew in a great measure undeceived the natives, for they soon made them see that his coming was anything but a blessing. There were some, however, who to the last believed in his divinity.

Vancouver, who afterwards visited these islands, succeeded by his kindness and efforts to do good in obliterating the evil impressions left by Captain Cook's followers. There were points, however, on which his efforts were unsuccessful. He could not persuade the hostile chiefs to forego their animosities, and he could not induce them to throw aside their idols and renounce the oppressive service which their superstition caused them to impose on the people, or to embrace the Christian faith. Kamehameha, the great warrior chief, the greatest hero and the most remarkable man that Hawaii has ever produced, flourished at this time. He is described by Captain King as

A savage of the most sternly ferocious appearance ; but in later years he proved himself to be in every respect a great and noble character, of wonderful ability, brave, resolute, ambitious, yet humane, hospitable and generous ; in stature herculean, in carriage majestic, with dark piercing eyes, which seemed to penetrate the innermost thoughts of all around him, and before whose glance the most courageous quailed.—Vol. ii., pp. 39, 40.

It is, indeed, much to be wished that such a man could have been won over to Christianity ; but, unfortunately, all his mighty influence flowed in the opposite direction. His belief in the fire-gods, and his power of impressing that belief on his countrymen, was greatly strengthened by a catastrophe which he, not unnaturally, attributed to the special intervention in his favour of the goddess Pele, as it occurred during two wars, which he was carrying on simultaneously, in Manii and in Hawaii.

The circumstances of the case are thus described :—

As the enemy, commanded by Keona, were marching across the isle, from Hilo to Kauai, to attack the forces of Kamehameha, they had to encamp in the neighbourhood of the volcano, when a terrific storm of thunder and lightning commenced. Supernatural darkness overspread heaven and earth, weird red and blue lights flashed in awful glare from the crater, and the earth rocked so appallingly that the stoutest hearts quailed, and none dared to move from his place lest the next step should precipitate him into the yawning chasm. For two days and nights Keona and his tribe halted terror-stricken. Then, having to choose between starvation and movement, they determined to advance. In order to divide the danger, they separated into three companies and started at intervals. The first company had gone but a little way, when a violent earthquake shook the ground, so that they reeled to and fro like drunken men, unable to stand still or proceed. Then great Pele unmasked her batteries, and with a roar, exceeding the loudest thunder-crash, pursued them with such a volley of artillery that the miracle seems that any should have escaped. The sky, which but a moment before had been unclouded, was filled with a shower of cinders and ashes, extending for many miles round, while the air was poisoned with sulphureous gases. The ashes were thrown to so great a height that they were partly cooled in their descent, and so the majority of the first company were uninjured, only a few of their number being overwhelmed and suffocated. At the appointed interval the second party started, and then in due time the third. The latter experienced much the same dangers as the first detachment, but hurried onwards and escaped with little loss. But what was their consternation, on discovering their comrades of the central division lying stark and dead ! Four hundred human beings, with their wives and their little ones, lay as if in sleep, stifled by the sulphureous vapours. Some were sitting upright, with their families grouped around them in close embrace ; others lying down,

apparently in natural sleep. It was like the destruction of the Assyrians when

"The Angel of Death spread his wing on the blast,  
And breathed on the face of the foe as he passed."

We cannot wonder that such an apparent interposition of their goddess should have strengthened Kamehameha's belief in the power of the fire-gods. But in many other respects he exerted his influence beneficially, at least during the closing years of his reign, when his wars were ended, which did not happen till all his foes were subdued. Then he ruled with wisdom and beneficence, and put a stop to the ruthless oppression which had formerly prevailed. He so changed the whole condition of the country that the most helpless of his subjects could live in peace and security. One set of rigorous and oppressive laws, however, he maintained to the last. These were called the laws of Tabu, by which men were put to death for the most insignificant and arbitrary offences, such as putting on a waistcoat belonging to a chief, eating forbidden food, and many other transgressions equally trivial. They weighed on all classes, but most heavily on the common people. The most trying Tabus, however, were those relating to the gods, and dependent in a great measure on the caprice of the priests. Particular seasons were called "Tabu," and during these the people were subjected to restrictions far heavier than those which the Church of Rome imposes upon her children (see vol. ii. pp. 63-65). But at last the example of the whites, and perhaps also the very weight of the burdens under which the whole nation groaned, effected a cure.

When Kamehameha died, he was succeeded by his son, Liho Liho Tolani, who was imbued with infidelity by the whites. But he would not probably have had strength of mind sufficient to break the iron chain, had he not been supported by the stronger will of his mother. The most decisive blow was struck at a certain feast where several of the high chiefs were present, and where, according to custom, the women sat in a place apart. The King sent down to his wives certain tabooed dishes, such as pigs, fowls, and turtles, and sat down to eat among them. This, of course, was denounced by the priests. A war ensued between the followers of the King and the Conservative ecclesiastical party, in which the former proved victorious, and idolatry was abolished. But as no religious belief had been substituted for it, the people fell under the influence of the low-minded whites who infested the islands, and their position became (if possible) more degraded than before.

The vices of civilized life were grafted on those in-

digenous to the soil. Drunkenness and the most abominable licentiousness prevailed; all laws of morality, of humanity, of natural affection, were disregarded, and Hawaii became a hell upon earth. But it is said that when things are at the worst, they often mend, and so it was in this case. Perhaps the very lawlessness of the condition in which they were then living may have paved the way towards their reception of Christianity. They must have felt its evil, and must, moreover, have experienced that craving which exists even in the mind of the unrenewed man, for some sort of faith; and having renounced their *old* belief, there was less to hinder their reception of a *new* one. At all events, whatever the cause may have been, the mission at Hawaii was attended with fewer difficulties than that of most other groups in the Pacific. It was established in the year 1820. The incident which suggested the idea was a remarkable one, and we will give it as related by Miss Cumming:—

One morning, the students at Yale College (America) found a dark-skinned lad sitting on the doorstep, crying bitterly. He told them how his father and mother had been slain before his eyes; and when he fled, carrying his infant brother on his back, the child was killed with a spear, and he was taken prisoner. After a while he managed to get on board an American ship, and so landed at New Haven. Craving to be taught all the wisdom of the white men, he found his way to the College, hoping by some means to gain access to it; but at the last his heart failed him, and so, sad and lonely, he could choose but weep.—Vol. ii., p. 88.

The result was, that this lad—whose name was Opukahaia—was taken as a pupil, and he confided to others his wish to tell the good news, which he had himself savingly received, to his countrymen. This started the idea of a mission, which was afterwards carried out. For two years the missionaries laboured, but were so opposed by the white men that the mission was not fairly established till 1823; then, indeed, the Gospel was proclaimed to all who would listen to it, and it was received with a joy which might put to shame the thousands of professing Christians in our country, on whose ears it falls every Sunday as words that have no life in them. Some of those who were present on these occasions declared that “the news was indeed good news;” and they added:—

“Let us all attend to it: who is there who does not desire eternal life in the other world?” Others said, “Our forefathers from time immemorial, and we, ever since we can remember anything, have been seeking the *ora roa* (never-ending life), or a state in which we should not die, but we have never found it yet. Perhaps this is it of which you are telling us.”—Vol. ii., p. 96.

The King Liho Liho and his Queen, as well as the Queen's mother, were favourable to the mission; but, unfortunately,

the King was of a weak nature and very prone to the sin of drunkenness, and was encouraged to break off his resolutions of amendment by the wickedness of his white friends. In fact, the conduct of the English and American sailors, and of their captains, and also of the British Consul, was truly diabolical. They set themselves to oppose all the good and just laws, all the schemes for improvement, which the chiefs were now willing to enact. The Consul based his opposition on the pretext that it was illegal to pass laws without the sanction of the British Government, though England had recognised the Hawaiians as a free and independent people, and had no intention of interfering in their domestic affairs. Happily, however, the influence of whites—even of those who were not missionaries—was not always for evil. Yet, in spite of these exceptions, we cannot ignore the fact, humiliating though it be, that though the work of the missions was steadily progressing throughout the islands, the hindrances should, for the most part, have come from nominal Christians, and from our own countrymen. But God is stronger than man and Satan; and therefore His work, though subjected to the fires of persecution—for its enemies, not content with leading the natives into evil ways, sometimes resorted to open violence—was, like the burning bush, never consumed. One thing which greatly contributed to its success was the implicit obedience which the people were wont to pay to their chiefs; so that when the latter desired them to give ear to the teaching of the Christian ministers, they never thought of disobeying.

Another element of success was the influence of certain remarkable converts, distinguished, some by their rank, some by their character, and some by both.

We cannot, of course, mention all these; but one woman, whose name was Kapiolani, deserves especial notice. This heroic female was resolved to break the remnant of superstition which still lingered in Hawaii, riveted by a chain of terror to the awful volcano, the eruptions of which were so destructive to that island. It was always considered unsafe to visit its crater, and to eat the berries of a plant called ohilo, which grew around it in abundance, without first casting a cluster over the precipice as an offering to the goddess; and though some of the whites had dispensed with this ceremony with impunity, yet the natives supposed that this was no guarantee for their own safety should they follow their example. Therefore Kapiolani resolved that she would herself make a pilgrimage to this awful mountain, and defy the anger of the great goddess Pele. The account of her ascent (vol. ii, pp. 128-138) is well worth reading, though too long for us to transcribe. She resolved first to visit Hilo, where a mission station had been

erected, in order that she might strengthen the hands of the missionaries, by shaking the faith of the people in the most deep-rooted of all their superstitions. She was obliged to travel on foot for upwards of one hundred miles through rugged lava-beds ; and though she was continually implored by the people not to brave the anger of the goddess, she still continued her journey. As she drew near the crater a prophetess of Pele met her, and warned her that she was marching to utter destruction ; but she answered her from passages in Scripture, which silenced, if they did not convince, the prophetess. On reaching the edge of the crater the party saw the Pele berries growing thick around them, but no Hawaiian dared to touch them till, having gathered a branch, he had thrown it into the fiery lake, uttering the accustomed formula : " Pele, here are your obelos." " I offer some to you, I also eat." But Kapiolani ate her berries without this acknowledgment, walked to the brink of the fiery lake, and threw broken fragments of lava into the furnace ; she then turned to her followers, and said : " My God is Jehovah ; He it is who kindled these fires ! I do not fear Pele ! Should I perish by her anger, then you may fear her power ; but if Jehovah save me while breaking her Tabus, then you must fear and love Him. The gods of Hawaii are vain !" Then she made her followers kneel, and join with her in a solemn act of adoration (see p. 128). Thus did this, the most inveterate of all Hawaiian superstitions, receive its death-blow, though, as might be expected, remnants of it still occasionally crop up.

And now the work of the missions advanced rapidly. Schools were set up, large congregations filled the churches, and by 1828 the four Gospels were translated into Hawaiian, and from 1,500 to 2,000 of them were in circulation. In 1831 a temperance society was formed in Honolulu. Polygamy was declared illegal, and, altogether, society began to be organized on a better model ; but soon a terrible reaction, in favour of sin and idolatry, took place. The two chief causes of this were the sin of drunkenness and the evil influence of the British Consul, who, not content with exerting all his power in opposition to the Native Government, used, in common with other foreigners, to take a pleasure in seducing the natives into drunkenness, and sometimes would endeavour to induce a reformed drunkard to relapse by disguising spirits in strong coffee, in order to reawaken his former thirst for alcohol. Unfortunately the young King, though he had begun his reign well, yielded afterwards, like Liho Liho, to the influence of foreigners, who plied him with liquor, and sank lower and lower, till at last he allowed himself to be persuaded into removing all legal penalties for crime, and centring all



authority in himself. Then came the reaction. Churches were deserted, and some of them were burned; idolatry was in some places resumed, and drunkenness and licentiousness prevailed. This state of things lasted for some months, till at length the people grew disgusted with their own excesses; the King himself showed some repentance, and, after much vacillating, at last gave his sanction again to the laws in the year 1834. From that time things began to mend.

We must now give some slight notice of a remarkable awakening which took place between the years 1837 and 1843. It is described by Miss Cumming as a wave which swept through the whole group. Those who remember the revival in the North of Ireland, which took place about twenty-five years ago, will see some features in which the two resembled each other. They were neither of them the result, humanly speaking, of the preaching of any evangelist, or set of evangelists; in both instances the ministers, so far from heading the movement, were dragged on in its wake. Miss Cumming thus describes it:—

It was like an electric thrill affecting all the isles, especially Oahu, Maui, and especially Hawaii. On the latter, the resident clergy had been absent visiting the distant schools. Their canoe was wrecked, and they had just managed to swim ashore, when a message was brought to them from the Mission House at Kaawaloa, bidding them return at once, for strange things were happening—the natives were coming in companies asking what they should do to be saved. In 1838 news was received simultaneously from all parts of the isle, that the interest awakened was such that the people seemed to think of nothing else. Those who had hitherto been the most dull and stupid, and those who had not a thought beyond the lowest pleasures, were now roused to self-examination and prayer, &c.—Vol. ii., pp. 142, 143.

It is necessary to read the whole of the nineteenth chapter in order to appreciate fully the power of this great awakening. Mr. Coan, whose exertions at this period were almost superhuman, being accused of having endeavoured to get up a false excitement, replied: "How could I help it? I did not believe the devil would set men praying, confessing, and *breaking* their sins, by righteousness." Probably there were some extravagant demonstrations, for such generally accompany a religious revival in the case of the uneducated. And they cannot always be prevented. However, ministers should always be careful not to pander to anything sensational; for exhibitions of this sort rather hinder than promote the real work. In Ireland it was observed that the permanent conversions were generally those which were accompanied by the least outward display.

After this time, the history of the Hawaiian Missions becomes somewhat painful to read, for it tells of the springing up of

conflicting sects, and consequently, of bitter religious dissensions. A Roman Catholic Mission began a struggling existence in 1827; and after much opposition, was finally established. In 1862 an Episcopal Mission was commenced, which at first produced results which were anything but beneficial. It stirred up strife and painful religious discussions. Now, however, it seems that early feelings of bitterness and sectarian strife have become mellowed. The present King and Queen are zealous Episcopalians; but though they throw the weight of their influence in favour of our Church, it remains antipathetic to the bulk of the community.

There is much in these interesting volumes which we have been obliged to leave unnoticed, and the short imperfect sketch we have given of their contents does not do full justice to their excellences. Perhaps, however, it is better that such should be the case, for we have no desire that the reading of this paper should be made a substitute for the perusal of the original; our aim has rather been to lay it before the public notice, for, if we can succeed in that, we may safely leave it to stand upon its own merits.

EDWARD WHATELY.

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## Reviews.

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*The Merv Oasis.* Travels and Adventures East of the Caspian, during the years 1879-81, including Five Months' Residence among the Tekkes of Merv. By E. O'DONOVAN, Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*. Two vols. Smith, Elder & Co.

THESE volumes contain a record of Mr. O'Donovan's wanderings around and beyond the Caspian, including a five months' residence at Merv, during the three years 1879-81. In the first volume he relates his experiences of the Russian settlements on the eastern shores of the Caspian, and touches slightly on the military operations against the Akhal Tekké tribes. He also enters into the border relations existing between Russians, Turcomans, and Persians. These chapters pleasingly lead the reader on, and make him easily understand what follows concerning the attitude of the Merv Turcomans. Mr. O'Donovan's description of the Merv Oasis is clearly drawn, and full of information; it will interest many who are outside the general-reader class. View it how one may, indeed, this ably written work merits praise; it cannot fail to take a good place among high-class books about Central Asia. As a representative of the *Daily News*, Mr. O'Donovan has supplied another proof of the courage, skill, resource, and indomitable temper of our enterprising Special Correspondents.

Mr. O'Donovan left Trebizond on February 5th, 1879, steaming to Batoum and to Poti. From Poti to Tiflis there is a railroad, and the journey takes about twelve hours. The first thing that strikes the eye in

the capital of the Trans-Caucasus, is the semi-Asiatic, semi-European aspect of the place; the old town with its narrow streets of old-fashioned booths and Tartar costumes, contrasting with palatial houses, modern gardens, and Parisian attire. In the upper class of Russian "society," says our author, the rate of living is remarkably "fast." After two days in Tiflis, he prepared for his journey across the steppes which separated him from the Western Caspian border. The hotel charges were excessively high, and he was not sorry to leave Tiflis behind. Yet the journey prospect was not inviting. Up to the end of the seventeenth century, it is said, a traveller setting out from Lyons to Paris, in view of the state of the road, considered it his duty to draw up his last will and testament. The roads in France at that time, probably, bore some resemblance to the roads traversed by the *Daily News* "Special" on his way from Tiflis across the Trans-Caucasian plain. He had heard and read a good deal about the perils of travel in that part of the world, but his anticipations fell short of the reality. After obtaining his posting-passport, an all-important document, he was promised by the people of the hotel an orthodox postal vehicle, with an official conductor. The vehicle in which one ordinarily travels by post in this part of the world, says Mr. O'Donovan, is termed a *troika* :—

There is a more luxurious kind of conveyance—which, to tell the truth, is not saying much for it—named a *tarentasse*; but though one may pay the increased rate demanded for such a carriage, he is not always sure of finding others at the changing-places on the route, should, as is generally the case, his own come to grief. The experienced traveller generally chooses the *troika*, for at each station at least half a dozen are always in readiness to supply the almost inevitable breakdowns which occur from post-house to post-house. At the moment of which I speak I had never seen either *tarentasse* or *troika*; I had a kind of preconceived idea about four fiery steeds and a fur-lined carriage, in which the traveller is whirled in luxury to his destination. Judge of my surprise when, on a raw winter's morning, just as the grey dawn was stealing over the turrets of the old Persian fortress, I saw a nameless kind of thing drawn up before the door of the hotel. Though I had just been summoned from bed to take my place, I had not the slightest suspicion that the four-wheeled horror before me was even intended for my luggage; so I waited patiently for the arrival of my ideal conveyance. The hall porter and some chilly-looking waiters were standing around impatiently awaiting a "gratification," and evidently believing that I was all the time buried in deep political or scientific thought. I was beginning to get stiff with cold, and at length I asked, "Where is this coach?" "Your Excellence," said the porter, "it is there before you." When I shall have described a *troika*, no one will wonder at the exclamation of amazement and terror which burst from my lips at the bare idea that I had to travel four hundred miles in such a thing. Imagine a pig-trough of the roughest possible construction, four feet and a half long, two and a half wide at the top, and one at the bottom, filled with coarse hay, more than half thistles, and set upon four poles, which in turn rest upon the axles of two pairs of wheels. Besides these poles, springs, even of the most rudimentary kind, there are none.

The *troika*-driver, clad in a rough sheepskin tunic, fitting closely at the waist, with the woolly side turned inwards, and wearing a great conical cap of the same material, sits upon the forward edge of the vehicle. With a combination of patched leather straps and knotted ropes by way of reins, he conducts the three horses. The centre horse is between two shafts; the side horses are very loosely harnessed. As the stations at which relays are usually found are but twenty-seven or twenty-eight miles apart, they are gone over, almost the whole time, at full gallop. A "posting station" on these plains, as a rule, is a very dull and lonely place; there may be three small buildings of a single story, some barns, and an enclosure for chickens and cattle. At each station-house is a

"guest-chamber," a small room containing two wooden camp-beds, a table, a fireplace, and a chair or two. The traveller is supposed to bring his bedding with him, as well as his food, tea, sugar, &c. Usually it is difficult to procure food, unless some of the women of the establishment can supply a few eggs and some sheets of the peculiarly leathery bread which seems to pervade the entire East. The only thing the traveller can be certain of finding is the *samovar*. On the arrival of a *troika* with traveller, the *samovar* is immediately brought into the guest-room, and tea is made while the horses are being changed. Weak tea (without milk) being swallowed, the traveller again mounts his chariot, which dashes away in the most reckless fashion, utterly regardless of the nature or state of the road. Over bad portions the jolting of the springless vehicle is terrific. At the third station from Tiflis the traveller may be said to bid farewell for the time being to civilization. After a time, indeed, the road seems to have disappeared.

Elizabethpol is a kind of "halfway-house" between the last traces of Europe and the Caspian shores. This town, like Tiflis, is half Asiatic and half European. In its "Grand Hotel," by dint of bribery, Mr. O'Donovan secured a kind of feather-bed; but no such thing as a basin-stand could be had, and it seemed as though only one basin was allowed for the service of the guests. At what was an attempt at a *table-d'hôte*, only ham and caviare could be got.

According to Russian courtesy, it appears when a traveller of any distinction passes through a district, he is supposed to call upon and pay his respects to the local Governor. Accordingly, says Mr. O'Donovan:—

I donned the best suit which the slender wardrobe carried in my saddle-bags afforded me, and presented myself at the palace of the Government, where Prince Chavchavaza resided. I was graciously received, but the Prince, a Georgian of the old school, unfortunately did not understand French. The Secretary, more than polite, as secretaries usually are in Russia, interpreted our discourse. I was received in a chamber hung with ancient tapestry, the walls of which were garished with arms of different periods, captured during the protracted struggles in which Schamyl led the Caucasians. Our conversation at first took a general turn, and after a while we began to speak of the future of the Russian Empire over these vast plains. I observed that nothing but means of communication and transport were wanting to make Russia the Rome of to-day. He bowed his head in assent, and gave me many examples, which space does not allow me to recapitulate here, especially as the present is only a chapter introductory to my adventures beyond the Caspian. And then, suddenly turning to me, he fixed his dark eyes upon my face with a piercing glance, and said, "Do you know that we expect an army corps shortly, bound for the shores of the Caspian?" "My prince," I replied, "I was unaware of the fact. Where are they going to?" "There is an expedition against the Turcomans," he said, "commanded by General Lazareff." This was news for me, and I resolved, instead of proceeding on my original mission, to follow the operations of the Russian columns. Having thus determined, nothing was left but to await the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief, General Lazareff, and to ask his permission to accompany his expedition.

In Baku, our author obtained permission from General Lazareff to go with him and his staff; and on April 2nd they set forth for the camp of Tchikislar, the base of operations of the expeditionary columns against the Akhal Tekké Turcomans. Life in the Russian camp, and the first of the series of combats with the independent Turcomans which culminated in the capture of their strongholds at Geok Tepé, is well described. It is remarkable that the tribes who fought so fiercely against the Russians but three years ago, have become as much their obedient servants as the Yamuds of the Caspian littoral, who seven years previously were foremost in fighting against the Muscovite invaders. Certainly the Russian Government knows well how to conciliate this newly conquered Asiatic

people. To the illness and death of General Lazareff, and the subsequent changes in the Russian expeditionary force, and to Mr. O'Donovan's inevitable change of plans, we can only allude.

Of his journey to Asterabad, our author gives several interesting sketches. Thus, on drawing near a village, he says :

After eight hours' march the ordinarily stunted and withered grass of the plains began to assume a more verdant appearance, and vast herds of sheep, goats, and cows were to be met with, attended by wild-looking men and boys, all of them wearing the preposterous black sheepskin hat of the country, and each armed with musket and sabre. Another hour's ride brought us to the village of Giurgen, close to the river-bank. Here, as is usual when approaching a Turcoman village, we were furiously assailed by scores of gigantic wolf-like dogs, whose invariable custom it is to surround the stranger, who, if on foot, is often in serious peril. Riding into the centre of the village I invited the Turcomans, who stood at the doors of the *kibitkas* highly amused by the predicament in which I was placed, to call off their dogs, who were leaping savagely at my boots and my horse's nose, causing the poor beast to rear and kick furiously. One had seized by his teeth the extremity of the rather extensive tail of my charger, and, managing to keep out of range of his heels, held on like grim death. I drew my revolver and exhibited it to the Turcomans, assuring them that if they did not immediately call off their dogs I would make use of the weapon. To this threat they paid no attention, and I was obliged to turn in my saddle and fire fully into my assailant's mouth. As he rolled over on the sward his companions, with the most admirable promptitude, withdrew to a safe distance, and the Turcomans, rushing out with sticks in their hands, proceeded to beat them still farther off, though at first I supposed that the sticks were intended for my own person.

On April 26, 1880, with Mr. Churchill, the British Consul, he sallied forth from the western gate of Asterabad, *en route* for Kenar Gez, the so-called port of Asterabad, one of the three ports possessed by Persia on the Caspian littoral. In due course he arrived, *vid* Rasht, at Teheran. On his journey he had painful experience of the *garrib-gez*, literally "bite the stranger." This is an exceedingly venomous insect : about the third of an inch in length, it resembles in form the English sheep-tick. Its sting is productive of the worst results ; a small red point is followed by a large black spot, which suppurates, accompanied by a high fever. Oddly enough, the people of a *habitat* of this pestilential insect (the *arga Persica*) experience no inconvenience from its sting. At Maarah, in 1879, some Austrian officers going to Teheran were stung by the *garrib-gez*, and all of them fell ill, one narrowly escaping with his life. A Persian medical man informed our author that when any important personage was travelling through a district infested by "bite-the-stranger," his attendants usually administered to him one of these bugs during the early morning concealed in a piece of bread.

At Teheran, Mr. O'Donovan was privately informed that the Russian General had doubts and suspicions ; they thought his going among the Merv Turcomans as a newspaper correspondent was only a pretence, and that in reality he was an agent to the British Government. The fact was, however, as he tells his readers, he was simply the correspondent of the *Daily News* ; he was obliged to "change sides," because the Czar's generals, so to speak, shut the door in his face. He took his own line : and opening friendly communication with the Tekkés, he journeyed first to Geok Tepé, (in spite of General Scobeloff), and then to Merv.

On January 16, we read, the traveller started for Durangar. News had come in of two sorties of the garrison of Geok Tepé, on the 9th and 10th. The plan of the Tekkés had been betrayed to the Russians ; they gained, however, a partial success. Before the lines of investment were completed, a body of Tekké cavalry left the town and engaged some Kuchan marauders. The dangers of the English "Special's" journey

were obviously by no means small. He pushed on, nevertheless, to the last village acknowledging Persian authority. It was not safe to travel in the plain where he was equally liable to fall in with Russian scouting parties or Turcoman stragglers. He kept therefore along the slopes of the mountain, though travelling there was very fatiguing for their horses (the party was seven in number), but the utmost caution was necessary. "Early on the 24th," he writes, "we ascended the top of the Markov mountain, which towers some six thousand feet over the Tekké plain, and is not over twelve miles from Geok Tepé. With my double field-glass I could easily make out the lines of the Turcoman fortress, and the general position of its besiegers; but I was too far off to be able to make notes of details. I could plainly see by the smoke of the guns and the movements of the combatants that the attack had begun in earnest, and I watched its results with intense anxiety. The Russian assault was directed against the southerly wall of the fortifications, and, after what was apparently a desperate conflict there, it was evident that they had forced their way. A crowd of horsemen began to ride in confusion from the other side of the town and spread in flight over the plain. Immediately afterwards a mass of fugitives of every class showed that the town was being abandoned by its inhabitants. The Turcoman fortress had fallen, and all was over with the Akhal Tekkés."

For the account of his ride to Merv, and his reception among the people, we must refer our reader to the work. Lack of space prevents from quoting more than a portion of the description of his life in Merv.

With the exception of some of the well-to-do classes, we read, the Turcomans live but poorly.

The morning meal generally consists of fresh-baked griddled bread, hot from the oven, and weak green tea, though the latter is not always forthcoming. The women, who are astir long before sunrise, grind the corn in their horizontal stone mills, and immediately afterwards bake it in the circular mud ovens placed a few yards in front of the entrance of each *ev*. In the early dawn, looking across the plains, the site of each village is marked by the red glow hanging over it as the rude ovens are being heated with the bramble and grass fuel in common use. This is the invariable practice of rich and poor alike.

At midday there is another meal, usually of bread and *gattuk*, supplemented, perhaps, with fresh or indurated salty cheese. During the great heats, many dine on bread, with melons, grapes, or other fruits. It is not usual, except when entertaining a guest, or on some festive occasion, to eat flesh meat at this midday meal.

The principal meal of the day occurs after sundown. It is at this time that one sees Turcoman provisions in all their variety. In a Khan's house, during at least four days in the week, the *pièce de résistance* consists of mutton-broth and bread. Every day a number of sheep are killed in each village, chiefly by speculators, who realize a small sum by so doing; or, should anyone have a guest whom it is absolutely necessary to furnish with meat, he kills a sheep, takes what is necessary for his own purposes, and sends the crier round the village to announce that he has slaughtered the animal, and is prepared to dispose of the remaining portions at the ordinary prices.

At Merv a sheep usually costs from seven to twelve shillings. The animals are of the big-tailed variety, and all the fat of their bodies seems to concentrate itself in the tail, which cannot, on the average, weigh less than twelve pounds, and is the dearest portion of the carcase. When a sheep is killed, the tail is first made use of. It is skinned, and cut into pieces, which are placed in a large hemispherical iron caldron of about two feet in diameter. In this the fat is melted down to the consistency of oil, and, when it is at a high temperature, pieces of lean, chopped small, are thrown into it, and the fat is removed from the fire. The contents are then poured into a wooden dish, somewhat larger than the pot, which is placed upon the carpet in the midst of the guests. Each person dips his bread into the melted grease, now and again fishing out a morsel of meat. Owing to the high

temperature of the fat, these morsels are quite calcined, and taste precisely like greasy cinders. It is a peculiarity of the Turcomans that they like their meat exceedingly well done. When all the meat has been picked out from the dish, and the liquid within has attained a moderate temperature, the master of the feast takes the vessel in both hands, places it to his lips, and swallows a pint or so of the fat. He then hands it to the guest nearest to him, who does likewise, and so it makes the circuit of the party. When nearly all the grease has been thus consumed, and if there be present any person whom the host especially designs to honour, he offers him the wooden dish, and the recipient gathers up what remains by passing his curved finger round the interior and conveying it to his mouth.

Mr. O'Donovan met with several prisoners at Merv. He was successful in attempting to procure the release of one of them, a Russian gunner, who had been at Merv for years. The account of his interview with this unfortunate man begins thus :

I was engaged in taking some notes of the day's occurrences when the door opened and some Turcomans entered. They wore their swords, and were booted as for a journey. In their midst was a man who had neither sword nor boots, although he wore the regular Turcoman costume. This was the Russian prisoner Kidaieff. Had I not been so informed I should never have known that he was not a Turcoman. Though only about twenty-five years old, he looked considerably over forty. He seemed worn to little more than skin and bone ; and his pale, leaden-coloured face was wasted and ghastly to look upon. He resembled a walking corpse rather than aught else ; and his dull, glassy eyes had a fixed and mindless expression. I motioned to him to be seated. He addressed me in Russian, of which unfortunately I understand but little. I then spoke to him in Jagatai Tartar, which he spoke with some fluency. He thanked me for the money which I had sent to him, and stated that he was very grateful for the improved treatment which he had experienced since my arrival at Merv, the irons upon his ankles having been removed at my request. I asked him about the treatment which he had met with at the hands of the Turcomans since his capture, but could get but little information on this score, for his gaolers were sitting beside him, and he did not dare to answer. I could see, however, from his emaciated frame and the expression of his countenance, that his sufferings must have been great indeed. . . . He had been subjected to all kinds of torture. . . . He had not changed his religion.

*Light.* A Course of Experimental Optics, chiefly with the Lantern, by LEWIS WRIGHT, with illustrations. Pp. 340. Macmillan & Co. 1882.

THE aim of this excellent little book, as we are told in the preface, is "to place clearly before the mind of the reader, through something like a complete course of actual experiments, the physical realities which underlie the phenomena of Light and Colour." Accordingly, the greater part of the book is occupied by a full and clear description of the experiments here alluded to, the conditions of their success, the mode of performing them, and the actual results obtained. The work is not, therefore, a text-book so much as a companion and supplement to existing text-books, and it will be found to have its chief value for those who are disposed to experiment for themselves in the fascinating branch of physics to which it relates. Were the book nothing more than this, however, it would scarcely fall within the category of those which may properly be noticed in THE CHURCHMAN. But it is far more than this. Mr. Wright writes throughout in a spirit less common, we fear, among physical investigators than formerly—a spirit which recognises that the phenomena described are not phenomena merely, but manifestations of the working of the one Infinite Power which directs the universe, and thus connected with all the rest of His works. In the light of this recognition the phenomena are examined with none the less accuracy and impartiality ;

but they are at the same time invested with a glory and an interest which is not their own. To the author, light presents itself not only as a peculiar group of physical phenomena, but also as a revealer of things kept secret, both in its own proper sphere and in many others besides ; and he delights to follow out the analogies with other and higher works of revelation, which seem to show that all alike proceed from the one Father of lights, whether lights external or lights internal.

Actuated by this spirit, Mr. Wright tries to show throughout his work not only what light *does*, but what light *is*. The beautiful experiments which he describes are mainly classified according as they illustrate, step by step, the great theory of the vibratory nature of light. Of this theory he, in common, we believe, with all practical physicists, is a firm and even an enthusiastic supporter. But it is to be remembered that this theory is still subjected to attacks from various metaphysical quarters, and it is therefore well worth while to review once again the evidence in its favour. This evidence, so far as it can be presented by experiment and general reasoning, apart from mathematical analysis, Mr. Wright puts before us with singular cogency and clearness. In the first place he insists (p. 47) on the *invisibility* of light, which, though apparently a contradiction, is perfectly true. "It is itself, and by itself, absolutely invisible. It *makes* visible to us luminous objects or sources, rays from which actually reach our eyes ; but if we look sideways at rays from the most dazzling light, we cannot see them. Space is black." Next, in chapter v., we have the clear and incontrovertible proof that light has a definite velocity, as obtained by astronomical observations, and afterwards by actual measurement. Hence the conclusion is drawn that light must be motion, or, as we should prefer to put it, that light must be due to motion. For, if a ray from one of Jupiter's moons becomes visible at a particular instant at one end of a diameter of the earth's orbit, and a quarter of an hour later becomes visible at the other end, something must have been moving in the interval along that diameter. Now there are only two possible explanations of that motion. Either it is the motion of a *thing*, as when a bullet, shot from a gun, flies to its mark ; or it is the motion of a *state of things*, as when the sound of the same shot is propagated in all directions, as a wave of alternate condensation and rarefaction in the surrounding atmosphere. The only other supposition that it seems possible to make is that light is an ultimate and entirely inexplicable phenomenon, which *acts as if* it were due to motion. Such suppositions are constantly made in metaphysics, but never in science, the students of which do not waste their time in spinning unsupported hypotheses. Practically, therefore, when once we have proved that light has a velocity, we are shut up to one or other of the two theories of emission or undulation. Now, in the remainder of the volume, it is abundantly shown that the emission theory is absolutely in contradiction with various known facts regarding light ; that it fails to account for others ; and others, again, it only accounts for by the aid of subsidiary and uncertain hypotheses. The undulatory theory, on the contrary, not only accounts for almost every particular of the phenomena, but enables us to foretell phenomena whose existence is afterwards established ; it is not in contradiction with any of them, and the few cases where difficulties still remain, show signs of yielding to improved knowledge and methods of research. It cannot be questioned to which of the two theories our adherence is due.

We have no space to follow out the various methods by which Mr. Wright tests and illustrates this theory ; but we must call attention to a concluding chapter, in which he sums up his results, and asks what is their outcome. Heat, Light, Colour, Electricity, all are due, it appears,



to propagation of disturbance through the Ether. This ether we cannot do without; "no eye has seen it; no instruments can weigh it; no vessel can contain it; nothing can measure it; yet it must be there. Absolutely invisible, it is yet the sole key to all physical phenomena." Light is a disturbance caused in this ether by energy, a power which is the constant working agent throughout the universe: but this disturbance, so long as it is confined to the ether, is "invisible, inconceivable, unknown to us, unless matter, to make it visible, be in its path." Thus in Ether, Matter, Energy, we have three existences, all alike necessary for the condition of the world as we know it. Take away either, and what becomes of the universe as we know it or can conceive it! And yet this universe at least is monistic—is one harmonious whole. On this view of things, derived from the study of Light, Mr. Wright founds a striking analogy to the Christian doctrine of an infinitely higher "Trinity in Unity." We do not say that the conditions of the analogy are complete—Mr. Wright himself would not say so—but certainly it forms an excellent example how, in purely physical studies, we meet continually with conceptions and difficulties and mysteries scarcely less profound than those which occur in religion, and which to many minds form a stumbling-block to its acceptance. In short every study, even the most concrete and practical, runs up at last to some primary fact, which we cannot explain, but must accept: of which we can never say how it is so, or why it is so, but must be content to repeat that it is so.

*The Early Days of Christianity.* By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.

THE attractive title assigned by Canon Farrar to his new work hardly serves to give the reader an adequate idea of its general scope and character. That work is not in any sense a history of the Apostolic or sub-Apostolic times, as one might be tempted to suppose from its name, and even from a perusal of the very graphic and brilliant "first book" it would prove to be, but rather, as indeed the writer states in his preface, "an attempt to set forth in their distinctive characteristics the work and the writings of St. Peter, St. James, St. Jude, St. John, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews." The bulky volumes, in fact, are altogether critical and literary rather than historical. They deal with the vexed questions of authorship, genuineness, date, interpretation, and the like, of the several New Testament Scriptures, which questions they "vex" yet further. It is needless to say that Canon Farrar exhibits all his accustomed exuberant and over-ornate eloquence in discussing these questions; and it is possible he may think he writes as a dispassionate critic: but he is too strong an advocate of certain familiar principles, and too strenuous an opponent of what he regards as merely "popular" views, for the partisan to be even effectually disguised. What is really wanted in a writer, possessed of all the splendid endowments and advantages of Canon Farrar, who would set himself to inform, instruct, and educate the public mind, is not merely to hold up the supposed popular view to contempt or to illustrate it by a strong and exaggerated contrast, but to grapple with it patiently and honestly, and to endeavour to do it full justice by hitting the precise point that it just contrives to miss, or at the most that it slants away from in merely touching; and there is a certain feeling of disappointment that comes over us when we cannot help seeing that not seldom the proposed censure of the popular view is a little too strong to be quite dispassionate, and that sometimes in being a little more than just it is also a little less than true.

It is clear that the brunt of the Canon's strictures is directed against the notion of verbal inspiration. Now, in regard to inspiration, our own

views are decidedly conservative. But, to consider the question broadly, is it not self-evident that if we are to receive any inspiration at all on which we can depend, it must be an inspiration that affects the words, and at times, at all events, is inseparably connected with them or they with it? How much, for example, of the so-called inspiration of Homer or Shakespeare is so bound up with the very words that if the words are altered the boasted inspiration evaporates altogether! We have heard, for instance, of a proposed emendation of the familiar words "books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything," of "stones in the running brooks, sermons in books, and good in everything." But surely, if there is any "inspiration" in the one case there can be none at all in the other; and thus whatever inspiration there is, it must to that extent be a verbal inspiration, or an inspiration dependent on the words. Yet, if this is so, shall we venture to say that in a multitude of the Scripture "texts," for which as "texts" Canon Farrar expresses so much contempt, there is any more essential independence of the inspiration on the actual words used than there would be in this fragment of "As You Like It?" The notion of verbal inspiration is one which it is obviously very easy to hold up to ridicule; but the question rather is whether there is not or may not be latent in it a particular and a very precious truth which the great powers of Dr. Farrar would be more profitably employed in developing, limiting, and enforcing, than they would be in exposing it to ridicule, which, indeed, it requires no power at all to do. For example, one may thoroughly go along with the Canon's remarks (vol. i., p. 286) as to Teachers "who had kindled their torches at the Sun of Righteousness, and drawn some sparks of light from the unemptiable fountain of Divine wisdom;" but, admitting all this, is there no truth on the other side too? Is it or is it not a fact that Scripture as Scripture, estimate it how we will, does differ from Philo, Plato, Sakya-Muni, and all the rest. If it is a fact that it does differ, how is it that it differs, and in what respects does it differ? And are the points in which it differs sufficiently distinct to be defined and argued? and if so, must not their definition and enforcement be a matter in itself of supreme importance, and is it not a more worthy object to endeavour to bring out, illustrate, and adjust the principles and elements of truth herein latent than it is to estimate and virtually to depreciate and disparage them by dwelling over-prominently on the misconceptions and exaggerations with which in the "popular mind" they have been connected?

It is quite beyond our scope and limits to attempt anything like a detailed examination or even account of Dr. Farrar's elaborate work. There is much in it which all may admire and from which all may learn; oftentimes quaint information and nuggets of out-of-the-way learning which we would gladly cherish and treasure up. But we demur to some of his conclusions, and we regret the impatience and intolerance of tone in many passages. At all times we would plead for a somewhat higher and more specific and exclusive position for Scripture as Scripture, whatever the limits we assign to it, than Canon Farrar seems disposed to grant. It is all very well to discuss the canonicity of the Second Epistle of St. Peter, and the like; but there may be a far more important question than this, namely, what do we mean by canonicity? Is it an accident or an attribute? Supposing such and such a book is canonical, what does that imply? does the fact of canonicity impart anything to the book, or is canonicity itself the result of something which characterizes the book before it is found to be canonical? and if so, what is this something? This question is not duly weighed in Canon Farrar's book; and yet this is really the question of the greatest moment, and the consequences of it are of vital interest to every Christian. It matters comparatively little

who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews ; but if the book is canonical why is it canonical, and what does its being canonical mean ? It is unquestionably a very difficult matter to define the limits suggested by the term, but in the present day it is more essential to hold fast by positive results than to be over-zealous in detecting a misconception or exaggeration of something which is after all true, though perhaps a distorted truth, and upon the actual and essential truth of which so much depends. From the tone in which Canon Farrar writes one would suppose he thought it worse than heresy to connect the Epistle to the Hebrews in any way with St. Paul, and that some moral fault belonged to those who did ; whereas whether he wrote it or not cannot affect the amount of deference due to its authority if it is indeed canonical, and if canonicity is anything more than a mere qualification that ecclesiastical critics are pleased to assign to it.

The main positions that Canon Farrar sets himself to establish are that the Second Epistle of Peter is not genuine ;<sup>1</sup> that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not St. Paul's ; that the Apocalypse was an early production of St. John's, written before he had thrown off the husk of Judaism, and that in its interpretation is entirely a thing of the past, with Nero for the man of sin, and the like. Such positions, of course, anyone is fairly at liberty to hold and to maintain with such eloquence and cogency of argument as he may be able to command. They only become a little tedious when one is not allowed to have any other opinion about them, or even to hold one's judgment in suspense, except under pain of being regarded as a slavish adherent of exploded doctrines and the votary of extreme theories about the letter of Scripture.

The sketch of declining Paganism with which the book opens is one of great power, and its ghastly and lurid glare tends to set off as a foil the bright pure light of that heaven-born system which superseded it. The strong and impressive contrast which makes itself felt by everyone forces the question on the conscience. What is the meaning and explanation of the tremendous divergence in the course of the world's history and life which is traceable to the point at which the stream of Christianity is detected as commingling with the foul and turbid waters of Paganism ? And this to all time will be the problem for the historian and philosopher, whence in the midst of so much that was corrupt and putrid the sweetly simple and fragrant writings of the New Testament ?

S. T. P.

*The Remote Antiquity of Man not Proven.—Primeval Man not a Savage.*  
By B. C. Y. Pp. 191. Elliot Stock.

IT appears marvellous that the assumption of the high antiquity of man and that of his descent from a bestial ancestor, opposed as these opinions are to the common beliefs of mankind, and to the highest instincts of human nature, should have been adopted by some of our leading men of science as conclusions proved by modern research, and that within the short period of the last twenty-five years. It seems more marvellous still, that the following and holding of these opinions should be considered as indications of superior mental powers rising above the common prejudices of the vulgar herd, and conferring an intellectual pre-eminence

<sup>1</sup> At the close of his argument he gives three reasons why he "cannot regard it as certainly spurious." There is much to support the conclusion, he believes, "that we have not here the words and style of the great Apostle, but that he lent to this Epistle the sanction of his name and the assistance of his advice. If this be so, it is still in its main essence genuine as well as canonical."

on those who advocate them. But of such violent revolutions of opinion Time is usually the avenger ; and in this case the rebound of opinion in an opposite direction has not only commenced, but has been pressed on to the front, and sustained by well-directed efforts both in the field and in the study.

This reaction arises from two causes. The foundation facts of the theory, drawn from the cavern deposits and the gravel beds, have been carefully examined by other observers ; and much of the supposed evidence has broken down and been withdrawn, while additional established facts have shown that much of the former deductions cannot be maintained. Again, adopting the general correctness of the facts put forward by the advocates of man's antiquity as a basis for an examination of the theory, the conclusions drawn from them have been shown to be one-sided and defective. Cross-examination of the witnesses, indeed, shows that the statements are not only contradictory, but that, as a whole, they lead to an opposite conclusion. And this mode of attack stands on the vantage-ground of undisputed facts ; it is a flank movement which not only destroys the enemy's position, but wins the very site of the battle-field.

The author of this book before us has adopted this last mode of attack ; and by extensive literary research, and acute logical deductions, has come to the conclusion that even on the partial and selected facts of his opponents, the high antiquity of man is "NOT PROVEN."

Taking Kent's Cavern, near Torquay, as a typical example of the value of the evidence derived from cavern deposits, he combats the conclusion of Mr. Pengelly, that, judging from the bosses of stalagmite, the upper bed, of five feet in thickness, must have been formed after the rate of an inch in 5,000 years, equal to a period of 300,000 years for the whole. Mr. Alfred Wallace gives, "as a fair estimate" of the time required for the formation of the same bed, a period of 100,000 years. On the contrary, Professor Dawkins is of opinion that the same bed of stalagmite "may possibly have been formed at the rate of a quarter of an inch per annum ; at which rate twenty feet of stalagmite might be formed in a thousand years."

In the cave-earth, the next bed under the stalagmite, which should therefore have been at least 100,000 years old, a polished bone pin was found ; but such pins are known to have been in use at and after the occupation of the country by the Romans. Barbed bone harpoons were also found in the cave-earth, but they are similar in make to those used by savage tribes at the present day. And mixed with the bones of the extinct animals some bones of sheep were found—an animal unknown in Europe before the Neolithic age. Thus, if the bones of the extinct mammoth and rhinoceros prove the high antiquity of the "flint implements," the flints, which are only flakes used at the present day, and the Neolithic sheep, equally prove the modern origin of the deposit.

We now come to the breccia—the chief battle-field of the question of man's remote antiquity so far as this cave is concerned. But even here, according to Mr. MacEnery, a few bits of coarse pottery were found ; and Mr. Pengelly refers to the animal remains as those of the "bear only." It is admitted that there is no proof that the bones were those of the extinct cave-bear (if such an animal ever existed), but are more probably those of the brown or the grizzly bear, both existing at the present day. It is admitted, in the Fifth Report of the Committee, p. 204, that "the remains of the extinct brute inhabitants (*sic*) of Devonshire are mixed confusedly with those of the present day ; and the handiwork of the human contemporary of the mammoth is found inosculating with the product of the potter's wheel." And not only so ; but in

the upper bed of the cavern the remains of the extinct animals are abundantly found, whilst in the breccia, the lowest bed of the cavern, and under seventeen feet of stalagmite, the bones of the existing animals only are found. There is also the remarkable admission in the Third Report, p. 8, "that the most highly finished implements, whether of flint or of bone, are those which have been found at the lowest levels."

Thus the obvious inference from such evidence tends rather to bring down the date of the extinct animals to the human period, than to take man back to a remote antiquity.

Other caverns are referred to by the author with similar results, especially that of the discovery of a human fibula under glacial clay in the Victoria Cavern, near Settle. At more than one meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, it was said of this bone :—Here is direct proof that man lived in England prior to the last inter-glacial period ; but many doubted such an important discovery. A conference of experts accordingly was held at the rooms of the Anthropological Society ; and here it came out that this important bone was first considered to be that of an elephant, then, that it was a human fibula, and ultimately it was decided to be probably the bone of a bear ; or, as expressed by Dr. Murie, "it might be almost any bone ; and that all ideas of the habits of the cave-dwellers founded upon it were, therefore, mere fictions."

The author proceeds to consider the alluvial deposits of the valley of the Somme, and of these he says :—"Assuming what is not proved, however, that these flints were tools, we pass on to the inquiry, Would the layers of gravel require the long period of time supposed for their deposition ?" On this important point he adopts the opinion of Principal Dawson, F.R.S., that the geological age of these deposits of the valley of the Somme might be reduced to perhaps less than 1,000 years. There are, further, valuable chapters on "Primeval Man not a Savage ;" on "No Trace of Anterior Barbarism" of man in Egypt and the East. The supposed evidence of man's antiquity drawn from the peat-bogs of Denmark, and from the pile-dwellings of Switzerland, is also discussed.

The conclusion from the whole of the evidence is thus summed up :—"The writer has now, he believes, examined all the principal evidence on which scientists rely for proving the remote antiquity of man, and he cannot find one fact which will prove that a longer time is required than the Bible chronology will admit." To those who have incautiously relied upon the defective evidence, and the strong assertions on which the remote antiquity of man has been attempted to be founded and bolstered up, we recommend this book as an antidote and a guide out of the difficulties with which the subject is entangled.

NICHOLAS WHITLEY.

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## Short Notices.

*The Chichester Diocesan Calendar, for 1883.* Published by authority of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese. Clowes and Sons, 13, Charing-cross.

In this Calendar appears a report of the Chichester Diocesan Conference containing an admirable address by the Bishop, and much interesting matter. Our attention was particularly attracted by the discussion on Church Boards. A full and comprehensive paper on the subject, "Parochial Councils," with an analysis of Mr. Grey's Bill, was read by Mr. C. A. Hall-Hall. He argued that Church Boards would strengthen the parochial system. The Rev. F. H. Vivian supported the resolution. Mr. F.

Barchard (who does not seem to have studied Mr. Grey's proposals) said that that Bill placed the Boards above the Bishop. The Rev. G. Chapman spoke of the Public Worship Regulation Act, and "the contradictory decisions of the Privy Council." The Rev. W. O. Purton replied to the two previous speakers, and argued that some sort of legalized Parochial Council was in these days necessary. Mr. F. Curtis held it contrary to reason to suppose that Boards would be better judges of questions affecting the ritual of the Church than the clergy. The next speaker was the Lord Lieutenant; and we give this speech unabridged:

The Earl of CHICHESTER said he did not like to give a silent vote on this motion. With the object of Mr. Grey's Bill, and that which had been advocated in the able remarks of the mover and seconder of the resolution, he very much agreed, but when he looked at the Bill itself and to the proposed constitution of the Church Boards, he certainly would not entertain the proposal. He did not think it right to enter into the very large subject raised by the motion, nor into one or two other large subjects raised collaterally by his friend Mr. Barchard, and one of the other speakers with whom he did not quite agree. The Church had always been deficient, not only in the popular element; but it had also lost sight of another principle of the early Church, which was the power of the Presbytery. The modern Episcopal Churches, some of them at least, had failed in this respect, having no Presbytery to assist in Church government. That, however, was a large subject, and he was not prepared to say how the principle could be adopted, but he thought that more power should be given, not to the parishioners, but to the members of the Church.

This speech, as our readers perceive, raises some questions of the highest interest and importance. The question of "the power of the Presbytery," for instance, has long seemed to ourselves one of the great Church questions of the time. We ventured, therefore, to solicit the venerated speaker for some expansion of his remarks. The noble Earl very kindly acceded to our request; and he has permitted us to publish a portion of his letter.

Lord Chichester writes:

I. My mention of Presbyters was in reference mainly to the administrative acts of the Church. My opinion is, that our Church is much too monarchical, and that we should resort to the primitive practice of associating the Presbyters with almost all the public acts of the Bishop.

II. As to Parochial Councils.—(a) They should consist solely of communicants, and should be elected, either by communicants or by members of the congregation declaring themselves to be members of the Established Church; (b) The constitution of such bodies, who, according to Mr. Albert Grey's, or Lord Sandon's Bill, would have certain legal powers, would necessarily require an Act of Parliament; (c) They would in many cases of an administrative character supersede the Churchwardens; but I should still leave these officers with certain duties and powers.

III. I do not, however, believe that we can do any good in the way of Church Reform until we have a more representative body than Convocation, with real synodical power attached to

it. This, I imagine, could be effected without altering the Royal Supremacy, and still retaining the power of the Crown and of Parliament to sanction or reject any proposed legislation. The Irish and some of our Colonial Churches would probably be our best models. I do not, however, suppose that either the Church or our best statesmen are yet prepared for so great a change.

IV. Until the rubric is corrected and made more clear, we cannot hope for peace in the Church.

*The Claim of Christ on the Young.* By ANTHONY W. THOROLD, D.D., Lord Bishop of Rochester, Select Preacher before the University of Oxford, 1878-1880. Pp. 123. William Isbister, 1883.

In this volume there are six sermons, four of which were preached before the University of Oxford, addressed mainly to young men. The subjects are Liberty, Training, Faith, Decision, Power, and "Farewell." The last of these, on the text "*And they two stood by Jordan,*" was preached in York Minster. From it we quote a few sentences:—

O young people, you are the heirs of all the ages; you possess, if only you would care for them, the accumulated treasures of the Catholic Church of Christ! The wisdom of her thinkers, the constancy of her martyrs, the holiness of her saints, the evergrowing testimony of her nineteen centuries of faith and love are all yours; and what a possession that is! But you have even more. The parents who have nurtured you; the pastors who have taught you; the friends who have loved you; the saints who have made you at one moment ashamed of your shortcomings, and the next burning to rise up and be better—these are yours as well. Oh that you would use these privileges as you ought to use them; for your daily and blessed growth into the body of Christ! . . . The great traditions, the untiring energy, the meek holiness, the fruitful labours of those in front of us, must not for a moment discourage us who inherit them. What God was to them, He will be to us, if we will but ask, trust, receive, and adore.

Such words as these can hardly fail to influence the young men and maidens who hear or read them. Many earnest preachers fail as regards young people, nowadays, in the upper-middle, and the aristocratic classes, because their sermon language is too conventional; especially when it is printed, it looks, if we may use the common phrase, "cut and dried;" there is a lack of freshness, as well as perhaps of warmth and tenderness. But of Bishop Thorold's sermons, whatever else may be said, at least this will be admitted,—they are suggestive, affectionate, eminently *real*. Hence they are likely to win their way in cultured circles, where other sermons, equally evangelical, would be reckoned "dry," or thrown aside; and whenever they are read, it may be hoped they will prove a power for good. Their sweet persuasiveness breathes the dew of the Spirit, and their earnest pleading burns with the love of Christ crucified.

We heartily recommend this volume; it is printed and bound with taste.

*Our Bishops and Clergy.* Edited by the Rev. C. BULLOCK, B.D. "Home Words" Publishing Office, 1, Paternoster Buildings, E.C.

This is a capital gift-book, and we gladly recommend it. In this portrait-gallery we have Archbishop Tait, and other prelates—Canon Hoare, Dr. Blakeney, Mr. Kitto, Dr. Forrest, Mr. Gordon Calthrop, Mr. Goe, and other well-known men. The biographical sketches are brief, but clear. The volume has a tasteful cover.

*The Clergy Directory.* 1883. T. Bosworth & Co.

This is the thirteenth issue of the "Clergy Directory and Parish Guide : " it is now a well-known book, and needs but brief notice. It is very cheap. The work appears to be executed with the usual care.

*The Happy Man.* Christ's Sympathy in Human Joy. A Sermon preached in Norwich Cathedral, November 26, 1882. By the Rev. C. F. CHILDE, M.A. Hunt & Co.

We rarely notice single sermons : we have neither time nor space. But we gladly recommend Mr. Childe's sermon. He takes two texts (a very good plan now and then, we think), Luke x. 21, and Matthew xxvi. 38, "rejoiced" . . . "sorrowful;" the experiences of joy and of sorrow. The esteemed writer cannot adopt, evidently, the new reading : *He rejoiced in the Holy Spirit.*

*A History of the Councils of the Church.* By the Right Rev. C. J. HEFELE, D.D. Vol. iii. A.D. 431 to A.D. 451. T. & T. Clark.

The erudition of Bishop Hefe's great work is recognised in every circle, as is also its candour, thoroughness, and accuracy. This History is the standard authority. The translation appears to be very good. More than two years have elapsed since the second volume was published. The Bishop of Rottenburg's fairness in almost every case will be generally admitted ; but now and then, as is natural, a bias is revealed. The 28th Canon of Chalcedon has the words : "Rightly have the fathers conceded to the see of Old Rome its privileges on account of its character as the imperial city." Bishop Hefe, of course, argues against these two points.

*The Preachers' Analyst.* Edited by the Rev. S. BIRD, B.A. Stock.

The sixth volume of "The Preachers' Analyst and Help in Preparation for the Pulpit" is neatly bound. The periodical is a sort of cheap *Clergyman's Magazine* ; and many preachers, no doubt, will find it useful.

*The First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. The Second . . .* Parker & Co., Oxford, and 6, Southampton Street, Strand. 1883.

These issues of the Prayer Books of 1549, 1552, are neatly got up, well printed, and cheap enough for any students. They are edited by Mr. James Parker, in whose preface appears two or three statements and suggestions, upon which, did space permit, we might well comment.

*Curiosities of Literature.* By ISAAC D'ISRAELI. A new edition, with portraits, views, and other illustrations. Pp. 578. Ward, Lock, & Co.

This is a capital edition of a charming classic, compact, clearly printed, and very cheap. Mr. Disraeli's (or d'Israeli's) preface, dated Bradenham House, 1839, opens thus :—"Of a work which long has been placed on that shelf which Voltaire has discriminated as *la Bibliothèque du Monde*, it is never mistimed for the author to offer the many, who are familiar with its pages, a settled conception of its design. The 'Curiosities of Literature' commenced fifty years since . . ." and so on. "Fifty years since !" said the author. His two earlier volumes remained favourites during an interval of twenty years ; and the third was sent forth in the year 1817. As any student for the first time turns over these essays, he will readily take in one meaning of the author's distinguished son's remark, "I was born in a library," a remark over which many critics of "Lothair" made themselves very merry. Not long before his death, however, Lord Beaconsfield said, in conversation with a friend, that he was really born in a library. Anyhow, Mr. Isaac Disraeli's house overflowed with books, and few writers have so thoroughly studied literature in



general, so deftly woven for the systematic student and for others, the results of vast reading, with ability as clearly marked as insight.

*The Official Report of the Church Congress, 1882.* Edited by the Rev. E. DUNKLEY. London: Bemrose & Sons, 23, Old Bailey, and Derby.

A review of this Report is unavoidably delayed. In the meantime we may remark that the volume is issued unusually early and is admirably printed. Messrs. Bemrose, and Mr. C. Basil Cooke, the accomplished "Official Reporter," have done their work well.

*Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, M.A., of Broad Oak, Flintshire, A.D. 1631-1696.* Edited by M. H. LEE, M.A., Vicar of Hanmer. Pp. 415. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

It is now nearly sixty years since the "Life of Philip Henry"—founded upon the account given by his son, Mathew Henry—was written by Sir John Williams. The interest which that volume excited will no doubt be extended to the Diaries and Letters now for the first time printed, edited by Mr. Lee. Philip Henry's motto from Thomas à Kempis, *Bene vixit qui bene latuit*, will explain why Anthony à Wood does not mention his name; why people often describe him now as Mathew Henry's father; why the late Dr. Wordsworth included his life in the first edition of the "Ecclesiastical Biographies;" and why Churchmen generally should have called for its removal from that series. To the volume before us we hope to return. With the editor's remarks we are not always able to agree; but his work has evidently been to him a labour of love, and the book will be both enjoyable and edifying to many readers.

*An Old Testament Commentary for English Readers.* By various writers.

Edited by CHARLES JOHN ELLICOTT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Vol. i. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.

We welcome the first volume of a much-needed Commentary. While there are several really good New Testament Commentaries, there are very few works indeed on the Old Testament which, with justice termed "popular" Commentaries, are really sound, ably-written, readable, deeply reverent, and well up to the requirements of the present day. The volume before us has a preface by Bishop Ellicott; and its writers are Dean Payne-Smith, Canon Rawlinson, Dr. Ginsburg, and the late Canon Elliott. It is hardly necessary, therefore, to speak of either its scholarship or its soundness, or to mention that it is adapted to these times. There are many students, thoughtful, well-disposed, yet honest doubters, who desire to see the results of conscientious inquiries set forth by divines who are at once able and sympathetic. A clearly written and candid exposition, which does not shirk those difficult questions which are talked about in fireside confidence as well as handled successfully or otherwise in periodicals, is sure to find readers. The volume before us will do, we hope and believe, great good service. The introduction to the Book of Genesis, and the Commentary on that Book, are the work of the Dean of Canterbury. To several points which we had marked for notice, full of interest, we may return.

*Reason for giving up Unitarian Ministry.* A Series of Letters to a Unitarian Friend. By the Rev. A. M. CREERY, B.A. (of Buxton). Pp. 74. E. Stock.

Does not the Unitarian denomination tolerate the utmost freedom of thought on all religious questions?—Yes. "But this toleration extends, for the most part, only to those thoughts which tend towards negation. A minister may deny the reality of the miracles recorded in the New

Testament. He may represent all the events of Christ's life, from the cradle to the cross, as purely mythical—fictions evolved out of the pious imagination of a later time." Further, "He may even go so far as to hold that the only kind of immortality on which we can reckon is an immortality in the memory of our friends, and those who come after them; and that the existence of any self-conscious intelligence over and above the universe is very problematical. But should he maintain the Deity of Christ as one of the leading doctrines of revelation, or represent our Lord as the Saviour and Redeemer of man, to whom we must look in prayer for all spiritual blessings, he would find at once that he had passed the bounds of Unitarian toleration."

So writes Mr. Creery in the interesting pamphlet before us. On the present state of the Unitarian sect he writes thus:—

At the present time the divergence between the anti-supernaturalists, and those who tend towards a more evangelical theory of religion, is so great, that a division in the camp seems inevitable. The latter party, however, are still a very small minority; but as they are nearer to Christ than the others, we may expect to find them gaining ground. But the Unitarian community, as a denomination, is doomed. Old associations, and a considerable *esprit de corps*, keep them, for the present, together; but over the younger members these feelings have but little power.

*The Home Prayer Book.* A Book of Common Prayer for Household Worship, containing prayers for four weeks, morning and evening. By HENRY T. DIX, Author of "Our Old Prayer Meeting," &c. London: E. Stock. Dublin: Geo. Herbert.

In an interesting preface Mr. Dix tells his readers that he brought the subject of Liturgical worship before the Church Congress some years ago; and he has evidently taken pains to prepare supplications and thanksgivings for family worship, on the model of the prayers in the Prayer Book. Of these prayers, he truly says, four features may be noticed:—(1) clearness and brevity; (2) close connection between doctrine and practice; (3) correspondence between the address and the supplication; (4) tone of reverent love and worship. We may add, that one charm is their sweet rhythm. To Mr. Dix we tender thanks for his earnest effort; and we have pleasure in commending it, as in harmony with the Church's teaching, and breathing throughout "awe" and affection for God's Holy Word.

*Damascus and its People.* Sketches of Modern Life in Syria. By Mrs. MACKINTOSH, late of the British Syrian Schools, Damascus. With 15 illustrations. Seeleys.

Nineveh and Babylon are buried in ruins, and Tyre is now a small fishing village; but Damascus, boasting an antiquity of 4,000 years, is still a prosperous city, with a large industrious and lively population. In this remarkable city the writer of the book before us has resided seven years; she is well qualified to give us sketches of town and rural life in Syria. It is a very readable book, one of the best of the interesting and informing works of the Missionary class published by Messrs. Seeley. An extract from chap. xx. may be taken as a specimen:—

We have, perhaps, tarried too long in the old city, wandering about its bazaars, and orchards, and villages. Let us take the diligence, cross the Anti-Lebanon, the plain of the Bukaa and the Lebanon, to Beyrout, a journey of thirteen hours; and then we shall be rewarded by a peep at the bright deep blue sea beyond.

Few seaside places in the world can boast the beauty of the landscape at Beyrout, and many a quiet hour have we spent on the roof of one of the highest houses in the town, the British-Syrian Training Institution, by turns reading and gazing at the splendid view before us: the bright, many-coloured town below,

with the American Church and Printing Press, the numerous Consulates with flags flying, the Turkish barracks and Prussian schools, the little wooded hill of Ashrafia, while behind all rises Jebel Suneen, towering 10,000 feet towards the sky; and then there are the mountains of Kesrawar stretching beyond the bay of St. George, who, without a doubt, say the natives, slew the dragon, and delivered the town from the daily tax of a maiden whom he devoured; or, turning inland, we see the grey regular outline of the Lebanon hills, presenting no striking feature of pike or point or crag, but dotted over with numberless villages and hamlets, with here and there a convent. If we again change our position on the housetop and look to the south, we see, close at hand, the pretty home of the family to whose devotion and zeal the British-Syrian Schools owe their origin and success; and just beyond, strange reddish sandhills, stretching from the sea far inland, and covering an extent of country perhaps six or seven miles in length—a splendid place for a gallop, but a great trouble to planters and builders, for these sandhills are constantly encroaching, and many little houses and mulberry-gardens have from time to time disappeared beneath them.

*The New Testament Scriptures. Their Claims, History, and Authority.*  
By A. H. CHARTERIS, D.D. Pp. 223. Nisbet & Co.

Some ten years ago we recommended another volume by Professor Charteris—"Canonicity"—as soon as it was published; and we have been pleased to observe from time to time that our opinion of the value of that learned work is that of theological critics in eminent papers and periodicals both here and abroad. The present work appears, from what we have been able to read, worthy of equally high rank; but it is not intended so much for the learned; and, in fact, the average devout and thoughtful layman may peruse it with interest. In the opening pages we observe these notes of Scripture:—"All the books of the New Testament claim (1) to be true; (2) for themselves unity; (3) authority." Dr. Charteris then turns to Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism; here is nothing to correspond with the religion of the Bible, which claims to be founded on revelation. But what of Brahminism? To Buddhism the Brahmins object, in that it is not a revelation; it is a religion which recognised neither God nor soul. But Brahminism was not a revelation; its later books, no doubt, claim Divine sanction for the Vedic hymns, but the inspiration and invocation of those hymns are like that which Homer courted from the Muse.

Two really good gift-books must be briefly noticed:—*Dayspring*, by Mrs. MARSHALL, a tale of the time of Tyndale, as we have already remarked; and *The Nameless Shadow*, by AGNES GIBERNE. The character of Miss Giberne's works of fiction is well known; her present story, describing how a cloud of mystery hung sadly over a family, is worthy of warm praise. We thoroughly recommend both these volumes. "Home Words" Publishing Office, 1, Paternoster Buildings.

We have much pleasure in inviting attention to the first volume of *The Church Worker* (Church of England Sunday School Institute, Serjeant's Inn), a magazine for Sunday School teachers, and other "Church Workers," which has several times been commended in these columns.

From the Church of England Temperance Society (9, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.), we have received *Church Temperance Missions*, being "Hints and Suggestions for the Organization and Conduct" of such a series of meetings. We have also received *The "Blue Ribbon Army," or Gospel Temperance Mission*, by Canon ELLISON, and other useful publications. The C. E. T. S., God be praised, is doing a good work.

From Messrs. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., we have received several charming books suitable for young people, likely, in a missionary sense

to be of service. *Peeps into China, The Isles of the Pacific, Round Africa, Glimpses of South America, and The Eastern Wonderland.* These tastefully got up volumes are bright, informing, full of illustrations, of thoroughly good tone, and very cheap; capital gift-books for the elder pupils. We have seldom seen so good a series: boys as well as girls will use the epithets "pretty" and "nice." The second title of the book about China is "The Missionary's Children," a pleasing story. With this volume, and with that on Japan, *The Eastern Wonderland*, we are particularly pleased. In writing about the Japanese, MR. ANGUS, who declares himself much indebted to Mr. Eugene Stock's excellent publication *Japan and the Japan Mission*, has done his work well. The volume about New Zealand is also very good.

In the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* appears an interesting article on "The City of the Kalipha," Bagdad, by HENRY MORRIS, Esq. Of the Arabian Nights Haroun—

Sole star of all that place and time,  
The good Haroun Alraschid—

Mr. Morris writes that he really deserves the epithet "bad," rather than that of "good." A graphic account of his doings has recently appeared in a monograph on him by that distinguished linguist and scholar, Professor Palmer, of Cambridge, whose early and tragical death is universally mourned. The *Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home* are good numbers. The former contains a well-written paper on Hughenden, and Part I. of "Sketches in the Malay Peninsula," by the author of a "Lady's Ride in the Rocky Mountains." We read:

Singapore is really the Charing Cross or Oban of the East. From it steamers start for Australia, China, Japan, England, France, Italy, Ceylon, India, Burmah, Sumatra, Malacca, and any number of small ports. Yet the only people who look thoroughly awake are the Chinese, who number 86,000 out of a population of 130,000. They monopolize many streets altogether, erect temples, club-houses, opium dens, and gaming-houses, are utterly unquelled by the heat, and are said to be gradually supplanting the smaller European merchants. They are in such an enormous majority that one would suppose Singapore to be a Chinese town. The city is all ablaze with colour. I can hardly recall the pallid race which lives in our dim, pale islands, and is costumed in our hideous clothes. Every costume, from Arabia to China, floats through the streets; robes of silk, satin, brocade, and muslin; and Parsees in spotless white, Jews and Arabs in dark rich colours, Klings (natives of Southern India) in crimson and white, Bombay merchants in turbans of large size and crimson cummerbunds, Malays in red sarongs, Sikhs in pure white, their great height rendered almost colossal by the classic arrangement of their draperies, and Chinamen, from the coolie, in his blue or brown cotton, to the wealthy merchant in his frothy silk *crêpe* and rich brocaded silk, made up a medley irresistibly fascinating to the stranger.

In the *Antiquary*, still as dainty and as delightful as ever, appear papers on the Invention of the Steam-engine, Churchwardens' Accounts, and reports of the meetings of Antiquarian Societies. The *Quiver* begins the year auspiciously: one or two of the papers might well be a little longer, we think. *Little Folks* is capital; and the new magazine for the little folks, *Our Little Ones* (Griffith and Farran), is very good. The *Church Missionary Gleaner*, bright, well-illustrated and informing, contains a sketch of Archbishop Tait addressing the C. M. S. Meeting, May 1, 1877. In *Cassell's Family Magazine* appears, as usual, several interesting, useful papers, with Tales, Sketches, &c. "My Journey with the Khedive" is well worth reading.

A new edition of "*Granny's Chapters*" (on Scriptural subjects), by LADY MARY ROSS been sent forth (Hatchards). For the first edition, published in 1870, a commendatory preface was written by Dean Goulburn. The present volume (400 pages) is from Creation to the death of Moses.

We have received from Messrs. T. & T. Clark the first volume of a new HERZOG and SCHAFF'S Christian Encyclopædia. The full title of the work is *A Religious Encyclopædia*. A Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology, based on the "Real Encyclopædie" of Herzog, Plitt, and Hauck. Edited by Philip Schaff, D.D. The work is a condensed reproduction and adaptation. So far as we have examined, the articles are ably-written, trustworthy, and readable. Our notice must be deferred.

The Dean of CHESTER'S Sermon, *The Form of Sound Words* (E. Stock), contains two or three passages of special importance at the present moment. The sermon was preached at the opening of the Chapel of St. Aidan's College. A preface has been added; and from this we quote one passage. Referring to the use which has lately been made of the 36th Article, the pious and learned writer says:—

In a widely circulated tract entitled, in words taken from the Article, "*Neither Superstitious nor Ungodly*," I have seen it argued that the reference there to Ordination is so worded as to include the Ordinal of 1549—that the Ordination Service is part of the Communion Service—that therefore the express approval of the Article is extended to the Prayer Book of 1549.

Now it is impossible not to view with suspicion this attaching of such extreme weight to the Articles, when, in the very same quarter in which this argument first appeared, it had been said, "We have never seen the use of retaining the Thirty-nine Articles at all;" and again, "The abolition of the Thirty-nine Articles, the adoption of Edward VI.'s First Communion Office . . . would win for the Disestablished Church the respect of Christendom." But, further, it is not strictly correct to assert that the Ordinal is part of the Communion Office. It is not until the Ordination has taken place that the rubric directs that "all that are ordered shall tarry and receive the Holy Communion the same day with the Bishop."

We have received from Mr. Murray the new number of the *Quarterly Review*. Our quotations, from lack of time, are brief. "Archbishop Tait and the Primacy" is the first article. "Sir Archibald Alison's Autobiography," "Progress and Poverty," "American Novels," and two very interesting political articles, we can only mention. The *Quarterly* does justice, at the commencement, to Bishop Ollivant, "who represented the best traditions of the learning and sober piety" of "the great Evangelical School." The *Quarterly* is very sanguine as regards the new Primate. Mr. Reginald Wilberforce is sharply rebuked for his editorial indiscretions. "What we are concerned to protest against, in the strongest manner, is the flagrant impropriety . . . of publishing reports of private conversations in which living persons took part, during their lives, and without their consent." "Bishop Wilberforce's inaccuracy, and his son's recklessness," are touched upon in regard to Bishop Higgin. The writer in the *Quarterly* adds, in a foot-note:—

We think it right to add, in justice to the publisher, that we have reason for knowing that the most objectionable passages in the volume were inserted in spite of his earnest remonstrances.

## THE MONTH.

THE nomination of the Bishop of Truro to the Archbishopric of Canterbury was received with a chorus of congratulation, and appears to have proved very generally acceptable. Almost as a matter of course the Primacy was in the first instance offered to Dr. Harold Browne, the Bishop of Winchester; but that eminent Prelate, as was expected, felt himself unable to accept it. Dr. Benson, who is fifty-three years of age, was ordained in the year 1853.

The Right Rev. Edward White Benson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Truro, was consecrated in the year 1877.<sup>1</sup> As Head Master of Wellington College, Canon of Lincoln, and Bishop of Truro, he has been signally successful; he has won confidence and esteem to a very remarkable degree. Earnest prayers will be offered throughout the Church, by devout and loyal members, that in a sphere of the very greatest importance, at this crisis one of specially grave responsibility, he may be guided and guarded by the Holy Spirit.

May the Primate faithfully serve God in that high office, to the glory of His Name, and the edifying and well-governing of His Church. May he maintain and set forward quietness, love and peace; correcting, as needs may be, according to such authority as he has by God's Word, and as to him shall be committed by the Ordinance of this Realm.

The judgment of the metropolitan and parochial papers, on the whole, as we have said, was singularly favourable. Dr. Benson is known to be in politics a Conservative, and as a Churchman he is supposed to be decidedly "High." The newspapers of almost every shade, however, approve of Mr. Glad-

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<sup>1</sup> He was educated at King Edward the Sixth's Grammar School, Birmingham, under the Rev. James Prince Lee, first Bishop of Manchester, whence he proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, where his career was rapid and successful. He graduated B.A. in 1st Class Classics, and was Senior Chancellor's Medallist, and Senior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos, in 1852, proceeding to his M.A. degree in 1855. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Manchester in 1853, in which year he was appointed one of the Masters of Rugby School. In 1859 he was appointed the first Head Master of Wellington College. Whilst at Wellington College he received his B.D. degree in 1862, and that of D.D. in 1867, and in 1869 was appointed a Prebendary in Lincoln Cathedral and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln. Three years later he resigned the Head Mastership of the College, upon being appointed Chancellor of Lincoln and a Canon Residentiary. It may be mentioned that, amongst Dr. Benson's fellow-pupils at King Edward's School, Birmingham, were Professor Westcott, one of the Company of New Testament Revisers, and Dr. Lightfoot, the present Bishop of Durham.

stone's choice. It is felt that Dr. Benson is a "strong" man; he is hard-working, it is said, large-hearted, discreet, and sagacious. Whether the policy of the Protestant Primate, Dr. Tait, who was particularly the representative of the laity, will be carried on by Dr. Benson, remains to be seen. For ourselves, we are inclined to be hopeful.

The Archbishop designate has consented to speak at the next anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society; and the new *Quarterly*, we gladly note, confirms the rumour that the late Archbishop looked forward with hope to being some day followed in the Primacy by Dr. Benson.

The *Guardian* (December 27) wrote:—

The appointment of the Bishop of Truro to the Primacy is certainly something more than merely the appointment of an able, or a learned, or a safe man to office—more than the mere appointment of a fit man to a Bishopric. It varies from the usual course in two ways: it is the choice of a comparatively young man, one of the youngest of his brethren, with the probability of a long career before him; and it is the appointment of a man who, though he has undoubtedly made his mark wherever he has been, has not been much before the eyes of men in London, or in the country generally, has never yet sat in Parliament, has been reserved in his language, and owes nothing to friendship or connections. . . . Such a man must have been chosen for his own sake and nothing else. He must have been chosen because he was thought to be not only fit, but the fittest man. . . . He is a scholar, a critic, an independent thinker, an historical student; he has been accustomed to come into contact not only with men of the highest knowledge and cultivation, but with the hard, narrow, keen intellects, the half-knowledge, the strong prejudices, the warm but ill-informed sympathies of the classes out of which Nonconformity is recruited. And his learning, his experience, and his practical training have fed in him more and more a deep and concentrated enthusiasm for the greatest of institutions which the world has seen, the Divine society of the Christian Church.

The Charge of the Bishop of Durham touches many points of immediate interest. The passage which relates to "Church and State" we quote as follows:—

It would be vain to deny that the relations between the Church and the State have become seriously entangled of late, and still cause great anxiety. Only time and forbearance can untie the knot, which a headstrong impatience would cut at once. So long as Church and State occupy the same ground, interest the same men, influence the same consciences, contact and conflict are inevitable. Viewed from the side of the Church, the relations between Church and State, so far at least as regards existing complications, resolve themselves ultimately into a question of expediency. But while using this term expediency, I deprecate its being understood in any low, selfish sense, as applying to material interests. I refer solely to the spiritual interests of which the Church is the guardian. The question that she has to ask herself is whether her union with the

State enables her to fulfil better the high spiritual functions which devolve upon her. But when we ask this question, no narrow interpretation can be given to her spiritual functions. If she had no other aspiration than to gather together compact congregations with definite and well-ordered services of one particular type, and to leave the masses of the population to themselves, then there is much to be said for a severance of the union. If any Churchman were content to take this view, I could imagine him not only awaiting disestablishment patiently, but even heartily welcoming it. He might thus be able better to carry out his own ideas unfettered and undisturbed. *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.* But if it be the true spiritual function of the Church—the ideal after which she aspires—to carry the Gospel into the highways and hedges, and to leaven the people of England throughout, then she will cling tenaciously to the advantages and the opportunities which she enjoys by her union with the State. Nothing but the imperious mandate of conscience would justify her in voluntarily relinquishing the vantage-ground on which God has placed her.

A correspondence between the Bishop of Gloucester, and one of his clergy, and the churchwardens, has been published. His Lordship desired the Vicar—

Not to use language such as that which you admit to have used in reference to the Eucharist, as it could not fail to be understood as implying that the Lord's natural body is locally situate on the Holy Table, whereas we are taught by our Prayer Book that the Lord's natural body is in heaven, and not here.

"Francis Close, of Cheltenham," for twenty-five years Dean of Carlisle, has entered into rest, at the age of 86. With McNeile and Stowell, he was a power in the pulpit and on the platform, foremost in good works, honoured, and blessed for many years. Heartily wishing well to *THE CHURCHMAN*, the Dean gave us at the outset some good advice, though the infirmities of age prevented him from contributing to our columns. Remarkably shrewd, a very clever letter-writer, Dr. Close had a mark at which he aimed, and he used to hit it. His love for souls, his deep interest in sacred things, his prayerfulness, his cheery, conscientious, consistent Christian living, none could doubt. We pay our tribute of most sincere respect. From an interesting article in the *Record*, we quote the following:—

Providence sent him to Cheltenham, then in the patronage of the Rev. Charles Simeon. Francis Close was not yet thirty years of age when the sagacity of that eminent man discerned in him powers which fitted him for that difficult post. Cheltenham was then still the resort of the highest fashion. Railways had not opened the Continent, and Bath and Cheltenham had not lost their supremacy. Cheltenham had then its ancient parish church, supplemented by a chapel-of-ease. What it has since become, and to what extent the mind just departed influenced that growth, is a not unknown story. The early career of the young incum-



bent of Cheltenham was that of a life devoted to labour. The compositions of sermons had been to him a subject of careful study under the guidance of the venerable Charles Simeon. From him he learned the habit of that exact analysis of the text, and that clear arrangement of the subject, which, to the very last, distinguished this great preacher. But the style of presenting the matter so arrayed was entirely his own. The style of Simeon partook of the more rigid diction of the close of the last century. That of Francis Close was more glowing and flexible, occasionally ornate and poetic, but always full of masculine common-sense. Perhaps no one was ever more absurdly caricatured in distant popular representations. The beloved of Cheltenham spinsters, the recipient of countless gifts, as jocular enmity loved to describe him, was emphatically a Man . . . . Who that remembers him in Committees can fail to have a vivid picture of command? No failure of attendance, no thinly frequented Board, was to be feared where he was chairman. Inimitable stories and buoyant life interested and amused the members. But time was not wasted. Shrewd common-sense and a legal instinct led, but did not cajole; and the attendant secretary knew well that the chairman's eye discerned, and the chairman's hand held fast, the very point of the business. But the time came when this power seemed to be failing. Hereditary gout crippled the exercise of his strength, and in 1856 Lord Palmerston promoted him to the Deanery of Carlisle. There could not be the same record of work in the border city. Yet in spite of frequent ill health and advancing infirmities, those who should write his Carlisle history would have one of much blessing to record.

For the venerated Bishop of Llandaff, the *Nunc dimittis* period came, at the age of eighty-four. Dr. Ollivant, as a scholar and theologian, and a Bishop, did great good service in the Church; an able administrator, he ruled his diocese with gentle carefulness and love; in Convocation his sagacity and firmness were oftentimes of value; on all sides, his conscientiousness, courtesy, and spirituality, were much esteemed. We gratefully acknowledge, as regards THE CHURCHMAN, his kind consideration.

We regret to record the death of Archdeacon Boutflower, Canon of Carlisle, Vicar of St. Lawrence's, Appleby; an amiable man, deeply in earnest, much-respected.<sup>1</sup>

To the living of St. John's, Miles Platting, Sir Percival Heywood presented Mr. Cowgill, the Ritualistic Curate, and after due consideration the Bishop declined to institute him.

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<sup>1</sup> The Archdeacon had arranged to preach in the Cathedral with special reference to the death of Dean Close, whose body was at the time lying in the church; but on the previous evening he was seized with apoplexy while sitting in his study, and so serious were the effects of the attack that he never rallied. He was sixty-seven years of age. To the Residuary Canonry he was appointed by Bishop Waldegrave.

The correspondence published is full of interest. In his letter to the patron his Lordship says, that from a sense of duty to the discipline of the Church he is constrained to refuse, with deep regret, to institute Mr. Cowgill:—

The causes which led to the deprivation of the late Rector, the Rev. S. F. Green, are notorious. Can I, without assisting others to trample on the law of the Church and realm and to defy all constituted authority, institute to the same benefice a clergyman who admits that he has practised there the same illegal ceremonial acts for practising which Mr. Green was deprived; and who, I have every reason to believe, means to continue and repeat the same illegal ceremonial acts, if and when he should be instituted to the benefice?

The only points in Sir Percival Heywood's reply of any force are these two: (1) He says—"You have allowed Mr. Cowgill for a year and eight months, without a word of warning, to practise the very Ritual of which you complain;" and (2) he says, "The Prime Minister has not hesitated to reward, with well-earned advancement, a priest who practised, and was perfectly well known to practise, that ceremonial which you characterize as illegal." With regard to the Curate, the Bishop had, no doubt, good reasons for not interfering; and as to the second point, Sir Percival should address himself to supporters of Mr. Gladstone. Certainly law-abiding members of the Established Church have reason to complain of the "reward" bestowed by the Premier on a law-disregarding "priest."

An admirable letter, with a Protestant tone, was sent by the Bishop in reply to a sympathetic address; and his Lordship thus concludes:—

If there is to be "a truce" at all, the only ground upon which it can be reasonably offered or accepted is that both parties should keep within the limits of defined law as it stands, existing provocations being withdrawn and no fresh ones introduced. Is it unnatural or an improper thing to ask, "Till the law is altered, keep within the limits of the law"?

I neither am nor ever was a party man. I am not seeking now popularity with a party, or to win a triumph for one; and I deeply deplore that I have been forced into a position which is unwelcome to all my natural inclinations and impulses. But there are principles which I feel bound by every sentiment of fealty to my Church and to my office to endeavour to maintain: and the time may be coming rapidly on when it will behove Churchmen, if they would save Scriptural truth, to declare that, while desiring to be true to the principles of all really Primitive and Catholic Christianity, they will be true to the principles of their own sober and well-considered Reformation.

These words have a true ring. The Bishop's policy is plain, and his language, like his action, is manly and straightforward. The *Spectator*, indeed, cannot appreciate it; but that journal,

on such questions, gets weaker and weaker. It is said that the law is against the Bishop; he has virtually no discretion in the matter.<sup>1</sup> This is a mere assumption. The Bishop, no doubt, has taken advice, and certainly he does not stand alone. Now is the time for loyal Churchmen, clergy and laity, all who are true to the principles of the Reformation, whether they be classed as "High," or "Low," or "Broad," to look this question in the face—Shall the Mass be tolerated in our midst?

Mr. Gladstone re-constituted his Cabinet at the end of the year. Lord Derby goes to the Colonial Office. For Sir Charles Dilke a place was found at the Local Board Office; the honourable Baronet had proved himself a singularly successful Under-Secretary; some of his extremely Radical opinions have been cast off. By the advice of his doctor, the Premier has postponed his Mid-Lothian campaign. Mr. Fawcett, we gladly note, has recovered from a very severe illness.

The work of repression and punishment proceeds in Ireland. Several convicted murderers underwent the extreme penalty of the law.

The death of M. Gambetta has made a void in France. A materialist, like the great majority of educated Frenchmen, he sought, it is said, when he was dying, to be reconciled to the Church. In an eloquent oration, Father Hyacinthe mentioned that M. Gambetta once declared to him that to separate Church and State would be *la fin du monde*. Mirabeau himself, whose portrait Gambetta kept hung above his bed, had said, "God is even more necessary to France than liberty."

There has been a good deal of gossip about diplomatic relations between St. James's and the Vatican. A timely protest by the honoured Bishop of Lincoln has appeared in the leading journal.

The new Law Courts have been opened for the despatch of business; and Mr. Bradlaugh met with another rebuff.

Rain has been incessant; and the floods on the Continent are severe.

Jan. 17.

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<sup>1</sup> "Dr. Fraser's resolution and courage," says the *Record*, "are in favourable contrast to the deplorable weakness which has been shown by the Bishop of London with reference to the Mackonochie case. The dying efforts of the Archbishop to put an end to a long and harassing litigation by persuading Mr. Mackonochie to resign a post from which he was just about to be ejected, were taken advantage of to procure fresh preferment for Mr. Mackonochie, where he could carry on his irregularities under Episcopal protection, and also for the purpose of giving to St. Alban's a new incumbent, pledged to maintain the Mass and its accessories."

# THE CHURCHMAN

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MARCH, 1883.

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## ART. I.—THE RESPECTIVE TENDENCIES OF LITURGICAL DEFICIENCY AND RITUALISTIC EXCESS.

**B**EFORE entering upon a consideration of this subject, it is well to define the limits of our inquiry, and the terms employed in the statement of it.

We have here nothing to do with the modes of Divine worship outside the boundaries of our own communion, the Church of England; or beyond the requirements of our "Book of Common Prayer." Whether ancient or modern, Oriental or Occidental, Liturgies are the best, the most Scriptural, the most advantageous, we do not inquire. Whether the formal Ritual of the Church, or the informal worship of Nonconformists, possesses these characteristics to the greatest extent, does not come within the scope of our subject.

The ministers of the Church of England have been entrusted with the conduct of Divine service according to a prescribed form fenced with divers Rubrics of direction in its use, and they have accepted that Trust under most solemn circumstances, bound by most solemn promises. We are not to add thereto, for we are pledged to use "no other." Are we allowed to diminish therefrom?

This question brings us to the terms of our thesis. By Ritualistic excess we mean the adoption and use of forms of worship, whether in matter or manner, which are not prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer. Taken from the Use of Sarum, the Roman Missals, Greek forms, or Genevan customs, it matters not; they all come under the term Ritualistic excess.

By Liturgical deficiency we understand the failing to comply with the formal appointments of our Prayer Book as to the

times, the frequency, the character of our services; as to the mode in which we conduct them, whether in accordance with, or deviation from, the Rubrics; and as to the accessories and arrangements for their performance. As everything beyond the Prayer Book constitutes Ritualistic excess, so everything that falls short of its requirements constitutes Liturgical deficiency.

Both these are violations of our Prayer Book and its requirement so far as the letter is concerned; but there may be a very important practical difference in the results. We have therefore to inquire into the "respective tendencies" of each, and see if they can be equally justified by those results, or if either of them is quite unjustifiable under the circumstances. If the tendency (or outcome) of either is contrary to the spirit as well as the letter of the Prayer Book; if it introduce discord and contrariety into what should be in harmony and concord; if it should tend to a destruction of the plan on which the Book is based—should affirm what the Book has denied, or deny what it has affirmed—then that one is unjustifiable; and common honesty towards the Church, the congregation, and the Book, demands that such shall be given up, and the services be expanded or contracted to the required limitations.

Having thus defined the terms of our thesis, we are prepared to enter upon its consideration.

It will be generally admitted, no doubt, that there are few, if any, of the clergy who strictly conform to all the Rubrics and requirements of the Prayer Book. One large portion are especially charged with Liturgical deficiency, and with great semblance of justice; some of them, possibly, are amenable to the charge of Ritualistic excess, using the term in its proper, not technical, significance. Another large section are equally charged with Ritualistic excess, and might, in some points, we think, be found guilty of Liturgical deficiency.

In these divergencies of opinion and practice, the best way of dealing with the subject is to try if an overruling principle can be found to guide us in both. We are not individual Christians, nor isolated congregations, occupied only with personal interests, or combined only for sectional purposes, but much more. We are Christians and congregations in a great community—an Apostolic branch of the Catholic Church of Christ. As regards common needs and their supply, common blessings and gratitude for them, common privileges and their use, we all are on the same platform; and in the realization of this unity, our Liturgy has been compiled, and is entitled the Book of *Common Prayer*. The need of one is the need of all—the need of all is the need of each; and when all come together

to express their need in prayer, and to receive a blessing from God, it must be that the form of worship is the most perfect expression that can be found of the principle that binds all together.

It may be a question whether forms are the best mode of expressing this sense of community. The Church has decided in their favour; the Nonconformists have, for the most part, decided against them. But the decision once made by the Church, it follows, surely, that *the highest and most perfect form that could be devised by those engaged in its compilation would be put forth as the Book of Common Prayer*. It is no mere fortuitous concurrence of devotional atoms, no mere aggregate of personal predilections. It is the offspring of the thoughtful, prayerful, efforts of men, whose character was as holy as their ecclesiastical position was lofty—whose spiritual acquirements in the knowledge of God's Word and man's need were as great as their knowledge of the Liturgical heritage of the Church from the Apostolic age to their own. They knew the meaning of "Liturgical excess"—had seen and experienced its tendencies. Preserving all that was good, and true, and suitable, they cut away the excesses and accretions of later corruptions, and put forth, for the use of the whole Church of England, what they deemed to be a perfect Ritual, beyond which, or contrary to which, nothing should be enjoined, practised, or allowed, except by that competent authority which put it forth.

This, surely, is the principle of the Prayer Book, which has been accepted by each succeeding generation of Churchmen. No competent authority has altered it in any material point; and it is very doubtful whether we should get one nearly so good if it should be cast into the furnace of conflicting prejudices, feelings, and opinions in our time. This Book, at all events, every clergyman holding benefice or license to minister in the Church of England has accepted; he accepted the Book with a solemn promise to use it in his ministrations, and "no other." I do not see how these words "no other" can be honestly evaded, or explained so as to cover much in the way of Ritual that is in use in our day in some churches of our communion. On the other hand, this is a first principle: whatever is really included between the backs of our Book of Common Prayer cannot be, and ought not to be, called Ritualistic excess. It had been better if this had been earlier recognised, and much harsh language, uncharitable judgment, and misguided zeal, had been held back until the limits enjoined by the Church had been actually transgressed. The opposition would have been more powerful for good had it been suppressed until there was something real to oppose.

Let us now turn to the other aspect of the question. The exclusive boundary of our Ritual, it has been maintained, is a hard and fast line, allowing no transgression. Is it necessary, as a requirement of the Church, that every one of her ministering clergy—every single congregation—shall come up to that boundary internally? Is it according unto right, and in conformity with her wish, that all her sons and all her assemblies, who do not come up to the high standard which she has set up, shall be deemed unfaithful to her, to their ordination vows, or to the spiritual interests of her various flocks? At first sight, we should be inclined to say that it is—that the clergy have no more right to be Liturgically deficient than to be Ritualistically excessive. This is the position taken up by many, expressed by some occupying high position in the Church, and put forth as a reason for non-repression of unlawful forms of worship, borrowed from pre-Reformation times, or taken from the Ritual of unreformed Churches. One evil does not justify another; and, if both Liturgical deficiency and Ritualistic excess be equally unjustifiable, the only legitimate conclusion is—let both be stopped; let the Procrustean bed be the exact standard of measurement, and let the Ritual that is too long be lopped, and the Ritual that is too short be pulled out to its proper length.

Now it would be easy to establish the fact that there may be—that there is—a vital difference between these two which will largely justify the one, and as decidedly condemn the other. Illustrations of this need not be adduced; let us not be led away from principles. We may pursue a much more direct course in establishing the position which has been taken up.

We have affirmed it as the only *rational*, and a really *necessary*, principle in the formation of our Book of Common Prayer, that it should be the most perfect and complete Ritual possible to the piety, the wisdom, the learning, and the condition of its compilers.<sup>1</sup> Our Ritual is often spoken of as a compromise, as if that were something very dreadful. Many compromises are very harmless, not a few very advantageous. The charge is, however, usually made with the signification that truth has been sacrificed, and the Church's protest against false doctrine and erroneous practice been weakened, in order to include as large a number as possible of those who still adhered to the unreformed Church. To this it is almost enough to reply that the expressions used respecting those doctrines

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<sup>1</sup> Possibly most clergymen, and many laymen too, think that if they had only had a hand in it, it would have been more perfect; but that part of the subject need not be discussed.

and practices in our Articles, which find their place in, and form part of, our Book of Common Prayer, emphatically overpower any forms of compromise which an unjust and unreal interpretation may seem to discover. A comprehension extending even to the utmost limits of what is true is very different from even the smallest compromise with what is false. Our Prayer Book may illustrate the former, it does not exemplify the latter.

Our next proposition is, that the Book of Common Prayer, though put forth on the principle of its completeness and perfection as a standard of Ritual worship, does not enjoin or expect that all the congregations of our Church shall come up to that standard or fill out that measure; but, on the contrary, while she allows of no transgression beyond the limits which are assigned, does sanction deviations from a rigid uniformity, and *makes provision* for such Liturgical deficiencies as the circumstances of respective congregations may justify. The importance of this position will be seen at once. Though a failure to establish it by evidence may not necessarily prove an unfaithfulness in certain cases of Liturgical deficiency—for a spirit may give life even where a letter kills—yet if we can establish it by the testimony of the Book itself, the charge of unfaithfulness will be removed from many, and only rest with added weight upon those who make it, and endeavour, by raising a cloud of dust around their brethren, to hide their own violations of both the spirit and the letter of the Prayer Book.

We proceed, then, to establish our positions, thus affirmed, by evidence from the Book itself. It may be sufficient to place the facts in dry light; the clearness of the light, it may be hoped, will excuse the dryness of the mode in which it is presented. The Preface to the Prayer Book, which is too seldom read and too little known by Church people, is an expansion of the principles which have been laid down. These are its first words:—

It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since the first compiling of her public Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting any variation from it. For, as on the one side common experience sheweth, that where a change hath been made of things advisedly established (no evident necessity so requiring), sundry inconveniences have thereupon ensued; and those many times more and greater than the evils that were intended to be remedied by such change: so on the other side, the particular forms of Divine worship, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent, and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to



those that are in place of Authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient.

Again we read :—"Of the sundry alterations proposed unto us, we have rejected all such as were either of dangerous consequence (as secretly striking at some established doctrine, or laudable practice of the Church of England, or indeed of the whole Catholic Church of Christ) or else of no consequence at all, but utterly frivolous and vain." The Preface closes with these words :—"We have good hope that what is here presented, and hath been by the Convocations of both Provinces with great diligence examined and approved, will be also well accepted and approved by all sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England."

In the next section, "Concerning the Service of the Church," after an assertion of the necessity for some Rules, and that those framed are few, plain, and easy to be understood, we have another declaration of the principles on which the compilers acted as follows :—

Here you have an Order for Prayer, and for the reading of the Holy Scriptures, much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers, and a great deal more profitable and commodious than that which of late was used. It is more profitable because here are left out many things, whereof some are untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious ; and nothing is ordained to be read but the very pure Word of God, the holy Scriptures, or that which is agreeable to the same.

The various Uses of the kingdom are put aside, and "now from henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one Use." Further, provision is made for doubts and diversities. These must be submitted to the decision of the Bishop, "who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary to anything contained in this Book." Surely this restriction laid upon the highest official Authorities of the Church is a clear assertion of what we have called the perfection of the Book of Common Prayer ; and, as we believe, facts show that there is no body of the Clergy more loyal to their Bishops than those who are so freely and sometimes contemptuously charged with Liturgical deficiency.

While there is thus a principle of perfection asserted, we affirm that there is also a permission granted for such variations in the performance of Divine service as are adapted to particular circumstances which preclude the attainment of that perfection ; such as are not transgressions but simply shortcomings.

There is no doubt, for instance, that daily prayer, morning and evening, is the intention and order of the Church ; but

variation is allowed by the permission to say it privately or openly, or to omit it for some urgent cause, leaving the "urgency" at the discretion of the Curate. But the cause need not even be "urgent," like sickness; it is sufficient if it be *reasonable*. And that there might be frequent reasonable causes is shown by the order for a bell to be rung when prayer is to be said, and only then that the people may not assemble in vain.

Another permitted variation is the permission either to *say* or *sing*, certain portions of the service, while in some other portions the permission is not granted. The General Confession is to be *said*, so is the Lord's Prayer wherever it occurs; but the Psalms, the Canticles, the Creeds, the Litany, may be said or sung.

Again, a distinction is made and a variation permitted in the Rubric after the third Collect, "In Quires and Places where they sing here followeth the Anthem," clearly intimating that there may be churches where they do not sing.

If we turn to the "Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion," we trace the same permission of variety. The perfect idea of the Church respecting the frequency of its administration may possibly be indicated by a Rubric at the end of the Order, "In Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches and Colleges, where there are many Priests and Deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the Priest every Sunday at the least." Yet even this is not absolute, for the Rubric concludes, "*except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary*." Granted that it is desirable to have weekly Communion in every Church, no command for it can be found in the Prayer Book. The Rubrics all tend the other way, fixing the minimum at "three times in the year, of which Easter shall be one." A Rubric directs that the minister shall always give warning for the celebration or administration "upon the Sunday or some Holyday immediately preceding," which excludes the idea of a weekly Communion being necessary for conformity. The Table is to have a fair white linen cloth upon it "at the Communion-time," and may stand either "in the Body of the Church or in the Chancel." Intending communicants are to give in their names to the Curate at least the day before: it can hardly be intended or expected that they shall do this weekly. In the Rubric before the Prayer for the Church Militant, the words "when there is a Communion" preclude the idea of its administration on all occasions of Morning Service. Again, the Rubric allows a variety in the position of communicants at the time of actual administration, merely ordering that they shall be "conveniently placed for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament." Once more, when there is no Communion (according to the Rubric after the final blessing), one

or more of the appended Collects is to be said ; " and the same may be said also, as often as occasion shall serve, after the Collects either of Morning or Evening Prayer, Communion or Litany, by the discretion of the Minister."

Sufficient evidence has been adduced, we think, to establish our two propositions, and that without going outside the Book of Common Prayer to introduce other arguments of more or less validity. The system of the Prayer Book is a complete system ; its Rubric is a perfect rule. To go beyond it, to re-introduce the old and discarded, or to introduce a novelty, is transgression and disobedience. But inasmuch as from the nature and necessity of things it is improbable, perhaps impossible, that every congregation of the Church shall be able to reach this perfect standard, permission has been given for certain variations or omissions or deficiencies, so that the worst that can be said of them is that they are shortcomings, not transgressions. Thus the Church has ordered her worship on the principle of her XXXIVth Article :—" It is not necessary that the Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like ; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word."

Let us now examine the "*tendencies*" of Liturgical deficiency and Ritualistic excess. For Ritual excess there is absolutely neither plea nor warrant within the backs of our Book of Common Prayer ; and history shows clearly that the tendency of excess in ritual has been ever in the direction of still further excesses, and that beyond a certain point the multiplication of forms is a painful increase of formality, and a still more painful diminution of spiritual piety and power. The memory of some of my readers can go back to the early history of the "Oxford" movement. We can trace the progress of the Ritualistic movement, step by step, from what was at first a noble protest against a too general slovenliness and indifference to the accessories of Divine service, onwards to what is now an avowed determination to restore the abandoned doctrines and discarded rites of pre-Reformation times. Upon the principles of our Prayer Book, I do not hesitate to affirm that this is dishonourable to those who teach forbidden doctrines and practise a forbidden Ritual ; and dishonest to the Church of England, to her Bishops, to her Liturgy, and to her people. They have a perfect right to their opinion, but not a right to teach and practise it in a Church that has condemned it, and a Realm whose Courts of Law have declared against them.

So, on the other side, there is a dangerous tendency, arising from the weakness of human nature, to extend permitted variations to an entirely unpermitted length. This needs, in-

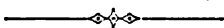
deed, to be carefully watched by all the Clergy, lest neglect and slovenliness in the performance or accessories of Divine service offend the people and drive them into the opposite danger. I do not say that those against whom this charge is most freely made are as guilty as is represented, for we must never forget that the great Evangelical revival was as noble a protest, not only against an undoctinal morality but also against an indifferent Ritual, as the former; and that the broader and higher Evangelicalism of to-day is a very much nearer approximation to the true system of the Church, than the Church has seen for many decades of years. I must, however, say that in my opinion the Evangelical portion of the Church lost a great opportunity when at the first rise of Liturgical revival they refused to recognise their Liturgical deficiencies, and strenuously opposed the restoration of practices which were fairly within the perfect standard of the Church's worship. Had they acknowledged their deficiency, or at least charitably allowed such divergencies, and reserved their antagonism till it was fully justified by open violations of the Church's order, much heated argument, much uncharitable feeling, much disturbance of the Church's peace might have been avoided, and present dangers largely mitigated.

That the Church is in danger, imminent danger, is clear to everyone who will open his eyes and ears. Full of faction, divided by party spirit, with no certainty of doctrine, no uniformity of Ritual, she stands an object of exultation to the infidel, of scoff to the profane, of mockery to the indifferent. Daily becoming more and more a congeries of mere congregations, severally gathered by the peculiar idiosyncrasies of her individual teachers, and held together by merely personal ties, she is rapidly losing her national appreciation and influence; and another period as prolific of Ritualistic excess as the last, will see her disestablished from her national position, and perhaps her patrimony dispersed—a Christian Church, but not the Church of England.

The great want of the Church now for deliverance from these pressing dangers is the cordial co-operation of the three great and ever-existing schools of religious thought, High, Broad, and Evangelical, acting upon Church lines in Church matters as one body, and determined (without giving up such divergencies as are within the limits of our Prayer Book) to stand fast by the Church, to protest against everything beyond those limits, to elevate the standard of worship to her requirements, and to carry her spiritual influence amongst every class of men, into every walk of life, and every corner of the Realm. We should then have a Church, the Church of England, like the old Jerusalem, "a city that is at unity in itself;" and we

should be able to add, "whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the Name of the Lord."

E. BOTELER CHALMER.



## ART. II.—THOUGHTS ON SOCIAL SCIENCE.

**A**NOTHER Social Science Congress has been held. A few remarks upon the proceedings, so far as they bear upon the main question mooted in my former article (Sept., 1882), will be helpful at this juncture.

On the whole, an advance has been made at this Congress towards the goal at which I am aiming—namely, to induce thoughtful people to think of Social Science as a real science, and in particular to give serious consideration to it as a religious question of great practical importance. The advance, however, has not been very considerable. As to the claim of Social Science to be regarded as a true science, there may be found, even now, more to justify it in the remarks of opponents than of advocates. The quiet banter of the *Times* is much more to the purpose than an after-dinner remark accepted by the President as a sufficient answer to "the question asked by certain newspapers, What is Social Science?"

The following circumstances were the occasion and gave rise to the observations to which allusion is made. It is customary at the various Congresses to provide a series of excursions as a relief to the weariness that otherwise might ensue in listening day after day to the reading and discussion of papers, however interesting and important they may be. To many, indeed, these excursions form the principal part of the attraction of Congresses. Accordingly, at Nottingham, the members of the Social Science Association were invited to visit and inspect the "Radford Training Institution," a social experiment well worthy of careful study. The founder, being Chairman of the Nottingham Board of Guardians, has induced the ratepayers to take some workhouse children, who were orphans, and to bring them up in such a way as to lift them out of their unhappy atmosphere of pauperism.

It would be premature to speak of the endeavour in other terms at present than as an interesting social experiment. The happy faces of the children gave promise of success. They were dressed just like other children, uniformity being

purposely avoided; they were allowed to associate with the children of artisans in the neighbourhood, both in play and at the Board Schools; a few minutes, both in going and returning, were allowed for this special purpose. In these and in other such thoughtful ways they were given a fresh start in life; but it will take some years to test an experiment of this magnitude, and even then, not until Social Science is recognised as a science can the success or failure be truly estimated.

After the usual fashion of English hospitality, the inspection was concluded with a luncheon, and after luncheon came the customary toasts. The Mayor proposed "The Visitors," and took occasion to remark that "to himself Social Science was the application of the results of the experiments of science to the promotion of the greatest happiness to the greatest number." The President, as the most distinguished visitor, responded, and thought it impossible "to give a better definition of what was meant by Social Science." The public, however, is happily not so easily satisfied, and until a sounder definition than this is forthcoming the student of Social Science will do better to listen to the observations of friendly critics who express their dissatisfaction, and point out how much is wanting before the Social Science Association can lay claim to this much-coveted title "scientific." "*Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*"

Thus, the *Times*, whilst it pays the Association the compliment year by year of making its work the subject of one or more leading articles, says of it this year:—

The bill of fare is as varied as usual, and probably as attractive to the votaries of that which still miscalls itself "Social Science" after five-and-twenty years of ridicule and remonstrance. There is not much in a name, of course; but there are good names and bad names, and Social Science is not a good name [why not?]. Nevertheless, prescription counts for much; and as Social Science has now enjoyed the respectable prescription of a quarter of a century, we suppose it must be allowed to pass without further protest. The worst of it is that no one can say what is, and what is not, included in the term "Social Science." . . . Still, the Association is a centre for the communication and interchange of ideas on current topics of political and social interest. As such it undoubtedly has its uses. It is a common meeting-point for men of all parties, who are anxious to take stock of the progress which society has made, and to survey the paths in which it is likely to move. Cynics have described it as an organization for the encouragement of gossip on things in general; and certainly it would seem as though it had taken, not, indeed, all knowledge, but all human nature for its province. . . . If all this is really Social Science, then every copy of a daily paper must be regarded as a treatise on Social Science. We are all of us interested in topics of the kind that will be discussed; most of us have definite opinions concerning them. But opinion is not science; and if the truth must be told, the

science has not yet come to the birth which can comprehend all these multifarious subjects within its purview.

To the same effect have been the comments in previous years :—

“Whether such a thing as Social Science really exists we shall not venture to pronounce, but if it be a reality . . .”<sup>1</sup>

“We must indeed forget, if we can, the name of the Association . . . if we are to give science its more reasonable meaning, as being the process by which the relations between phenomena and the laws that govern them are determined, the members of the Social Science Association can hardly be called scientific investigators.”<sup>2</sup>

“If there be scientific principles which only require development and enunciation in order to solve the great social problems that are every day pressing more urgently for solution, let those principles by all means be made known. We fear that this society stands self-convicted of professing the cultivation of a branch of human knowledge which as yet has little existence except in the pretentious name.”<sup>3</sup>

The local papers in like manner were equally candid. The simple fact, for instance, was not, could not be ignored that the Congress had drawn together a somewhat motley company; that with few exceptions men of mark were conspicuous by their absence. “A few lawyers, a few doctors, a few artists, a few clergymen, a few theorists with fads, and a plentiful array of ladies,” is the description given of the audiences. These and other such remarks (which might be multiplied indefinitely from other leading journals, *Standard*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily News*, *Saturday Review*, *Spectator*, &c.) are fair and, to those who can read between the lines, are most helpful criticisms. It is true that no one, at least no member of the Social Science Association, has yet said, “what is and what is not included in the term Social Science.” It is true that every copy of a daily paper is full of Social Science. It is true that Social Science must, like all other sciences, set forth the process by which the relations between phenomena and the laws that govern them are determined. It is true that “Social Science has as yet little existence except in the pretentious name;” that “the science has not yet come to the birth which can comprehend all human nature.” The wonder is that, after waiting so many years, the patience of the public has not been exhausted. This can be accounted for on the assumption that there is in the public mind a conviction that after all there is a science which can satisfy all these conditions. This supposition also will account for the good will which accompanies, in most instances, these otherwise caustic remarks. Praise is freely bestowed wherever there is a favourable opportunity for doing so.

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<sup>1</sup> *Times*, Oct. 4, 1863. <sup>2</sup> *Times*, Oct. 6, 1865. <sup>3</sup> *Times*, Oct. 4, 1865.

In the same leading article from which, as being the most recent utterance of the Press, so large a quotation was made, the "sober, business-like address of the President" is given in abstract; and in regard to his remarks on education, it is admitted that from the earliest days of its existence the Association has been "a leader and guide, and is certainly entitled to a considerable share in the credit of the result already obtained." In short, the public Press, the fourth estate, whilst it acknowledges fully the usefulness of the Association, demurs to its claim to be considered scientific. But though the Nottingham meeting contributed so little directly to the establishment of this claim, the past Congress will be memorable in virtue of having done so indirectly; and that, by grappling much more definitely than usual with the religious aspect of the question.

The preacher at the opening service, which happily, with rare exceptions,<sup>1</sup> has been considered a necessary part of the

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<sup>1</sup> It is both interesting and instructive to note the way in which these opening services of the Social Science Congress have been dealt with, and in particular to mark the value that has been attached by the authorities to the sermons. In the official programme the service is seldom if ever mentioned as if it were a necessary part of the proceedings. Sometimes it remains doubtful, even to the last week, whether a service will be held at all. It was so in 1862, when the Congress met in London: only at the last moment was the service in Westminster Abbey announced. On several occasions there has been no service. For example, when the Congress was held in Dublin in 1861 and 1881, and Belfast 1867, and in fact whenever it has been in Ireland, this public recognition of God has been dispensed with. This also was before the Irish Church was disestablished.

The sermons preached have been dealt with still more negligently. For the first few years they were always printed in the "Transactions;" but after this, until quite recently, they have been as invariably omitted. The omission commenced in 1862, when the sermon was given in abstract only, and was shunted into a note. It was a remarkable discourse, judged only as a contribution to Social Science. Dr. Hook was the preacher, and his subject was the building of Solomon's temple. His theory was that, just as Solomon invited Hiram, a Gentile, to help him in the building of the Jewish temple, so the Church is willing to accept the services and accept the aid of Social Science as its servant. It was a left-handed compliment, but one with which the Association can find no fault, if it consents to treat religion as a subject beyond its province. In the following year not even is the text mentioned, though the preacher was the Rev. C.W. Arnot, D.D., a divine who by his writings was entitled to speak with authority on Social Science. After this, until quite recently, there has been the same unfortunate omission to print the sermon—unfortunate, not only because of the faulty principle thereby involved, but because of the loss to Social Science of some very valuable addresses.

In my former paper I acknowledged the debt that I myself owe to the sermon preached by the Bishop of Worcester (1868) at Birmingham. It is the most valuable contribution that I have ever met with on the subject; but besides this one, the sermon of the Archbishop of York (1864), and that of Canon Rickson (1866), and some others, were well worthy of



proceedings, commenced his discourse with this bold statement: "There is, we may be sure, but one ruling thought in our minds at this moment, the relation of Social Science to religion. This Congress is a witness that such a relation is believed to exist." Though not prepared to accept without qualification Dr. Wilson's exposition of what that relation is, the whole sermon is well worth reading and study. There are sentiments in almost every paragraph of great depth and beauty, and the discourse as a whole cannot fail to strengthen the growing conviction that exists in the minds of thoughtful men, both that there is such a science as Social Science, and that its religious aspect is one that cannot be ignored without doing grievous injury both to science and to religion.<sup>1</sup> The truth is, if I mistake not, that Social Science should be spoken of not like other sciences, as a science having certain relations to religion, but as being itself one of the many ways in which the truth of religion becomes manifest to those who have eyes to see and hearts to understand. I venture also to suggest in regard to the scientific value of the work done by the Association during the last twenty-five years, that it probably stands somewhat in the same relation to true Social Science as alchemy did to chemistry. The alchemists did not, indeed, find the valuable stone which was by a touch to turn everything to gold; but in their search for it they brought to light the nature of the various substances upon which their experiments were made, and in this way were the pioneers to discoveries which have proved to be of infinitely greater value than would have been had they found the thing itself that they desired. It may be so with some even of these "theorists with fads." They are dealing with "communities of men;" and if their schemes do not seemingly come to much, if they seem to bring to their promoters nothing but disappointment, and sometimes ridicule, time may show that these very failures were steps toward the attainment of

"More things in heaven and earth  
Than were dreamt of in their philosophy."

preservation as valuable essays on Social Science. Even the abstract of Dr. Hook's sermon is to the student of Social Science worth many pages of the other addresses which were printed in *extenso* in the same volume. In 1877 and 1878 the sermons are once more printed, but in 1879 the sermon is only just mentioned, though again it was a valuable one. In 1880 the sermon was printed; in 1881 there was no service, the meeting being in Dublin. The report of 1882 is not yet published; but the value of the sermon can scarcely be questioned, and there is little doubt that it will be preserved.

<sup>1</sup> "For the present it excludes theology and the sciences properly so called; though if the career of the Association be continued with equal energy, we doubt if these exceptions can be maintained . . . it is doubtful if religion can altogether be separated from questions of education."  
—*Times*, Oct. 14, 1865.

It is thus, at least, that the believer in Social Science can find solace in the retrospect of failures over which he is obliged somewhat mournfully to write, "*Quorum pars magna fui*."

These remarks upon the Social Science Congress last year prepare the way for some further observations on the law of tendencies, which was given as the first law of Social Science in the former article. The illustrations which were then adduced would not, could not, unless supported by others, give anything like an adequate idea of the all-pervading operation of this simple law. I proceed, therefore, to submit two other illustrations. The first pair chosen, as before, from private everyday life; the second pair from life the most public that can be selected; and these latter for the special purpose of showing the universality of the action of this law.

Gin-palaces and coffee-palaces are the first pair. The bane and an antidote. The one showing success obtained by taking advantage of the law of tendencies, the other no less strikingly proving its existence by the failures ensuing upon its neglect. Yet not by failures only; still further proof is evidenced by subsequent successes. In each case the various tendencies will be specially notified by the numerals 1, 2, 3. . . . .

Observe then of the gin-palace that it is commonly situated in a densely crowded (1) neighbourhood; surrounding poverty and dirt is a consequence; but it is also a favouring tendency (2). The building is at the corner (3) of the street, where also stands the strange woman (Prov. vii. 12), and for the same reason. If four ways meet, there may be seen sometimes a gin-shop at each corner. A baker's shop may possibly be able to hold possession of a fifth, and prove that in that particular locality the bread-tendency stands to gin in the ratio of one to four. Again, the gin-palace looks bright and warm inside (4), and its privacy (5) is carefully preserved. The poor wife must herself enter the door before she can tell for certain whether her husband is in the trap. The door also is ajar (6), and there is no step (7). Every possible inducement to enter is made use of; every possible hindrance is removed. In one word, those who open gin-palaces instinctively perceive that "tendencies tell." They avail themselves of the law and succeed.

Contrast with this the past history of coffee-house promoters. How slow to note these same favouring tendencies! how prone to treat the contraries as unimportant "littles"! how easy to be beguiled by the apologetic "it is only . . . .!"

My first coffee-house experience, many years ago, was in Pimlico, and these were some of the mistakes made. A nice comfortable room was fitted up, but it was upstairs (1), in an out-of-the-way (2) street, in a well-to-do, that is *not* (3) coffee-wanting neighbourhood. Any one of these tendencies to

failure would have been alone sufficient to ensure it; failure not, as was then thought, for want of more money, but in consequence of the operation of this social law.

The second experiment of the kind that came under my notice was in the enterprising town of B——, where first there was a failure and then a great success. There was failure where, though in a populous neighbourhood, the coffee-house was in a small back (1) street, which was also a blind (2) street, leading nowhere. When even in the street itself the room was (3) not easy to find; when found you had to go up-stairs (4) to it; and, finally, when it was also a night-school (5), a blunder of which I shall give presently a yet more striking example. Just now I point out merely the fact that this was a blunder, and in violation of a social law yet to be specified. But besides these adverse tendencies, there were also others arising out of the means adopted to overcome them. First, there was that common error of thinking that more money (6) is the only thing wanted; then that equally common mistake of assuming (7) that the money is good for the purpose, irrespective of the source from which it is obtained; from a bazaar for example, which one might safely say stands at this time lowest amongst the agencies for raising the wind that Social Science would approve.<sup>1</sup> I reserve to another occasion a full exposition of this policy and some of its consequences; at present it is enough to state that "more money" was tried, and failed.<sup>2</sup> The last straw, however, that broke this patient

<sup>1</sup> "Bazaars and the Grace of Liberality," by the Rev. V. M. White, LL.D. 1882 (Walbrook, 180 Brompton Road). A very valuable treatise.

<sup>2</sup> The cry for "Money! money! money!" without any particular intimation of carefulness, or even a thought as to the source from which it comes; without a question being raised as to the possibility of improvement in the mode of expenditure—the issue of "a fresh appeal," without any token of reconsideration indicative of effort made to understand better the object in view, or the suitability of the existing agency for the accomplishment of that object, is exactly parallel with that of a gunner—if such an one could be found—who has but one idea, how to make his gun more effective. "Powder! more powder!" is all that he thinks or can be induced to believe is wanted. The end of a gun so served, and of the gunner, would not long be doubtful. There would be a few reports, and then the last. The gun would burst, and the gunner . . . ! But philanthropic schemes are made of tougher material than gun-metal, and managing committees have a vitality that is practically indestructible; so appeal after appeal is made, report after report is issued, each longer and louder than the last. But in case of deficiency, rarely, indeed, in the minds of the most sagacious does there arise the suspicion, rarer still the confession, that the first necessity is not more money (at any rate, not more money from the charitable public, possibly even less!), but a better understanding of the business in hand, and better modes of expenditure.

An unlooked-for justification of these remarks appears in a leading article of the *Times*, Jan. 20, 1883. Commenting upon the alarming de-

camel's back was not the appeal for money ; nor the scarcely less questionable device of increasing the custom of the coffee-house by the (8) purchase of free tickets, to be given away indiscriminately ; but it was the demand made upon the committee of managers to attend personally (9) in rotation. Each member was to attend once a week, some of them oftener, to supply the places (10) of those who should unavoidably be unable to take their turn. This was (happily) asking too much ; so at last, notwithstanding all these efforts, or as Social Science would say, in consequence of the tendency of many of them to failure, the house was closed.

Any temporary success under such circumstances is in itself, to a certain extent, a failure, because obtained at such, more than necessary, expenditure of money, time, and patience. Worst of all, and that because the promoters do not know of such a science as Social Science, the valuable experience thus dearly purchased is generally thrown away. The consequence is, that when failure comes, it is complete. People are thoroughly tired out, and they excuse themselves by saying that, though the object is confessedly a good one, it is "impracticable." In the light of Social Science, difficulties are what the Iron Duke said they were, "things to be overcome."

Happily for the town of B——, some persons (the same, or others) made a second trial, and, this time, with complete success. The best possible situation was selected. A high rent was considered rather an advantage, because it meant a busy (1) thoroughfare. The shop taken had, in fact, previously been kept by one of the best jewellers in the town. A man of great experience (2) was chosen to be manager, and he was (3) trusted. For instance, the directors thought they must charge more than one penny for a cup of coffee. He told them, "Charge twopence, and you will fail ; charge a penny (4), also let your goods be first-class (5), and I will guarantee a good profit on the outlay. Do not fear in this, your best house, to spend a little on decoration (6). This will act as an advertisement, and in this way be a help to other houses in the town,

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iciency in the income of some of the general hospitals in London—four of them having been obliged to sell out, during the past year, investments to an amount approaching to £30,000, and again, seventeen of them realizing a total of £35,922 less in 1881 than in 1877—it concludes with these significant remarks :—"Their growing impecuniosity will not be without its uses if it set the public upon observing their defects, and oblige their managers to combine for reciprocal sustenance and improvement." In the same issue is a very able letter from the secretary of the Social Science Association. In my next article this important question of medical charity will be fully dealt with, for it was in this field more than in any of those hitherto mentioned, that I learnt so many Social Science lessons.

where decoration would be extravagant. But take care, in all the houses alike, that they are bright and cheerful, sweet and clean; that they have plenty (7) of waiters, civil (8) and obliging; and that the food is good of its kind. Fresh coffee every morning; no warming up of last night's leaving, no stale bread, buns, etc., and you will succeed." And so it came to pass. In obedience to this law of tendencies, success—success beyond expectation—was speedily obtained; a dividend of ten per cent., with a handsome overplus carried over to the redemption of the capital invested.

This particular instance was one of the earlier successes. Similar successes are now, thank God! to be met with in many other towns, and even in some villages.

As already hinted, I have yet another example of coffee-house experience to narrate. It is again a failure, and on that account, as before, the more instructive; but it is mentioned for the purpose, more particularly, of bringing to light the working of a social law, second only in importance to the law of tendencies. It is

#### THE LAW OF SINGLENES, OR SIMPLICITY,

a term which the following history will explain. This coffee-house was started under circumstances exceptionally favourable. The situation was good, at the corner of a street; the entrance to it was easy and private; the room bright and warm; the manager excellent—in fact, the very man who had succeeded so well at B——; the administration was liberal, good coffee, fresh buns, etc., every day; house open early, five a.m., and closed late, eleven p.m.; low prices, etc. But the scheme was weighted with one adverse tendency, and this one by itself was sufficient to account for the failure, and especially for failure in that particular locality.

It was a Roman Catholic quarter, to a great extent, and this particular coffee-house was also a mission-room. Of course the Roman Catholics would not only keep away themselves, but would do all in their power to keep others away. Solomon's admonition, "Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird," was unheeded; the words also of One greater than Solomon were not regarded, or, still more likely, were thought to favour the combination. But "If thine eye be single" were His words, and the comparison of this passage with others where the same word is used, will, if need be, justify the remark that when our Lord said "single," He did not mean "double." And so, though uncommon personal energy, great kindness of heart and unstinted liberality of purse, kept things going for a time, these and other such adventitious aids

could not command success against the overpowering adverse tendency of want of singleness.

I may mention, in further illustration of this same law, that the room is now used simply as a mission-room, and it prospers. A coffee-house has been opened within a stone's-throw, and is now carried on by a company, not by a clergyman; yet it is to be feared that the false start made at first will greatly imperil its success.

On this law of "singleness," perhaps more than on any other, depends the issue (success or failure) of many undertakings—success if the law is observed, failure if it is neglected. It is a law that may be observed in operation every day in ordinary business. The post-office for letters, the railway system for passengers and goods, the telegraph for messages, are good illustrations—three subdivisions of one general department in a national provision for conveyance. In each and in all the business is kept "single," and hence the success. Similarly, in religious undertakings, the most successful are those in which singleness of aim, a rigid adherence to the special business undertaken, whatever it may be, characterizes all the proceedings. It is enough to mention the Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the London City Mission, and, amongst the more recent efforts, the Blue Ribbon Army, the evangelistic prowess of Messrs. Moody and Sankey. I leave it to my readers to contrast with these other similar efforts where the course pursued is not so single.

I know no better test, in forming an opinion of the trustworthiness of any new proposal, than to ask this simple question, "Is it marked on the face of it by the characteristic of singleness?" It is much more common for people to ask, "Who is the promoter?" or "Who are on the managing committee?" or "Who are subscribers?" and to be guided accordingly; but except in the case of the secretary, who is generally the prime mover, this mode of testing an undertaking is very often misleading; and even in regard to a secretary, the test of singleness, as applied to the undertaking, is both much more searching, and it also carries with it this great incidental advantage, that it keeps the question free from personalities, which are so apt to intrude themselves.

This question as to singleness, besides being a good test, is also a most trustworthy guide in any undertaking already in hand. There is nothing more helpful to secure both thoroughness in execution and soundness in the modes of operation, than this same principle of singleness. This is but common-sense, but it is that kind of common-sense which is not common. It is much more usual for people to have at least two objects in view in any work they undertake. Sometimes both objects

are named, sometimes not—a practice which is called jesuitical,<sup>1</sup> and rightly so; but, even when both are named, the professed business is not always kept in the foremost place. There is what may well be called a social squint, instead of singleness. The result is always doubly disadvantageous. The business in hand suffers, as in the case of the coffee-house just mentioned; and the other “cause,” even though it be a very good one, which the promoter thinks to help on incidentally, is injured. The mission-room succeeds now far better than it did when it was also a coffee-house.

Much of so-called Church-work in the present day, and not a little “Christian work,” would be better every way if there were more “singleness” in the procedure. It needs more than ordinary confidence in your “Church,” and more than ordinary faith in your Christianity—in other words, more than ordinary trust in God’s wisdom and in God’s ways of working, to believe, and to act upon the belief, that if anyone tries to do what he has to do well, that is thoroughly, and without any ulterior object in view, both the Church itself and Christianity, and everything else that is good—yea, that highest good of all, namely, God’s glory—will not suffer, but will be furthered in the best possible way.

Thus the teachings of Social Science are, as might have safely been anticipated that they would be, in perfect harmony with Holy Scripture. The first law—“tendencies tell”—is but another form of the inspired declaration, “Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.” And the second law—the law of “singleness”—is but an application socially, *i.e.* to communities of men, of our Lord’s declaration, “If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light;” and again, of that pregnant command, given to the Thessalonians, “Study” (“be ambitious,” *N.V. margin*) “to be quiet, and to do your own business.” The world (the Christian world inclusive) says, “Be ambitious to ‘make a noise, even though your own business be left undone.’” The analogy also that exists between these laws of Social Science and those of nature, should not be overlooked. “Tendencies tell” is the analogue of the physical law that every force produces an effect; and the law of “singleness” in Social Science is the exact counterpart of that which obtains in nature, whereby every created object, animate and

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<sup>1</sup> I may possibly use this word again, and perhaps more than once. I beg, therefore, that both here and elsewhere may be noted the essential difference between saying that a certain course of action is *jesuitical*, which may be a most justifiable and proper remark, and saying that the person, even the originator of the scheme, is a Jesuit, which, even if true, had far better be left unsaid.

inanimate, has in itself an individuality of function so determinate, that even each ultimate atom has the essential character of being a manufactured article.<sup>1</sup>

But it will be noticed, and perhaps objected, that thus far the workings of these laws have been traced only in comparatively small undertakings. The objection, so far as it has any force, will be abundantly answered by the second pair of illustrations. In anticipation of these, however, it may be observed that though the communities of men selected have been insignificant as compared with "all human nature," it was exactly the same in the case of Newton's observations on a falling apple, which led to the discovery of the law of gravity. If Newton had not shown that the law which regulated the fall of that apple is the same that regulates the movements of the planets, that it reaches to the utmost bounds of creation, he had done little. Similarly in regard to any social law which has been, or which shall be hereafter given, so far as from the nature of things it is possible to apply it, so far let the law be applied. Unless it holds good, the law is not law. Unless the laws propounded can stand this test, the so-called science is not worthy of the name. The second pair of illustrations is intended to supply this necessary test. Attention will be restricted first to the law of tendencies. I appeal to society at large and to the changes that have taken place in it during the last thirty years or less, selecting, for example, some in the Established Church and in the nation, and some corresponding changes that have taken place in the customs of ordinary everyday life. It may not be possible wholly to separate these the one from the other, but it will be convenient to make the attempt, and I shall begin with the nation.

I select a tendency which has of late been brought into special prominence by the persistence of one of the constituencies to force upon the House of Commons an avowed atheist. It is not necessary to name either the individual or the town which has thus signalized itself. The bare mention of the fact is all that is required. The believer in Social Science regards this as evidence of the operation of a tendency, and looks around for other evidence of a similar kind. He accepts the event not as an isolated fact, but like an eruption in smallpox or scarlet fever, or some other palpable evidence of constitutional change; a mere symptom in itself, but significant of something pervading the whole system. This com-

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<sup>1</sup> Address by the late Professor Maxwell, at the meeting of the British Association (1873). The close of that discourse was a noble and manly avowal of his belief in the Divine power and wisdom by which the worlds were made.



parison of a community with the human body, derived originally from Scripture, is fully borne out by the teaching of Social Science, and is oftentimes, as in this instance, helpful to the student in the interpretation of social phenomena. Accordingly he inquires, what other proofs have there been in the national life, during the last thirty years, of a tendency to do without God? He observes that in former days, in times of pestilence, war, famine, or excessive drought of rain, or of any other circumstances affecting for ill the whole nation, a day of prayer and humiliation used to be set apart by command of the Queen; days also of thanksgiving for special national mercies were not unfrequent. For some of these the deliverance was so signal that the anniversary of the joyous day was ordered to be observed year by year. Religious services were held, and customs were adopted by the people for the express purpose of keeping the event ever more in remembrance. The fifth of November is a case in point; but within the last few years the service has been expunged from the Book of Common Prayer, by authority of Parliament; and even if the day fall on Sunday, it is the exception in the pulpit to take any notice of it. It seems likely that were it not for boys' love of fun and fireworks, the "Gunpowder Plot" would soon be forgotten. But further, it would tax the memory severely of most of my readers to recall a day appointed either for national thanksgiving or for national humiliation. An abortive attempt is made from time to time, when for very shame it is impossible to be longer silent. Sometimes the proposal originates with a few godly people,<sup>1</sup> of their own will and pleasure; sometimes at the invitation of one person, whose character and position entitles him to speak, *e.g.* the venerable and recently departed Dean Close;<sup>2</sup> still more rarely, a Bishop issues an order to his

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<sup>1</sup> In 1881 an effort of this kind was made. A circular was very extensively issued throughout the country, announcing the intention of certain persons 'to observe, Saturday, July 23rd, or where this is not possible, Sunday, July 24th, with regard to the following subjects:—i. Thanksgiving to God for mercies to the nation; ii. Humiliation for our national sins.'

<sup>2</sup> The suggestion of Dean Close was much more to the purpose. He wrote to the *Record*, suggesting that petitions should be sent to the Government for presentation to the Queen, asking Her Most Gracious Majesty to appoint a day. This was in 1878 (?), at the close of the last session of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration. A form of petition was wisely given. In Derby at least it was extensively signed; "With both hands!" was the simple and hearty response given by some who were asked. I have but little doubt that if the same trouble—a trouble not worth mentioning—had been taken in other towns and villages as was in Derby, the expressions of public opinion would have been so strong that it would have been impossible to ignore it. The apathy was not with the people but with the authorities. Another instance, and the only

clergy. The last episode of the kind was mentioned in the newspapers (I know not on what authority) as the act of the Prime Minister. But these are none of them national acts. They may be taken as a confession of what the nation ought to do, but nothing more. In case of war, it is not the Prime Minister, nor the people, nor the Commander-in-Chief, but the Queen who issues the proclamation; neither can anyone except the Queen, through her Ministers in Council assembled, appoint a national day either for humiliation or for thanksgiving.

A former Bishop of Lincoln (Kaye), understood well the distinction between his own duty in this respect and that of the Queen. When urged to appoint a day, he refused, saying that he had no power to do it, and therefore no right to act as if he had that power. More than this, when the Government at last fixed the day, he would not issue orders to the clergy in Lincoln to observe it, until the Mayor had first taken the initiative. This having been done, the Bishop was not slow to perform his own part. He preached in the Cathedral a sermon that is yet remembered, and in it he administered a severe rebuke to the authorities for the unseemly delay that had taken place. "O si sic omnes!" The Education Act (1870) is another instance of the operation of this same tendency to exclude God from the Statute Book. Liberty is thereby given to the people, if they will, to shut out God's Word from the National Schools. That the people have not yet availed themselves of this power in no way alters the character of the Act itself.

The increasing difficulty of maintaining ancient religious statutes, such as those that enforce the national observance of the Lord's day; still more, certain specific acts of modern legislation, which are "within measurable distance" of allowing man's authority to override other of God's commandments (e.g., the seventh and eighth), are proofs to the believer in Social Science of the operation of this same atheistic tendency upon the nation. If further proof be required, it is enough to mention the notorious fact that the expression "*Vox populi vox Dei*" has become proverbial, and that it is accepted by "advanced" politicians as a recognised principle of action against which there is to be no appeal.

W. OGLE.

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other that I can call to mind worth mentioning, was a resolution moved by Canon Wilkinson (Bishop-elect of Truro), in the Lower House of Convocation—immediately after the assassination of Lord F. Cavendish and his secretary in Ireland, praying the Upper House to concur in asking for a day of humiliation and prayer. The motion was seconded, and carried *nem. con.*—*Times*, May 11, 1882. What further steps, if any, were taken has not transpired. Petitions in support of the proposal were sent from Derby.

## ART. III.—LADY BLOOMFIELD'S REMINISCENCES.

*Reminiscences of Court and Diplomatic Life.* By GEORGINA, Baroness BLOOMFIELD. Two vols. Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co. 1883.

THE message from the Treasury Bench in the House of Commons, to representative men in the Upper House, requesting to be told—"in one word," as Bishop Wilberforce used to say—"What are the duties of an Archdeacon?" brought at last, as everybody knows, the epigrammatic answer, "The duties of an Archdeacon are strictly archidiaconal." Of those who have a fair stock of useful knowledge, few, probably, can answer offhand the question, "What are the duties of a Maid of Honour?" Lady Bloomfield tells us, in her "*Reminiscences of Court Life*," that the duties of Maids of Honour are very easy. Except at meals, or when the Queen sends for them, they may sit quietly in their rooms. Their chief duty, indeed, consists in placing a bouquet beside Her Majesty when she sits down to dinner, and even this only happens every other day. The "badge" is the Queen's picture, surrounded with brilliants on a red bow. Lady Bloomfield, who was a Maid of Honour at twenty, and an ambassadress at twenty-three, was the youngest child of the second Lord Ravensworth. It is said that one day her father (then Sir Thomas Liddell) was walking in Portland Place, when he met a nurse carrying a baby in her arms; and, being struck by the beauty of the infant, he asked whose it was. The nurse, much astonished, answered, "Your own, Sir Thomas!" When Miss Liddell was fifteen, she was confirmed in the Chapel Royal. She was only examined once before it, by a Fulham clergyman; "the preparation and instruction in those days," she remarks, "being very different from what they are now, and consisting literally in the knowledge of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Church Catechism." From her earlier years, however, her mother had impressed her with a sense of God's presence, and tried to instil religious motives into her mind. Her eldest sister, the Marchioness of Normanby, was one of the ladies-in-waiting; and a good story is told of a little scene at Court in the year 1840. "One day," says our author, "the Queen expressed a desire to hear me sing; so, in fear and trembling, I sang one of Grisi's famous airs, but omitted a shake at the end. The Queen's quick ear immediately detected the omission, and smiling, Her Majesty said, 'Does not your sister shake, Lady Normanby?' My sister immediately answered, 'Oh yes, ma'am; she is shaking all over.' The Queen, much amused, laughed heartily at the joke." That was the year of the famous "Bedchamber Plot,"

when, as Mr. McCarthy writes, "Sir Robert Peel could not govern with Lady Normanby, and Lord Melbourne could not govern without her." The following year, however, Sir Robert came into office, and the Duchess of Sutherland and Lady Normanby resigned. Lord and Lady Ravensworth were pleased and flattered by the Queen's desire that another of their daughters should be selected to wait upon Her Majesty, although, as she was the only daughter remaining at home, they did not like the idea of her leaving them for three months in the year. The young lady herself, however, was decidedly in favour of accepting the post.

In January, 1842, the King of Prussia arrived at Windsor Castle for the Prince of Wales's christening.<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Wellington, looking well, stood behind the Queen during the christening, bearing the great sword of state. The banquet was quite magnificent; the table reached from one end of St. George's Hall to the other, covered with gold plate and thousands of wax candles. Rundell's famous piece of work, "an immense gold vessel, more like a bath than anything else, containing thirty dozen of wine, was filled with mulled claret," and it surprised the Prussians greatly. The King of Prussia much enjoyed his visit. At the Duke of Sussex's, he "made a very pretty speech;" at the Archbishop of Canterbury's he gave the toast, "The Queen and the Church, for they can never be separated." His Majesty seemed to have got weary of the rigid etiquette of the English Court; for, as the Lord Chamberlain and attendants were backing and bowing in taking him to the carriage, he said, "*De grâce ne faites donc pas cette cérémonie pour moi; allez-vous en, allez-vous en!*"

In February, 1842, the Queen paid a visit to Brighton. Lady Bloomfield writes:—

We left Windsor a little after eight, and arrived here at twenty minutes before three. The roads were very heavy, but the Queen always travels with relays of her own horses, so we came a capital pace. We stopped at Reigate, and there I had a good opportunity of seeing the two children. The Princess Royal is very pretty, and the Prince of Wales is such a very fine baby. Crowds of people assembled, and we had to go a foot's pace from the entrance of the town; the windows and balconies were all filled with people waving and cheering, and a great many gentlemen came and met us a long way off, and joined the escort; the road for four miles was lined with carriages.

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<sup>1</sup> On the Sunday in the Castle, Bishop Blomfield, we read, "preached a beautiful sermon from John iii. 8. He impressed upon us the importance of the Sacrament of Baptism as the appointed means whereby we are admitted members of the Church of Christ on earth, which, we hope, will make us members of it hereafter in heaven." This sentence is far from clear.

The Queen had not been at Brighton since her marriage; and it may have amused Her Majesty to show the Prince so curious a palace. Lord Jocelyn, who had lately returned from China, said the Pavilion was a perfect specimen of a Chinese house. But the garden was "odious;" there was neither pleasure nor privacy to be had there. "The whole place was a strange specimen of royal eccentricity," adds Lady Bloomfield, "and a most uncomfortable, dull residence, so I never wondered at the Queen's getting rid of it." Mention is made of the well-known clergyman, Robert Anderson. "I went to hear Mr. R. Anderson, who preaches extempore, and gave us an excellent and uncommon sermon; he has great command of language, and remarkable facility." The Incumbent of Trinity Chapel, we may add, was a son-in-law of John Shore, first Lord Teignmouth.

On May 29th of the same year our author was in waiting at Buckingham Palace, and had attended Divine service on Sunday at the Chapel Royal, with the Queen and Prince Albert. The following day—

I was not a little disappointed when, about six o'clock, we saw the Queen drive off in an open carriage with Prince Albert. I remarked that it was very hard to keep us in the whole afternoon when we were not wanted, and I went off grumbling to take a walk in the Palace gardens. I was much horrified to learn on my return that the Queen had been shot at by a lad of the name of Francis. That evening the Queen was talking to Sir Robert Peel, who was then Prime Minister, and who was much affected at the risk Her Majesty had run, when the Queen turned to me and said, "I dare say, Georgy, you were surprised at not driving with me this afternoon; but the fact was that, as we returned from church yesterday, a man presented a pistol at the carriage-window, which flashed in the pan; we were so taken by surprise that he had time to escape; so I knew what was hanging over me, and was determined to expose no life but my own."

Some amusing anecdotes are related concerning the little Princess Royal. Whilst they were driving, one day, the Queen called her, as she often did, "Missy." The Princess took no notice the first time, but the next she looked up very indignantly, and said to her mother, "I'm not Missy; I'm the Princess Royal." When three years old, she spoke French fluently, and she was reading, one day, when Lady Lyttelton went up to her; she motioned her away with her hand, and said, "*N'approchez pas moi, moi ne veut pas vous.*"<sup>1</sup>

In October, 1844, the Queen paid a visit to the City, and the

<sup>1</sup> On another occasion, when driving in the Great Park, she took a fancy to some heather at the side of the road, and asked Lady Dunmore to get her some. Lady Dunmore observed she could not do that, as we were driving too fast; so the Princess answered, "*No, you can't; but those girls might get out and get me some*"—meaning Miss Paget and Miss Liddell.

procession was magnificent. Our author went in a state carriage with Lady Gardiner (the bedchamber woman-in-waiting), the Duke of Norfolk (Earl Marshal), and Lord Anglesea (Gold-stick). The Lord Mayor, who met the Queen at Temple Bar, had put on a huge pair of jack-boots over his shoes and stockings to keep the mud off. Unfortunately, the boots were too tight; and in spite of tremendous tuggings, one would not come off. The Queen's carriage was drawing nearer and nearer, and the poor Lord Mayor was obliged to put the big boot on again. At breakfast, at Windsor Castle, two days later, Sir Robert Peel was most amusing. He told the ladies how, at a Guildhall dinner, he heard Alderman Flower remark to Mr. Canning, "My Lord Ellenborough (the Lord Chief Justice) was a man of uncommon sagacity." Mr. Canning bowed assent, and said he believed he was; but asked what gave rise to that observation at that moment. Upon which the alderman answered: "Why, sir, had he been here he would have told me by a single glance of his eye which is the best of these five haunches of venison." About this time Lady Bloomfield wrote: "It always strikes me as so odd when I come back into waiting; everything else changes, but the life here never does, and is always exactly the same from day to day, and from year to year." In conversation with Lady Sale, the Maid of Honour learned many details of the tragic tale of Cabul. The prisoners were often twenty-four hours without food; they usually slept in the open air on the snow, each having one sheepskin. In 1845 the author resigned her appointment at Court, in consequence of her mother's state of health. Shortly afterwards she was engaged to the Hon. John (afterwards second Lord) Bloomfield, who was Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg. She received a letter of congratulation from the Queen, which is worth quoting, as it pleasingly shows Her Majesty's kindness and sympathy:—

Osborne, July 29, 1845.

MY DEAREST GEORGIANA,—I received this morning your kind letter announcing your marriage with Mr. Bloomfield, which has surprised us most agreeably. I do not think you guilty of any inconsistency, and we only hope you will be *as* happy through a long life as *we* are; I *cannot* wish you *more* than this. I highly approve your choice, having a high opinion of Mr. Bloomfield, and I shall be much pleased to have, as the wife of my representative at St. Peterburg, a person who has been about me, whom I am so partial to, and who, I am sure, will perform the duties of her position extremely well. I pity you much for the painful separation from Mr. Bloomfield to which you will be subjected. Once more repeating our sincere wishes for your happiness, and with our kind regards to your parents, who we hope are better,

Believe me,

Always yours affectionately,

VICTORIA R.

on Holy Thursday, Count Nesselrode, when Chancellor of the Empire and Minister for Foreign Affairs, used to attend the English Chapel on the English Quay, and receive the Holy Communion according to the forms of the Church of England, which, however, he never attended on other occasions, or, I believe, any other place of worship, though he had, of course, to be officially present at all the great ceremonies of the Greek Church.

The Czar was keen and severe; police espionage was everywhere strict; yet bribery, and deceit, and robbery, tainted every department. When General Count Beckendorff was Minister of Police, on returning home one night from his club, he found his pocket-book, which was full of rouble-notes, missing. He accordingly gave the police notice of the fact, stating the sum he had lost. A few days after the sum was returned to him without the pocket-book, which was reported lost; but in the meantime it had been found, notes and all, in his fur pelisse, having slipped down between the lining and the cloth. The police, to show their zeal and activity, had collected the money all themselves, and presented it to their superior officer.

Several anecdotes are told about the Emperor's strictness in military matters. Thus, once at a review, when Lord Bloomfield was present:—

The officer in command made an egregious mistake by leading his men up a hill in the face of a strong force of artillery, which was blazing away like fury. The Emperor's quick eye speedily detected the error, and, in a perfect fury, he drew his sword, and rode at the wretched officer in command; and my husband said he hardly knew what would happen, but thought the Emperor was going to cut off the culprit's epaulettes. After, however, giving him a severe reprimand, the Emperor turned round to the suite, and said, "Gentlemen, after the humiliating spectacle we have just witnessed, I think the review had better conclude; so adieu!" and he turned his horse's head and galloped off the field.

By removing from St. Petersburg, Lord Bloomfield escaped the trials which Sir Hamilton Seymour had to endure. Yet Berlin, after a time (during the Crimean War), was not a pleasant place for the English, as the Queen was a bitter partisan for Russia. In the spring of 1854 parties were running so very high that "the town was divided into two camps, and those who were well with Russia, which included the Queen and the whole of the 'Kreuz-Zeitung' party, almost cut us and our French colleagues," while the Princess of Prussia (now Empress of Germany) found her residence in Berlin "very trying." Lady Bloomfield at this period gave a State ball, and the Queen said in public that "she was not sure she should go," to which the King replied, "You must" (Du musz). "Lord Bloomfield and I went down to the hall-

door to receive their Majesties; and the Queen took my husband's arm; but the only remark she made was, 'Votre escalier est bien roide, Milord.'"

In justice to Frederic William IV. (the King Cliquot of *Punch*), one remark of our author should be quoted: "The King," wrote Lady Bloomfield, "was beginning to show symptoms of the fatal malady"—a softening of the brain—"which developed rapidly the following year; his walk was uncertain, which gave rise to the report that he was drunk, instead of which he was a remarkably sober and moral man in all his habits."

There are many other interesting passages in the volumes before us, from which, had we space, we should gladly quote. The great charm of the work is its simplicity. These "Reminiscences" are entirely free from the faults of Greville's "Memoirs," and—we must add—of the third volume of the "Life of Bishop Wilberforce."



#### ART. IV.—JOHN BUNYAN.<sup>1</sup>

THE author of the immortal allegory, "The Pilgrim's Progress," lived in an age of great excitement. The human mind was agitated by the great events that were happening, and, indeed, was stirred to its very depths. John Bunyan was born in rough times, days of revolution and reconstruction; years of tumult, and yet of advance, when some of the most striking events of history took place, and some of the most noted men England has produced gave a page to her annals.

The period of Bunyan's life comprises such events as the Star Chamber and the High Commission; Edgehill, and Naseby, and Marston Moor; and such names as Laud and Strafford, Charles I., Cromwell, and Charles II. The Parliamentary ability of that time was of the highest order; and among the most distinguished members of the House of Commons were Falkland and Hyde, Digby and Harry Vane, and Oliver St. John. But the two foremost men were Pym and Hampden, and by universal consent of friends and enemies, the first place belonged to Hampden. It was a day not only of eminent politicians, but also of great divines. And now it was that such

<sup>1</sup> "The Works of John Bunyan," edited by George Offor, Esq. (Blackie & Son, Edinburgh). "English Men of Letters," edited by John Morley; "Bunyan," by James Anthony Froude (Macmillan).



theologians wrote and preached as Charnock and Owen, Howe and Henry and Baxter. These were great Puritans; but the Church of England by no means lacked men of fine mental power and impressive eloquence. To quote the words of the brilliant historian, "Cudworth and Henry More were still living at Cambridge, South was at Oxford, Prideaux in the close at Norwich, and Whitby in the close of Salisbury. Sherlock preached at the Temple, Tillotson at Lincoln's Inn, Burnet at the Rolls, Stillingfleet at St. Paul's Cathedral, Beveridge at St. Peter's, Cornhill. These were men who could set forth the majesty and beauty of Christianity with such justness of thought and such energy of language, that the indolent Charles aroused himself to listen, and the fastidious Buckingham forgot to sneer."

Nor was the day without its poets; some of them not rising above the character of graceful versifiers; but two, and one of these pre-eminent—"a bright particular star"—shining in the literary firmament. In the former rank we may place Waller and Cowley, and the author of the witty "*Hudibras*;" in the other, Dryden, a poet of the Classical School, satirist and dramatist, who proved his lyric skill in two fine and celebrated odes, and greatest of all John Milton, with eyes shut to the natural beauties of the world, but with that inner sight by which he was enabled to see "the light which never was on sea or shore," and from whose pen flowed as an inspiration the immortal "*Paradise Lost*."

The age that gave birth to such men also gave birth to John Bunyan, the glorious dreamer, who was a poet in right of the possession of the imaginative faculty, and who, in his moods of exalted and devotional rapture, seems to have heard, to borrow the majestic language of Milton, "a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies." Nor, indeed, should we omit the name of another poet, though following Milton at a great interval, that of the sweet and saintly George Herbert, whose muse drew its inspiration from the Church he loved so well, and of which he was so loyal a son. Bunyan himself, though he may not have had the accomplishment of verse in any eminent degree, yet wrote some pointed and graceful verses, and was gifted with a sympathy with the external world and all beautiful things, which in equal degree was possessed by few. Some lines of Shakespeare's give us a description of the poet's office which was realized by Bunyan:—

"And as imagination bodies forth  
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen  
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothings  
A local habitation and a name."

John Bunyan was born in the village of Elstow in the year 1628, thirty years after the death of Spenser, twelve years after the death of Shakespeare, when Milton was in his twentieth year, and three years before the birth of Dryden. He was of obscure parentage, "of a low and inconsiderable generation," his father being a tailor, and some have conjectured, from a passage in "Grace Abounding," that he was of gipsy blood. "His youth," he tells us, "was passed in excess of riot;" he spent his time "in cursing, swearing, lying, and blaspheming the holy name of God." "Yea," he says, "so settled and rooted was I in these things, that they became as a second nature to me; the which, as I have also with soberness considered since, did so offend the Lord, that even in my childhood He did scare and affrighten me, with fearful dreams, and did terrify me with fearful visions. For often after I had spent this and the other day in sin, I have in my bed been greatly afflicted while asleep with the apprehensions of devils and wicked spirits, who still, as I then thought, laboured to draw me away with them, of which I never could be rid." Those who wish to understand the spiritual struggle through which he passed, and would comprehend how real to him were sin and sorrow, self-abasement and utter self-condemnation, should read his autobiography, entitled "Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners;" a book written in prison some years before the "Pilgrim's Progress," and charged with the highest imagination and the most burning passion. He lives the feelings which he describes. He feels the sensations which he depicts.

I was (he says), as if the strength of my body had been taken away by the power thereof, and often when I was walking was ready to sink with the burden of it. Even crushed to the ground therewith. I saw it, I felt it, I was broken to pieces by it. I could for days together feel my body to shake and totter by reason of this my terror, and was especially at some times as my breastbone would split asunder. I feared also that this was the mark God did set on Cain, even continual fear and trembling under the heavy load of his guilt. Thus did I wind, and twine, and shrink under the burden that was upon me, which burden did also so oppress me that I could neither stand nor go, nor be either at rest or quiet.

He had horrible internal conflicts with wicked suggestions, and terrible battles with the devil, who was as much a personal presence to him as he was to St. Paul or Martin Luther. The struggle was often fierce and long-continued with this spiritual foe. "In prayer I have been greatly troubled at this time. Sometimes I have thought I have felt him behind me pull my clothes; he would be also continually at me in time of

prayer to have done: Break off, make haste, you have prayed enough, and stay no longer." Macaulay would resolve all his expressions of self-condemnation into a morbid state of mind, and says that "it is doing him gross injustice to understand them other than in a theological sense." Froude takes the same view, and lays down his self-accusations to a curiously sensitive conscience, which revenged itself upon him in singular torture. But though he was a man of the strongest feelings, and moved by deep religious excitement, we cannot think that his own account of his violent and passionate boyhood was nothing more than the fancy of an illiterate man, whose affections were warm, whose nerves were excitable, and whose imagination was ungovernable. No doubt his personal experiences were largely coloured by an enthusiastic nature, and the tempestuous workings of a poetic fancy; yet who that remembers the stories of other great sinners who became saints does not see in the humbling self-upbraidings of Milton the work of that Spirit Who convinces of sin, and lays the proudest low in the very dust. "I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth Thee," says one; "wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." "It is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief," says another. And what are we to think of the "Confessions" of St. Augustine, and of the battles he fought with his ghostly enemy the devil? And was not Bunyan being thus prepared for giving to the world that immortal allegory which was not only the delight of our childhood, but is our pleasure in manhood and old age? The tinker of Elstow was led, himself, through this valley of the shadow of death, that he might describe with the intense reality that he has done the Progress of his Pilgrim, from a land overhung with darkness, and peopled with devils, and resounding with mourning, lamentation, and woe, through the sheepfolds and orchards of the Delectable Mountains, and thence to the bright and beautiful land of Beulah, where the flowers never wither, and the sun shines night and day for ever.

In his seventeenth year we find Bunyan in the army—"an army where wickedness abounded." Whether he served on the side of the King or on the side of the Parliament is doubtful. He does not tell us himself. It is probable that he served with the Royalists. He was at the siege of Leicester in 1645, where he was the subject of a remarkable providence. He was drawn to be one of the besiegers; but when he was just ready to enter on this perilous service, one of the company desired to go in his room; "to which," says Bunyan, "when I had consented, he took my place; and coming to the siege, as he

stood sentinel, he was shot in the heart with a musket-bullet, and died." "Here," he says himself, "were judgments and great mercy, but neither of them did awaken my soul to righteousness; wherefore I sinned still, and grew more and more rebellious against God, and careless of my own salvation." The troop to which he belonged was soon disbanded, and he returned to his tinker's work at Elstow, much as he had left it.

While he was still under twenty years of age, Bunyan married. The only marriage portion he received with his wife was two admirable books—"The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven," and "The Practice of Piety;" but he had a treasure in the woman herself, who had been brought up religiously, and who now gave him a happy and well-ordered house. And so he had to acknowledge that a good wife is from the Lord, and her price is far above rubies. The wife's conversation and example, and the perusal of the books she brought as her dower, wrought upon his conscience, and he began to curb his sinful propensities, and to work out an external reformation. He fell in

Very eagerly with the religion of the times—to wit, to go to church twice a day, and that, too, with the foremost, and there should very devoutly say and sing as others did, yet retaining my wicked life; but withal I was so overcome with the spirit of superstition, that I adored, and that with great devotion, even all things, both the high places, priest, clerk, vestments, services, and what else belonging to the church, counting all things holy that were therein contained, and especially the priest and clerk most happy, and without doubt greatly blessed."

It was a strange experience, this bondage to superstition, yet is it not uncommon. It is the only religion which numbers of men have. It is a form of godliness which is keeping many from the Saviour, and throwing up a barrier between the soul and God.

Looking back on the time when he was content to be priest-ridden and to fix his hope of heaven on his membership with the Church, Bunyan lays bare the fatal danger and deception of formalism. He says: "For all this while I was not sensible of the danger and evil of sin; I was kept from considering that sin would damn me whatsoever religion I followed, unless I was found in Christ; nay, I never thought of Him, nor whether there were such an one or no."

While under the thralldom of superstition, he continued to indulge in his besetting sins; he was a Sabbath-breaker and a profane swearer, and took much delight in all that was evil. A sermon which he heard on the holiness of the Lord's Day smote him to the heart, and for a time almost drove him to

despair. But he shook off these convictions, and, "kicking against the pricks," played the madman at such a fearful rate, that even wicked people were amazed at his audacity. On one occasion, while he was "garnishing his discourse" with oaths at the beginning and the end, an abandoned woman who stood by severely reprov'd him, and told his companions to quit his conversation, or he would make them as bad as himself. This unexpected reproof cut him to the quick, and, standing by the shop-window, he hung his head in silence and in shame. "While I stood there," he says, "I wished with all my heart that I might be a little child again, that my father might learn me to speak without this wicked way of swearing." From that moment he left off this sinful habit, and one by one he relinquished the other sins which so easily beset him, though he was as yet a stranger to the love of Christ, and had a heart alienated still from the life of God. He was under the lash of the law. He had only reached Mount Sinai, "that burned with fire, and the blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words;" and he was distracted by terrors and alarms. "Poor wretch as I was," he says, "I was all this while ignorant of Jesus Christ, and going about to establish my own righteousness; and had perished therein had not God in mercy showed me more of my own state by nature."

At this time a new and beautiful light flashed upon his spirit, from the conversation of some godly women who were sitting at a door in the sun, and talking joyfully of the things of God. Bunyan, leaving his occupation, drew near, and eagerly drank in all that they said. "Methought they spake as if joy did make them speak. They spake with much pleasantness of Scripture language, and with such appearance of grace in all they said, that they were to me as if I had found a new world; as if they were a people that dwelt alone, and were not to be reckoned among the neighbours."

These holy women, sitting in the sunshine, and talking of heaven and heavenly things, lived in Bunyan's imagination until the incident became for ever glorified in the narrative of "the three shining Ones," who met Christian at the Cross and gave him his robe and his roll. It was a happy providence that brought him into the company of these pious women, for after a time he was persuaded to open his mind to them, and lay bare his spiritual experience. They met him with the sweetest sympathy and most tender counsel; and no sooner had they learned his troubles and difficulties, than they told their pastor, Mr. Gifford, the "Evangelist" of his dream, a man of a remarkable piety and of a joyous temperament. Mr. Gifford took Bunyan under his careful charge, and invited him

to his house, where he could hear the little godly company speak of the things of God, and the unsearchable riches of Christ, and the hopes of the world to come.

"This," says Bunyan, "was as seasonable to my soul as the former and latter rain in their season." Not that all was peace and sunshine, "green pastures and still waters," as yet. He was often in doubt and in darkness. Temptations, fearful in their power and terrible in their subtilty, assaulted his soul. Apollyon met him face to face in the valley of the shadow of death, and their swords struck fire and made the darkness visible. It was some time before the light broke through the gloom. But at length it came, like the shining of the sun after rain, and he saw in its brightness the path which led from the City of Destruction to "the Delectable Mountains;" and the shining light "shone more and more to the perfect day." But even then his course was not unseldom chequered by conflicts and fears. He became a professed member of the Baptist Church, and was baptized in the Ouse. This was in the year 1653, when he was about twenty-five years of age. And now there fell into his hands the book of a kindred spirit, brave old Martin Luther's "Commentary on the Galatians," in which he found his own condition as clearly mirrored in the Reformer's experience, as if the book had been written out of his own heart. "I must," he said, "declare before all men, that I do prefer this book of Master Luther upon the Galatians, before all the books, excepting the Holy Bible, that I ever have seen, as most fit for a wounded conscience."

Bunyan was at this time in a position greatly superior to that in which he was born. "God," says a contemporary biographer, "had increased his stores so that he lived in great credit among his neighbours. On May 13th, 1653, Bedfordshire sent an address to Cromwell, approving the dismissal of the Long Parliament, recognising Oliver himself as the Lord's instrument, and recommending the county magistrates as fit persons to serve in the assembly which was to take its place, and among thirty-six names attached to the document, appears those of Gifford and Bunyan." This is proof that he was a prosperous householder, and was a person of consideration.

When Mr. Gifford's earthly testimony to Christ came to a close, Bunyan engaged in earnest exhortations to sinners, as a man in chains, "and carried that fire," he says, "in mine own conscience, that I persuaded them to be aware of." This would give a terrible earnestness to his preaching, and make him plead with all the reality of one who knew the horrors of the doom from which he urged his hearers to flee, and all the blessedness of the heaven which he would fain persuade them to enter. So preaching, with fire in his eye and pathos in his

gate, a justice of the peace on the adjoining district, having been informed of the intended meeting, issued his warrant to bring Bunyan before him. His friends heard of it, and becoming alarmed for his safety, advised him to forego the opportunity. It was a trying moment for him. He had a wife whom he loved; for having been left a widower a year or two before, he had married a second time, and had four children, one of them blind, depending upon his exertions for their daily bread, and also many opportunities, if he found himself still at liberty, to preach the Gospel of the grace of God. But his mind was made up. He would not flinch from what he considered to be a duty, and would witness a good confession in the face of bonds or imprisonments, or even of death itself. "No," he said to the friends who wished him to consult his safety; "no, by no means; I will not stir, neither will I have the meeting dismissed. Come, be of good cheer; let us not be daunted. Our cause is good; we need not be ashamed of it. To preach God's Word is so good a work, that we shall be well rewarded if we suffer for that." So at the time and place which had been appointed, with his Bible in his hand, he was in the room at Samsell, and was about to read the text, when the constable and his attendants came in and exhibited their warrant. Being commanded in the King's name, he made no resistance, but went with the officers, accompanied by some of his friends, to the magistrate's residence. As the justice was from home, the constable, to save the expense and trouble of charging a watch to secure his prisoner, allowed him to go home, one of his friends undertaking to be answerable for his appearance the next day. On the following morning they went to the constable, and thence to the justice.

When Bunyan and the constable came before Justice Wingate, he, supposing that the prisoner had been guilty of treasonable practices, inquired how many arms had been found at the meeting. When he learned that those who attended the meeting were unarmed, and had only assembled to hear the preaching of the Word, Wingate was disposed to treat the matter as of little consequence. He asked Bunyan why he did not follow his calling and go to Church? Bunyan said that "all his intention was to instruct and counsel people to forsake their sins, and that he did, without confusion, both follow his calling and preach the Word." At this the justice ordered his committal to gaol, refusing bail unless he would promise to give up preaching. Bunyan refused to be bailed on such conditions. Nothing should stop him from preaching. He felt constrained, like the Apostles of old, to obey God rather than men. So the committal was made out, and Bunyan was being taken away, when he met two of his friends who were

known to Wingate, and they begged the constable to wait. They sought an interview with the magistrate, and told him who and what Bunyan was. The magistrate was disposed to be lenient; and it was agreed that if the prisoner would give some general promise of a vague kind he might be released and go where he pleased. Another magistrate, who was acquainted with Wingate, now joined him, and both declared their reluctance to send him to prison, and said that if he would promise not to call the people together any more he might go home. But Bunyan stood firm. He would not accept freedom on the terms of an evasion. He said he would not force the people to come together; but if they assembled to hear him, knowing that he would speak, he might be said to have called them together. There were many ways of calling a meeting, and if he were in a place where the people were met, he should certainly speak to them. So the magistrates were compelled to commit him to Bedford Gaol to wait for the sessions.

Thus Bunyan suffered for conscience' sake. The trial was a bitter one, and aggravated by the delicate state of his wife's health at the time. The agitation at her husband's arrest brought on a premature confinement, and she was lying in her house in a most critical state. He was a man of a tender heart, and the separation from his wife at such a time was peculiarly painful. After lying in prison for some seven weeks, the Sessions were held at Bedford, and Bunyan was indicted "for devilishly and perniciously abstaining from coming to church to hear Divine service, and as a common upholder of unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our Sovereign Lord the King." Justice Keelin presided at the trial, and entered into a long argument with the prisoner, asking him why he did not go to church, and warning him of his danger if he spoke lightly of the Prayer Book. Bunyan argued that prayer was purely spiritual, the offering of the heart, and not the reading of a form. Keelin said—and the words have been a standing jest with the biographers of Bunyan from that time to this—"We know the Common Prayer Book hath been ever since the Apostles' time, and is lawful to be used in the Church." After a further examination, in which he remained steady to his convictions, he was sent back to prison for three months; if at the end of three months he still refused to conform, he was to be transported, and if he came back without license he would be hanged. Bunyan made answer, "I am at a point with you; if I were out of prison to-day, I would preach the Gospel again to-morrow by the help of God."



At the end of three months he became anxious to know what was to be his lot. He was resolved to persevere in the course he had adopted. The clerk of the peace, Mr. Cobb, was sent to persuade him into some kind of compliance. He was asked to give up preaching in public; if he would so far conform, the going to church would not be insisted on. He was told that he was at full liberty to "exhort his neighbours in private discourse," if only he would not collect the people together in large numbers, as this the magistrates would be bound to notice. Bunyan would not yield. He was a representative man; the cause of religious liberty was bound up with the course which he should pursue, and so he resolved at all hazards to stand firm. The magistrates, knowing his freedom from seditious intentions and regarding him more as a religious fanatic than a leader in rebellion, wished to deal as leniently with him as possible; and so instead of bringing him before them again, and finding themselves compelled to pronounce a sentence of banishment, left him in prison. His wife and children were allowed to visit him daily, and he had all the alleviations, temporal and spiritual, which such a condition as his permitted. His gaoler, with the sanction of the sheriff, let him go where he pleased—once even so far as London. He used his liberty, as he had declared he would, in preaching the Gospel. But this disobedience to the law could only last for a time, and all indulgences being withdrawn, he was put into close confinement. He petitioned to be brought to trial again, but as he could only have had liberty on the condition of exile, the judges and magistrates thought it better to leave him in prison. At the coronation of Charles, April 23, 1661, an order was issued for the release of prisoners who were in gaol for any offence short of felony. Those who were waiting their trials were to be released at once, and those convicted and under sentence might sue out a pardon under the Great Seal at any time within a year from the proclamation. Bunyan determined to seek his liberty by a petition to the judges. His wife resolved to present it in person; and having obtained a hearing, the judges listened courteously to what she had to say. Sir Matthew Hale was much affected by her earnest pleading for one so dear to her, and whose life was of such value to his children. Hale remarked that she looked very young to have four children. "I am but mother-in-law to them," she said, "having not been married yet full two years. I was with child when my husband was first apprehended; but being young, I being dismayed at the news, fell in labour, and so continued for eight days. I was delivered, but my child died." Hale, whose heart was touched by the Divine love, treated her with marked kindness, but at the same time

told her that as the conviction had been recorded, it could not be set aside, and she returned to the prison with a heavy heart.

Bunyan's imprisonment lasted in all for more than twelve years, and might have ended at any time if he would have promised to conform to what he considered an unrighteous law. It did end after six years, when he was set free under the first Declaration of Indulgence; but as he at once began to preach, he was arrested again. Another six years passed, and he was again released, but was arrested once more as he was found preaching in a wood. This time he was detained but a few months, and in form more than in reality. In 1672, Richard Carver, one of the Society of Friends, who had been mate of the vessel in which King Charles escaped to France after his defeat at Worcester, and who had carried the King on his back through the surf, and landed him on French soil, claimed, as his reward the release of his co-religionists who crowded the gaols throughout the land. After some hesitation, Charles was shamed into compliance. A cumbrous deed was prepared, and under the provisions of that deed, which was so framed as to include sufferers of other persuasions, Bunyan obtained deliverance; and he was free for the rest of his life.

When his long confinement ended, Bunyan was forty-four years old. The order for his release was made out on May 8th, 1672, and he was licensed as pastor of the Baptist Chapel at Bedford on the 9th of that month. He established himself in a small house in the town, and began to make arrangements for his worldly business and to provide for the wants of his family, a matter of little difficulty, as their habits were so frugal. "Though by reason of losses which he sustained by imprisonment," says one of his biographers, "his treasure swelled not to excess, he always had sufficient to live decently and creditably." His writings and his sufferings made his name famous throughout England, and he lived the rest of his days usefully and honourably: preaching where he pleased, and never more molested in his work for God. His influence gradually extended, through his writings, to America, and as he neared the Everlasting Hills, Doubting Castle faded from view, and he dwelt in the land of Beulah, where his hope was ever bright, and his peace flowed like a river.

Bunyan uses some remarkable words when he writes of his being delivered up to the gaoler's hands, and placed in Bedford Gaol. "I was had home to prison," he says. "Home to prison!" And did he not make it a "home"? and did he not illustrate the truth of the words:

"Stone walls do not a prison make,  
Nor iron bars a cage;  
Minds innocent and quiet take  
That for a hermitage?"

And in another and better sense than that in which Sir John Suckling uses the words, he might have added :

“ If I have freedom in my love,  
And in my soul am free,  
Angels alone, that soar above,  
Enjoy such liberty.”

He had leisure in his prison to think and reflect, and to give his inventive faculties full play. He had not many books, nor was he a great reader at any time ; but he had the Bible, which, as has been well observed, “ if thoroughly known, is a literature in itself ;” and he had “ Foxe’s Book of Martyrs,” with its records of the men who, for the truth’s sake, were “ stoned, were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword,” and who went from the stake to heaven in a chariot of fire. With such companions he soars beyond the walls of his dungeon and is in an ideal world ; visions of heaven float before his eyes, songs of heaven ring in his ears ; “ the light that never was on sea or shore ” is around him ; gales from the Delectable Mountains blow freshly across his brow, and from the summit of the Hill Clear he beholds the splendours of the Celestial City, and sees the saints with crowns on their heads and palms in their hands, standing on the sea of glass mingled with fire. He is in a prison no longer. His soul has risen beyond the measure of his cell. And as great thoughts surge through his heart, and kindle in his eye, and flush his cheek, he in this moment of inspiration seizes the pen, and the page becomes instinct with “ thoughts that breathe, and words that burn.” The “ Pilgrim’s Progress ” grows into life and beauty under his marvellous hand. Of the “ Pilgrim’s Progress ” there is no need to speak in terms of eulogy ; it has been praised by all ranks and conditions of men. “ It has been copied and travestied ; turned into an oratorio, done into verse, quoted in the novel and in the sermon, in the speech and in the play.” “ There has been a Roman Catholic version, with Giant Pope left out ; a Socinian parody and a Tractarian travesty, where the author, dissatisfied with Bunyan’s theology, alters, with a careful delicacy towards Rome, every expression which might be distasteful to a Roman Catholic reader. It is a remarkable proof of the power and beauty of the work, that it has extorted praise from men the most diverse in sentiment and genius. Southey, a hater of Calvinism, confesses : “ If Calvinism had never worn a blacker appearance than in Bunyan’s works, it would never have become a term of reproach.” Coleridge knows of no book, the Bible excepted, which he thought taught so nearly the whole of saving truth as the “ Pilgrim’s Progress.” He writes : “ This wonderful

book is one of the few books which may be read over repeatedly with a new and different pleasure. I read it once as a theologian, once as a poet, once with devotional feelings. I could not have believed beforehand that Calvinism could be painted in 'such exquisitely delightful colours.' Dr. Arnold held John Bunyan to have been incomparably the greatest divine England has produced, and loved the "Pilgrim's Progress" with all his heart. "I cannot trust myself," he used to say, "to read the account of Christian going up to the Celestial Gate, after his passage through the river of death." In one of his letters from Naples, he says: "Far be it from me, or from my friends, to live or sojourn in such a place, the very opposite, as it seems to me, of the Hill Difficulty, and of the House Beautiful, and of the land Beulah." Macaulay, in his "Essay on John Bunyan," has these words: "Bunyan is almost the only writer who ever gave to the abstract the interest of the concrete." And again: "There is no work in our literature on which we would so readily stake the fame of the old unpoluted English language, no book which shows so well how rich that language is in its own proper wealth, and how little it has been improved by all that it has borrowed."<sup>1</sup>

We must pass by with a word Bunyan's other works. "Grace Abounding," which is the pathetic story of his own spiritual conflicts; and the "Holy War," greatly inferior in interest to the "Pilgrim's Progress," but which Macaulay thinks, if there had been no "Pilgrim's Progress," would have been the first of religious allegories. Froude shortly sums up, what probably is the opinion of most readers, in these words: "The 'Holy War' would have entitled Bunyan to a place among the masters of English literature. It would never have made his name a household word in every English-speaking family on the globe."

A few words here may not be out of place on Bunyan's writings in relation to spiritual conflict. In reading Bunyan, one is especially struck with, if I may so express myself, the warlike character of his allegories. The "Holy War" is the story of spiritual conflict from the beginning to the end. Mansoul had

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<sup>1</sup> An anecdote which the late Dean Stanley used to tell with great delight may not unfittingly be given here. A few days after he had unveiled the statue raised to Bunyan at Bedford, which he did with some of his own happy characteristic remarks, eulogizing the great allegory, he received a letter from a working-man in the North, with the request that he would lend him a copy of the "Pilgrim's Progress;" the Dean went to a bookseller, purchased a copy, and sent it as a present to his unknown correspondent. In a very short time he received another letter, this time of thanks: "I have read your 'Pilgrim's Progress,'" said the writer, "and it *have* set my soul on fire!"

been created pure and happy, and was a town altogether so commodious and so advantageous that there was not its equal under heaven. Shaddai built it for his own delight, and had raised in its midst a stately palace which He intended for Himself. By this palace, Bunyan tells us, he means the heart. Mansoul, the body, could never be broke down unless the townsmen allowed it. It had five gates, which could only be forced by consent of those within. These gates were Ear-gate, Eye-gate, Mouth-gate, Nose-gate, and Feet-gate. Diabolus, once a chief servant of Shaddai, but who having through ambition formed a conspiracy against him, and being defeated with his crew and banished from his territory, plotted against this town, and took it and defiled it. Shaddai comes to its rescue, drives out the devil, executes his officers, and destroys his works. But between the defeat of Mansoul and his victory over his subtle foe, there is many a struggle and peril; many enemies on the right hand and on the left to be vanquished; many a fortress to be taken, and many a stronghold to be cast down. Bunyan may have thought of his old fighting days in the Civil wars as he composed the story of Mansoul's defeat and deliverance; and this no doubt gave reality to his picture of the fight to the death, not only "against flesh and blood, but against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places."

So in the "Pilgrim's Progress," the Pilgrims have to clothe themselves in armour, and to fight every stage of the journey. The conflict assumes various shapes and forms, and is waged with different foes; but it is always a fight unto the death; there is "no discharge from the warfare;" and it is carried on with all the sternness of men who, to use Bunyan's characteristic words, "are not yet out of gun-shot of the devil." Enemies? Yes, the Pilgrims found them on every hand. Their name was "Legion." Mr. Worldly-Wiseman; Mr. Legality; the three sleepy gentleman, Simple, Sloth, and Presumption; the two travellers from the land of Vain-glory, Formalist and Hypocrisy; the two giants, Pope and Pagan; and Mr. Talkative, ready to talk of things heavenly or things earthly, things moral or things evangelical, things sacred or things profane, things past or things to come, things foreign or things at home, things essential or things circumstantial, "provided that all be done unto our profit." We have only a word for Vanity Fair, Bye-path Meadow, Doubting Castle, and Giant Despair, from each of which Christian finds new dangers and temptations, but from all of which he is mercifully delivered; and, recovering the pilgrim path again, at length reaches the Delectable Mountains in Emmanuel's own land.

There can be no doubt that in the scenes so graphically

described we have many of the incidents of Bunyan's own life, and the temptations which assailed him in the mortal struggle between his soul and sin. It is this fact that makes his pictures so substantial and true. There is nothing shadowy about them. Abstractions vanish, and reality takes their place. No wonder, then, that the places, the hills, the valleys, the towns, the people in the great allegory pass out of the land of shadows; and are as familiar on our lips as household words, and become to us as real as the men and women, or the localities which we have seen. Who does not know as well as if he had seen them, the "Wicket Gate," the "Slough of Despond," "Hill Difficulty," the "Valley of the Shadow of Death," "Vanity Fair," "Doubting Castle," the "Palace Beautiful," and "Bye-path Meadow"? Have we not all met Mr. Feeble-mind, and Mr. Talkative, Mr. Cruelty, Mr. Lovelust, Madam Bubble, Mr. Sloth, Mr. Presumption, and, I am thankful to add, Faithful, Hopeful, and the four gracious ladies who entertain Christian in the Palace Beautiful, and give him a room for his sleeping-chamber called "Peace"?

Bunyan's latter years were peaceful. His circumstances were easy. He was happy in his family. The blind child, that lay so near his heart, had died while he was in Bedford Gaol. His other children lived and prospered; and his wife, who had pleaded his cause with such pathos before the judges, was spared to be a blessing in his home. His health, it was said, had suffered from his confinement; but the only serious illness which we hear of was an attack of sweating sickness, which came upon him in 1687, and from which he never thoroughly recovered. He was then fifty-nine, and in the next year he died. His death was brought on by exposure, when he was engaged in an act of charity. A father had been offended with his son, and had threatened to disinherit him. The family, with whom he was acquainted, lived at Reading; and in order to effect a reconciliation, Bunyan made a journey on horseback to that town, and his errand was crowned with success, though it cost him his life. Returning by way of London, he was overtaken by excessive rains, and, in an exhausted state, he took refuge in the house of Mr. Strudwick, one of his attached friends.

Bedford was then two days' journey from London, and it is not known whether his wife and children had the happiness of ministering at his dying bed. In ten days he was no more. He died at the age of sixty. The exact date of his death is uncertain. All of his biographers agree, however, in placing it in the August of 1688; and if so, only two or three months before the landing of King William on our shores. His last words were these: "Take me, for I come to Thee." May not

the eye of faith follow him after he "shuffled off the mortal coil," and use the words which he wrote of his own immortal Pilgrim: "I saw in my dream that this man went in at the gate; and lo! as he entered he was transfigured, and he had raiment put on him that shone like gold. There were also that met him with harps and crowns, and gave unto him—the harps to praise withal, and the crowns in token of honour. Then I heard in my dream that all the bells in the city rung again for joy, and that it was said unto him, 'Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.' I also heard the man himself sing with a loud voice, saying, 'Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.'"

Bunyan was buried in Mr. Strudwick's vault in the Dissenters' burying-ground at Bunhill Fields, and his tomb has been visited by thousands of pilgrims, who have found pleasure in honouring genius sanctified by the purest devotion. Take him all in all, he was one of the most remarkable men that England has produced; and with rare qualities of head and heart, and a passionate and intense nature, he had that thorough-going conviction of the truth of Christianity which lies at the foundation of all true and earnest work for God or man. It was this conviction that gave the Puritans, amongst whom were found some of England's noblest and best men, their power, and animated them with a fiery resolve to conquer self, and to cast out from the heart and life all that was opposed to the will of God. To some their stern fulfilment of moral duty may have appeared enthusiasm, to others asceticism; but it enabled them to live the noble lives they did, and with the whole soul to oppose "the whole body of sin." This intense faith in the unseen was the strength of the Protestant theology; it gave England her power at the Reformation, it made her great, and has been the origin of her mental, social, political, and religious freedom, the source of any and every blessing that has been the portion of our favoured land. A solemn voice has reached us from the death-bed of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, which has told us that "the Church and the world seem to be entering on totally new phases." It may be so. It is possible we may be standing on the verge of some momentous revolution in the State or in the Church; it is possible we may be about to pass through some strange and unknown manifestations of thought and life. It may be that these changes shall not come in our day. They may be nearer than we think. But our duty is in either case the same, to be loyal to God. We need have no fear for our Church, or country, or ourselves, if we only stand fast by the old truths, and hold with firm grasp that true reformed faith which is the source

of our liberties—social, political, religious—the faith which has come down to us from battles which our fathers fought, and from scaffolds where they fell.

CHARLES D. BELL.



ART. V.—THE UNITED DIOCESES OF DOWN, AND  
CONNOR, AND DROMORE.

AT a time when trouble and perplexity are in the hearts of the true friends of Ireland, and when they are straining their eyes to discover some rift in the dark cloud which rests upon her fortunes, it is something to be able to indicate at least one spot of brightness and hope, and one possible solution of the difficult question as to the future of Ireland and her ancient Church.

The results of the late census have been in some respects disappointing. They show a general diminution of the number of members of the Church of Ireland, which, though it might have been predicted, is none the less disheartening. The diminution of course may be explained. In many parts of the country, landlords, whose incomes were diminished, and whose lives were not safe, shut up their houses, and withdrew with their establishments to places where they could live at less expense, and with less danger. In most of the districts thus affected, the withdrawal even of one family with its belongings would make a sensible impression on the small congregation attending the parish church, and a still more sensible impression on the sustentation funds of such parishes. Moreover, it was well known that the action of a considerable portion of the Primitive Wesleyan Methodists, or "Church Methodists," as they were called, would tend to show a decrease in the numbers of Irish Churchmen. Many of those Church Methodists, who in previous decades returned themselves as members of the Irish Church, on the occasion of the last census, untrue to the traditions of their Founder, returned themselves as members of the Wesleyan community. The decrease, amounting as it did to little more than 30,000, by no means exceeded the anticipation; still, it is 30,000 on the wrong side, and it is to be distinctly traced amongst those professional classes in which much of the strength of the Church of Ireland lay. It is small comfort to be able to account for this by the steady action of political patronage and promotion, and the growing influence of Romanism in



the Poor-law Boards and Dispensary Committees of the South and West; the result is as it is, and, being so, is disappointing.

This result, however, truly disappointing as it would have been had it been all along the line, is modified by the returns from some of the Northern Dioceses, and notably from that united Diocese of Down, and Connor, and Dromore, the name of which is at the head of this paper; nor is it without its own significance that a diocese which exhibits a substantial increase in its church population, is in material things the most prosperous as well as the most law-abiding in Ireland.

It may then be interesting to attempt a brief sketch of the past and present of these dioceses. It may also be useful to do so, having regard to what, without offence, may be called the prevailing ignorance amongst our English friends with regard to Irish affairs in general, and Irish Church affairs in particular.

Speaking geographically, the Dioceses of Down, Connor, and Dromore include the whole of the counties of Down and Antrim, with a small portion of the county of Armagh, and a very small portion of the county of Londonderry. The Diocese of Connor, which includes the greater part of the town of Belfast, is the largest of the three, and is nearly conterminous with the county of Antrim. This Diocese of Connor has far and away the largest church population of any single diocese within the limits of the Church of Ireland.

Speaking ecclesiastically, these dioceses, in the course of their long history, have been independent of one another, united, disunited, and partially re-united, previous to the present settlement, which was effected by the Church Temporalities Act of 1833. By that Act, the Diocese of Dromore, then a separate diocese, was, upon the death of its Bishop, to be joined to the See of Down and Connor.<sup>1</sup>

It is conjectured by Ware (*"Works,"* vol. i., p. 195, ed. Harris), that, for centuries after the year A.D. 583, Down had no peculiar Bishop of its own, but was included in the Diocese of Connor. Dean Reeves, however, seems to think that, having regard to the number of names of Bishops of Down, as well as of Connor, recorded in the *"Irish Annals,"* we may reasonably suppose that, for a considerable time at all events, the two dioceses were independent of one another, their union being effected at the Synod of Rathbreasil, A.D. 1118. We may therefore for convenience' sake, in our notice of the foundation and early records of these dioceses, follow the ordinary classification, and treat of them as Down, and Connor, and Dromore.

A few preliminary observations as to the nature of the

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<sup>1</sup> A union which took place in the year 1842.

Episcopate in the early Irish Church may be of use at this stage of the proceedings. One peculiar feature of the early Irish Church is the number of its Bishops, and, we may add, the number of little Sees, which were subsequently grouped together so as to make a diocese of orthodox dimensions. Nennius sums up the labours of St. Patrick by ascribing to him the foundation of 365 churches, the consecration of 365 Bishops, and the ordination of 3,000 presbyters; and the tripartite life of St. Patrick makes the number of Bishops consecrated by him to be 370, and of priests to be 5,000. These Bishops seem to have been, for the most part, suffragans, and somewhat of the nature of Rural Deans; and they also seem to have been called forth by the sudden accession of great numbers to Christianity; for, as has been remarked by Dr. Lanigan, there is no instance of any other nation which received the Christian religion in as short a space as the Irish nation did. The number of petty principalities into which the county was divided, led to a corresponding number of these "Chorepiscopi," or "country Bishops," who differed from what have been called the "Cathedral Bishops" by receiving their consecration from *one*, and not from *three* Bishops. The institution of Rural Deans, which appears to have taken place at the Synod of Kells, A.D. 1152, gradually led to the suppression of these minor members of the Episcopal order.

That these Chorepiscopi, however, possessed higher privileges than those which pertained to the priestly function, is clear from the case of St. Columbkille, the Abbot of Iona, whose biographer and successor, Adamnanus, tells us how a certain stranger from Munster, a Bishop in disguise, was made known to the saint in the breaking of bread, and how due reverence was rendered to his superior by the saintly Abbot.

This multiplication of Bishops had its own inconveniences as well as its own advantages; it developed into an order of roving Bishops, who, having no special duties of their own, became *Episcopi vagantes*—wandering stars—intruding into other dioceses in strange countries, and there using the functions of their office to the often annoyance of their brethren. It was therefore in the nature of things that, having served the purpose which called them forth, they should in due time have to pass away; but some notice of their existence is necessary even in so brief a sketch as this, were it only for the fact that, before the Diocese of Down reached its present form and dimensions, it absorbed the sub-Dioceses of Dunleghthlas, Nendrum, Maghbile, Beanchui,<sup>1</sup> and—name still harder to be pronounced—Rathmurbhuilg.

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<sup>1</sup> Or Bangor (White Choir).

The first of these names, *Dun-leg-thlas*, gives its title to the Diocese of Down; and the name *Down-patrick*, which belongs to the cathedral of the diocese, accords with the prevalent opinion that it was founded by St. Patrick. Indeed, the grave of the saint is shown in the churchyard; and three niches, still remaining in the gable over the east window of the cathedral, are said to have contained the statues of Sts. Patrick, Brigid, and Columba.

“Hi tres, in *Dino* tumulo, tumultantur in uno,  
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.”

According to another tradition, Rossius, or Rus—the first convert to Christianity in Ulidia—is said to have been the first Bishop; and, according to others, one Loarn. Mention is also made of a St. Thassach; but, as we have seen above, there was no stint in the matter of Bishops in the early Irish Church, and it is enough to indicate St. Patrick as the Founder, and the latter part of the fifth century as the time.

*Dun-leth-glas*, or the *camp* or *fort* of Lethglas, was the capital of the surrounding territory, which went under the name of Ulidia.<sup>1</sup> The importance of the place led to its supremacy as the cathedral city, and the affix *Leth-glas*, which doubtless arose from local circumstances, dropping off, the word *Dun* remained, which became in Latin *Dunum*, and in English *Down*.

Before we proceed to later times it may be well to make a few observations on the Dioceses of Connor and Dromore.

Like Down, the present See of Connor comprised several churches, which on one or more occasions have been Episcopal seats, and have given their title to their Bishops; it is needless to particularize the hard names, and it will suffice to say that the See of Connor was founded during the latter half of the fifth century by Ængus MacNisse, who became its first Bishop and Abbot.

Connor, which is now a small village, is about five miles from Ballymena, a large market-town in the centre of the county of Antrim. It is also about half a mile from the village of Kells—where are the remains of a monastery—to which it is probable the ancient cathedral church was attached.

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<sup>1</sup> About the beginning of the twelfth century, in many instances the old *cathedral* names of the Irish Sees were for a time superseded by *territorial* designations: thus the Bishop of Dundalethglas became the Bishop of Ulidia, the Bishop of Connor became Bishop of Dalaradia, the Bishop of Dromore became Bishop of Iveagh; and this nomenclature continued for some ages among the natives, until by degrees it died away, and all the dioceses of Ireland resumed their own cathedral names, with the exception of Meath and Ossory, which still retain their territorial names.—See Dean Reeves' *Eccl. Ant. of Dio. Down, &c.*

As far as can be ascertained—the monastery and cathedral became permanently separated about the end of the twelfth century, and another church, subsequently called the Church of Connor, was founded for cathedral or parochial purposes. The edifice then erected has long since disappeared, and previous to the Reformation nothing in the nature of a regular cathedral chapter seems to have existed; in fact, up to that time the only dignitary connected with the cathedral was the Archdeacon, and all capitular acts were performed by the Archdeacon and clergy assembled in Synod. The present chapter was constituted by charter of King James I. in the year 1609.<sup>1</sup>

The Church of Connor is now only parochial and is, what used to be called in directories, and the multitudinous books of those who travelled in Ireland, and gave their impressions of what they saw then to the public, “a small neat edifice in the Gothic style.” The church at Lisburn, or Lisnegarvie,<sup>2</sup> is now called the Cathedral of Connor, and the dignitaries and prebendaries are installed there; but surely it would seem that the time has fully come when this great diocese should have in the busy centre of Belfast a cathedral worthy of its importance.

The See of Dromore was founded by St. Colman, who established a monastery there, and presided over it in the joint capacity of Bishop and Abbott. Similarly with Down and Connor, Dromore has grouped under its own name several smaller Sees, and two of the parish churches at present within its bounds, viz. Donaghmore and Magheralin, once laid claim to cathedral dignity as being Episcopal seats. The Cathedral of Dromore, a very unpretending edifice, was dedicated to St. Colman, and up to the time of the Reformation had for its chapter a Dean, Archdeacon and Canons; but in the year 1609, James I. not only changed the constitution of the chapter by transforming the Canons into dignitaries with one Prebendary; but he also changed the name of the cathedral, ordaining that from henceforth “erit et vocabitur Ecclesia Cathedralis Christi Redemptoris de Drumore.”

At the period of what may fairly be called the Anglo-papal

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<sup>1</sup> The first Dean being Milo Whale, the Archdeacon Nicholas Todd, the Precentor William Todd, the Treasurer Samuel Todd, the Chancellor Robert Maxwell. The prevalence of the name of Todd in the chapter may possibly be accounted for by the fact that Bishop Todd was then at the head of the three Sees of Down, Connor, and Dromore.

<sup>2</sup> The Church of Lisburn was made by charter of King Charles II. the cathedral for the Dioceses of Down and Connor. At that time the Cathedral of Down was in ruins; but as it has since been restored, the Diocese of Connor now enjoys the sole privilege, such as it is, of using this building for the purpose indicated above.

invasion, the Church of Ireland reaped certain advantages in the way of form and organization, whilst she undoubtedly lost much of her old independence and purity of doctrine and practice. St. Bernard draws a doleful picture of Down, Connor, and Dromore in the year 1124; he describes the faithful in those parts as being beasts rather than men, as Christians in name but Pagans in reality. And yet a close analysis of this holy man's complaint makes it sufficiently clear that the great fault of these Irish Churchmen was that they did not conform to the Romish discipline. Indeed, during the whole of the twelfth century it seems to have been the cue of the advocates of Papal ascendancy in Ireland to depreciate the native institutions of the country and to exalt the discipline of Rome. But the union of the Sees of Down and Connor and Dromore, under the presidency of Malachi, in the year 1124, points to a consolidation of small Sees, which, whilst after the manner of human affairs it ran into an opposite extreme, must have tended to better government and greater unity of action. On the retirement of Malachi, the See of Connor seems to have again had a separate Bishop of its own; and so things continued till the year 1441, when, the See of Down becoming vacant, John, Bishop of Connor, entered on the administration of Down and Connor, and from henceforth the two dioceses were incorporated under one Bishop.

At the time of the Reformation, the Bishop of the United Sees was Eugene Magenis, whose episcopate extended from 1541 to 1560,<sup>1</sup> and therefore included those stirring periods of change and excitement, the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, and the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. When he came to preside over the See, he found his Cathedral of Downpatrick in ruins, it having been pillaged and burned by Lord Leonard de Grey, who defaced the monuments of Sts. Patrick, Brigid and Columba. This occurred in the year 1538; and it is one amongst many proofs of the stormy and unsettled character of succeeding centuries, that the Cathedral of Down remained a ruin until the close of the eighteenth century, when, by the exertions of Arthur, Marquis of Downshire, and Dean Annesley, it was restored to something of its former grandeur.

The history of the Reformation in Ireland during the reign of Queen Elizabeth is very much of a blank; and on the whole it is better that it should be so. Reformation of religion, in the real sense of the word, was confined to Dublin and

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<sup>1</sup> The Bishop who succeeded Eugene Magenis was John Merriman, an Englishman, Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth; his appointment does not seem to have been made until 1568.

some few of the larger towns. In the country parts much more was done in the way of burning than of building churches, and—it is sad to say it—the Bishops were far more intent on alienating the revenues still left to their Sees, than in reclaiming the flocks committed to their charge from barbarism and Popery.

The north of Ireland had its full share of misery and unrest; in fact, under the O'Neills it was in a chronic state of rebellion during a great part of Elizabeth's reign. As Spenser said: "It is ill preaching amongst swords;" and the sounds of the Gospel of peace were hardly heard amidst the din and clash of arms. Still, it is a striking instance of the overruling Providence of God that the district of Ireland, once the most wasted and disturbed, is now the most peaceful and prosperous and Protestant; and the fact that we have such an instance to point to, ought to give us some hope and cheer when we are inclined to despair of the future of this country.

On the accession of James I. the flight of the two great Irish chieftains, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, whose conspiracies were detected and frustrated, threw into the hands of the Government an immense quantity of forfeited property. To this flight and forfeiture we trace the celebrated "Plantation of Ulster," a measure which, notwithstanding all the jobbery which followed it, and the division which it unfortunately introduced into the Protestant camp, has left its mark for good upon the face of the Province of Ulster, and more particularly on the counties of Armagh, Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Down, and Antrim.

This plantation was carried out by the advice and under the superintendence of the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester. The colonists were of three kinds: viz., undertakers, or immigrants from England; servitors, or persons who had been connected with the Government service; and Irish natives, who, after strict examination of character and antecedents, were allowed to come in. The lands were allotted in portions of 2,000, 1,500, and 1,000 acres. He who had the assignment of 2,000 acres was bound to plant forty-eight able and honest men on his estate, and the others were bound to plant in a like proportion. Each proprietor was to build a castle, house, or bawn, and all were to take the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to the Government. Nor were the interests of the Church forgotten in this plantation. It was provided that a church should be built, rebuilt, or restored in every parish, and that glebes of 60, 90, or 120 acres should be assigned to the clergymen. In the interest of education also a considerable portion of the confiscated land was assigned to Trinity College, Dublin, which also obtained the patronage of six

good livings. As the result of this wise measure multitudes of people flocked from England and Scotland; the London Corporation obtained vast tracts of land, and built the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine.

Two difficulties attended this plantation: one, almost inevitable, though happily not permanent; the other, which still to a certain extent remains and will remain for many years to come.

It could hardly be expected that the natives, who were driven from their lands and homesteads, should have looked with much favour on those who took their places. At first, indeed, they had nothing to do but grin and bear it, for they were weakened by crushing defeats, and the Government was too strong to be assailed with any hope of success; but they bided their time, and the massacre of 1641, which chiefly took place in the plantation of Ulster, was a testimony to the hatred of the native Irish to the immigrants, and was the cruel outpouring of wrath long pent up. The colonists, however, soon rallied when the first shock of terror was over, and their ranks have never since been broken.

Another difficulty, however, was not so easy to be dealt with. Many of the colonists came from Scotland, and brought over with them modes of religious thought and ideas of ecclesiastical discipline which were not in accordance with the doctrines and form of government of the Church of Ireland. It is not very easy to say what might have been effected with some of those people if large concessions had been made to their prejudices and predilections, but there is no doubt that, whether in Scotland or Ireland, they were a stubborn generation, and, for their part, were not much disposed to make concessions, large or small. Certainly Archbishop Ussher was very tender with them; and even Archbishop Bramhall was fain to introduce a softening clause into the letters of Orders of their conforming ministers. On the other hand, poor Bishop Echlin received scant courtesy from Mr. Robert Blair, who returned his Diocesan's concession in the matter of ordination by rebuking his patron, Lord Claneboy, for kneeling at the Lord's Supper. It is to be feared that the temper of the time, and the relations of triumph and defeat in which each party found itself as the wheel of fortune turned, were not conducive to close union and cordial feelings of friendship.

Time, however, is a powerful solvent of merely traditional animosities; and time has already done so much, that we can safely leave the matter in his hands.

An illustrious name—the name of Bishop Jeremy Taylor—is connected with another temporary union of the three Sees soon after the Restoration. The Dioceses of Down and

Connor, with Dromore, united in the time of Malachi, were again united under the presidency of the English Chrysostom, who, "for his virtue, wisdom, and industry," was entrusted with the government of the See of Dromore in addition to those of Down and Connor. Had it been the will of God to have prolonged the life of this excellent prelate, more might have been done in the way of consolidation, and much of the work of later days might have been anticipated; but it is something to say that the illustrious Jeremy Taylor presided over the diocese in its full form—the form which it now has, and which it is likely to retain.

On the history of the diocese during the eighteenth century we need not dwell; that history has not much to interest or attract. The Church held her own quietly, and after the manner of the age, exhibiting an unvarying aspect of conservatism and loyalty which was not always exhibited by the parties surrounding her.<sup>1</sup> But as the nineteenth century advanced, tokens of renewed life and vigour began to be manifested. In Belfast, then rapidly rising to the status of a first-class town, the labours of the late Archdeacon Hincks, and subsequently of the late Dr. Drew, told effectually, and church after church began to rise in a town where before there were many meeting-houses, and but one small parish church;<sup>2</sup> and it is a fact that shortly before the disestablishment of the Irish Church the merchants of Belfast endowed six new churches in different parts of the town, to which four more have been added since. Nor was this revival of energy and advance of numbers confined to the town of Belfast. In the town of Ballymena, in the centre of Antrim, there were hardly 80 members of the Irish Church eighty years ago; the population was almost entirely made up of Presbyterians. There are now, according to the late census, nearly 2,300 members of the Church, the whole population being considerably under 9,000.

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<sup>1</sup> A strong feeling of sympathy with the French Republic led many of the Presbyterians into rebellion in the year 1798; but the murderous excesses of the Romish rebels in Wexford and other portions of the South effectually quieted the spirit of insubordination which found itself in such strange and uncongenial company.

<sup>2</sup> There are now in Belfast and its suburbs twenty-four churches, and yet even this number is quite insufficient for the wants of the Church population. In the district in which these churches are situated—which includes the portion of Belfast in the county of Down, and Ballysillan, Canmoney, and Whitehouse—there must be from 65,000 to 70,000 members of the Church of Ireland. Oh for some Belfast Guinness or Roe, who would build and endow a cathedral, which might be done for half the money which it took to restore the Cathedrals of Christchurch and St. Patrick in Dublin! or oh for the spirit of the Cork Protestants, who rebuilt their cathedral at a cost of over £100,000, and are now thinking of an endowment!



And these observations may lead us to consider the results of the last census with reference to this diocese. The whole result of the census, as we have already stated, is disappointing, though it might easily have been anticipated; but the revelation made as to the strength of the Church in the counties of Down and Antrim is most reassuring, and is full of hope as to what may yet take place when the Church, recovered from the shock of disestablishment, is allowed to pursue her work steadily and quietly, and to leaven the minds of the rising generation with feelings of attachment to her forms and doctrines.

The figures which follow are taken from a table of statistics, carefully compiled from the census returns, by a respected clergyman of the Diocese of Connor. They give the population of each parish in the three divisions of the diocese for the years 1861, 1871, and 1881, noting the increase and decrease in these respective periods. It would be altogether beyond the limits of this paper to enter into the subject of the parochial statistics, nor indeed is it necessary to do so. What we want is a general summary, and a comparison of the increase or decrease, with the increase or decrease of the Nonconformists and the Roman Catholics; and it may be remarked that, in this table, the Nonconformists, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and others, are all grouped under one head, though, of course, the great bulk of Protestant Dissenters from the Church in the North of Ireland consists of Presbyterians.

From these statistics it appears that, in the Diocese of Down, which includes a large part of the county of Down, the total of Church members in the year 1861 amounted to 24,732; in the year 1871 to 28,247; and in the year 1881 to 30,192. The returns for 1861 are not given in the case of Nonconformists and Roman Catholics; but those for the two following decades exhibit these results: for 1871, Nonconformists, 79,008; for 1881, 75,650. Roman Catholics for 1871, 30,327; for 1881, 27,727. And, making allowance for the fact that the increase in some parishes is affected by a decrease in others, the net result, as to the three denominations in the Diocese of Down, may be stated as follows: for the Church, a net increase of 1,945; for the Nonconformists, a net decrease of 3,358; and for the Roman Catholics, a net decrease of 2,600.

In the Diocese of Connor, where the population is much larger, including, as it does, the whole of the county of Antrim, the results are still more striking. In the year 1861, the total of the Church population in Connor was 76,817; in the year 1871 it increased to 92,027; and in the year 1881 to 102,377, thus showing a net increase of 10,350. In this diocese the Nonconformists amounted in 1871 to 213,727; and in 1881

to 223,040, showing a net increase of 9,313. And the Roman Catholics in 1871 to 107,569; and in 1881 to 107,706, showing a net increase of 137. Thus the Church population, which was the smallest of the three, has made the largest increase; and the increase of the Roman Catholics is so trifling as hardly to count for anything.<sup>1</sup>

We now come to the Diocese of Dromore, which is partly in the county of Down, and partly in the county Armagh, which, having few large towns, and so being more liable to the drain of emigration, has decreased all round; but which, even in its decrease, has its own lesson. In Dromore, the Church population in the year 1861 amounted to 51,918; in the year 1871 to 50,488; and in the year 1881 to 45,735, thus showing a net decrease of 4,753. At the same time, the Nonconformists amounting in 1871 to 62,168, in 1881 numbered only 56,676, showing a net decrease of 5,908; whilst the Roman Catholics, who in 1871 numbered 76,474, in 1881 sank to 67,539, showing a net decrease of 9,583. There has, as we have said, been a decrease all round; but the Church, in that reduction of members, has suffered least, and the loss of the Roman Catholics is nearly twice as much as hers.

Now, when we add up the populations of the three dioceses, the result is more striking still. In 1871, the total Church population of the United Diocese of Down, and Connor, and Dromore was 170,762; in the year 1881 it amounted to 178,304, showing a net increase of 7,542. In the same decades, the Nonconformist population of the three dioceses was 354,903, and 355,366, showing a net increase of only 463; whilst the Romanists, amounting in 1871 to 214,370, and in 1881 to 202,972, have in ten years lost 11,398 of their members.

From the foregoing figures it will appear that, whilst the Church is an important and growing factor in the component parts of this diocese, and whilst her numbers now nearly equal the numbers of Roman Catholics, and fairly promise at

<sup>1</sup> The increase of the Church population in the town of Belfast is marvellous. The estimate given does not include the population of Ballymacarret, which is a suburb on the east side of the river Lagan, and is in the Diocese of Down. This suburb, including the parishes of Ballymacarret, St. Jude's, Willowfield, and Knockbreda, has a population of 8,054 Church people, as against 3,102 in the year 1861. We are dealing more particularly with the great parish of Belfast proper, or Shankhill, in the Diocese of Connor. In the year 1861 the Church population of Belfast amounted to 29,436; in the year 1871 it was found that the Church members had increased to 44,386; and in the year 1881 to 54,681, showing an increase of 10,295 in the space of ten years. In the year 1871 the Nonconformists, consisting for the most part of Presbyterians, amounted to 68,927, and in 1881 to 82,168, showing an increase of 13,241; whilst the Roman Catholics, amounting in 1871 to 54,194, and in 1881 to 57,821, only gained a net increase of 3,627.

the next census to equal or even exceed them, the Non-conformist or mainly Presbyterian element is very much the strongest; indeed, in the counties of Down and Antrim, the Presbyterians amount to nearly two-thirds of the whole body of Presbyterians in Ireland. This fact, however, has not at the present time the significance which it had two hundred years ago; nor is it in any way connected with the difficulties and dangers of the south and west of the country, where the scattered Church members are hemmed in and pressed on every side with the masses of the Roman Church. It is not that the Northern Churchmen love their Church less, or that the members of the Presbyterian Church are less strongly attached to their own system. It is not even that the old political feeling, which was the heritage of Presbyterianism, and which was fostered by what it fed on, the idea of inequalities and disabilities, is dying out—for it still lingers amongst a large section of the community—but there is a common sentiment felt rather than understood between the two great bodies of Protestants in the face of a common danger; and this sentiment derives no small element of strength from the fact that Churchman and Presbyterians agree as to the sufficiency of Holy Scripture for a rule of faith, and as to the duty of framing their lives according to the precepts contained therein. The canny Northener, with his Scotch traditions, has a very shrewd idea as to his own interest, and an accurate estimate of the value of pounds, shillings, and pence; but withal he feels that he should do unto others as he would have others do to him, and, above all, he shows a reverence for the commandment which tells him, "Thou shalt do no murder."

There is, therefore, abundant room for approaches as between the two great parties, and for interchange of kindly feeling. The writer of this paper can bear testimony to general and kindly sympathy of the members of the Presbyterian community of Ballymena, when the noble parish church of that town was destroyed by fire some three years ago—sympathy which was in nowise confined to words—but which placed at his disposal for the use of his congregation, and that for the space of fifteen months, a large and handsome Presbyterian place of worship. That the interchange of kindly offices and Christian courtesy must in the long-run prove beneficial to the interests of the Church is hardly a question, since experience has shown that it has already done so; but still the real progress of the Church must be looked for in her own activity and in faithfulness to her principles.

Nor are such faithfulness and activity wanting; no doubt there is call for more self-denial with reference to the tem-

poralities and spiritual work of the Church in these dioceses, but the reports of the Diocesan Synods will show how bravely the shock of disestablishment was met, and how well and wisely the work of organization has been carried on ; no one who has been privileged to take part in the proceedings of the Diocesan Council, and who has observed the patient constancy with which busy laymen have sacrificed their valuable time to the interests of the Church, can withhold his meed of praise, nor fail to admire the tact and wisdom of that excellent Bishop, whose praise is in all the dioceses, and whose business capacity and governing power have made him in effect the permanent chairman of the General Synod.<sup>1</sup>

We have no temptation and no desire to throw a roseate hue over the prospects of Ireland and Ireland's Church. In all sincerity the prospect is gloomy enough. We have simply stated certain facts which pertain to certain dioceses in the northern part of the island ; and if we are to state further what lies at the root of those facts, they may be comprised in two words—emigration and immigration—emigration and immigration carried out on the principles of the nineteenth century ; *i.e.* in a liberal spirit and with a due regard for the interests of all concerned.

Statesmen have a knotty problem to solve in the settlement and pacification of Ireland, but if they wish to deal with the question honestly and fairly, they should look closely into the circumstances of that portion of the country which is prosperous and peaceful,<sup>2</sup> and they should ask, How much of that peace and prosperity is due to the operation in the reign of King James I. known as the Plantation of Ulster ?

J. W. MURRAY.

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<sup>1</sup> In vol. iii. of the biography of a famous Prelate, edited by his son, the Irish Church and the Irish Bishops come in for a double portion of slanderous detraction. It was hardly to be expected that one who was not tender of the reputation of his own father should have been tender of the reputation of Irish Bishops and the Irish Church. The course of events since the disestablishment may well be set against the slanderous innuendoes of gossiping letters ; and the Bishops—and notably the Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore—can well afford to pass such insinuations by with silent contempt.

<sup>2</sup> It is very instructive to contrast the criminal statistics of the northern province with those of the southern or western provinces—or we may even say of the Province of Leinster. The very small percentage of crime in Ulster, as compared with the other provinces, ought surely to carry its own lesson with it.

VI.—MR. BICKERSTETH'S "THOUGHTS FOR TO-DAY.  
NO. 1."

*Evangelical Churchmanship and Evangelical Eclecticism.* By the Rev. E. H. BICKERSTETH, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Hampstead, and Rural Dean. Sampson Low. 1883.

WHATEVER else may be said about Mr. Bickersteth's pamphlet, just published, this at least will be admitted, among devout and thoughtful Church-folk, on every side: its tone is excellent, while its statements and its suggestions are worthy of most serious consideration. On such a subject no man probably has a better right to speak; and certainly no man could refer to facts and plead in argument with gentler lovingness and zeal.

I. Mr. Bickersteth refers to facts. Is Evangelical Churchmanship changing its front? "If by this," he writes, "it is meant to ask, Are Evangelical Churchmen willing to surrender one foothold of that great platform of Catholic and Protestant truth which we have received from our fathers? I for one am confident that thousands of the clergy of our Church and ten times ten thousands of the laity would answer, God forbid! But if it is meant, Are Evangelical Churchmen in non-essential matters of ritual—ritual which symbolized no false doctrine—willing to use for the furtherance of the Gospel the prevalent æsthetic tastes of the age? Facts answer, Yes."

"Let facts speak," says Mr. Bickersteth; and accordingly he quotes the well-known *Guide to the Churches of London and its Suburbs*, as to the surplice in the pulpit and surpliced choirs. The statistics are striking. The surplice in the pulpit is now used in some 700 churches; and surpliced choirs last year were found in 476 churches out of 907. "Twelve years ago," he proceeds, "according to the same *Guide*, the Holy Communion was administered weekly in 169 out of 651 churches; last year, in 488 out of 907. And during the same period the primitive and apostolic custom of celebrating the Lord's Supper in the evening has advanced from 97 to 285 churches." Again, numbers alone are not to be weighed. "The surplice in the pulpit, surpliced choirs, and weekly Communion are now to be found in a great number of congregations which are shepherded by our most trusted Evangelical leaders, men whose fidelity to Protestant truth is as staunch and undeniable as theirs who still adhere to the black gown, the choir of school-children, and the monthly Communion."

These facts in the churches of London and its environs, says Mr. Bickersteth, "are very significant. Probably the proportions would not widely vary in the provinces;" but "the

verdict in favour of musical services," he rightly remarks, "would be even more pronounced in the northern than in the metropolitan dioceses."

Now, do these facts, while signifying a growth of Church taste, and a desire for "bright and dignified services,"<sup>1</sup> signify in themselves any change of doctrine? The esteemed author says, No. He quotes "the weighty words of the late Archbishop of Canterbury." The Archbishop says:—

It is a mistake, as I believe, to ascribe, directly or indirectly, to the influence of the Oxford movement, the marked change which has, with the general approval of the clergy and laity, taken place during these very years in the arrangements and architecture of our churches, and in the conduct of divine worship. The change is to be observed beyond the limits of the Church of England. It is not less evident amongst the Presbyterians of Scotland; and even the most rigid of English Dissenters have thrown themselves into the æstheticism of the day.

Upon this point, Mr. Bickersteth also quotes an article in the *Record*.<sup>2</sup> That paper says:—

There is a tendency to oppose every change which comes, or appears to come, from the High Church party. Here we seem to notice a lack of discrimination. We principally refer to matters of detail connected with the fittings and furniture of churches, and the conduct of public worship. Now we have already commented on the large support which the popular taste of the hour has given to the outward development of the [Oxford] movement. Much wisdom has been shown by the leaders in this respect. Not only is it a great assistance to have fashion on your side; but in such matters it is almost hopeless to fight against it. And why should we?

Nevertheless, the policy of concession, in any congregation, may easily be carried too far. Every "innovation" should be tested: and in a day of ceremonialism it is well the testing should be strict. Is the change in accordance with Church rule? Does it directly or by obvious symbolism foster false teaching? Does it tend to support an unevangelical ecclesiasticism?

II. We have passed from statements to suggestions.

Mr. Bickersteth touches upon such subjects as decorations,

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<sup>1</sup> "To try to check Ritualism by discouraging a bright and dignified service is the wisdom of a mother, who, to prevent her boy from being a sailor, never lets him go near the sea."—*Bishop of Rochester's Pastoral*, 1878, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> We gladly quote Mr. Bickersteth's words, in regard to the improvement in the *Record*, a change which more than once has been noted in THE CHURCHMAN:—"Let me add the counsel lately given by the *Record*, a Church paper which has shown such a marvellous growth of vitality and power and breadth of thought during the last two years, and bids fair to become increasingly an organ of light and leading in the anxious days before us."

surpliced choirs, daily services, Holy Days, Retreats or clerical "quiet days," the amount and character of the music which it is wise to introduce into our services. Against a policy of concession where doctrine is concerned, he speaks with firmness. For instance, he says: "If ritual, commended by the fleeting fashion of our times, in anywise whatever symbolizes strange and Romanizing doctrine; if it tends to signify the local presence of our ascended Lord in the sacramental bread and wine; or if it would, in the eyes of the people, transform the ambassador of the everlasting Gospel into a sacrificing priest, we must give place by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel may continue amongst us unpolluted, undegraded, unimpaired." Elsewhere, in a similar vein, he speaks strongly of faithfulness. "The great Evangelical principles," he says, "must be held inviolate." Nothing could well be clearer than his sketch of these principles; and his language concerning the tenacity of grasp should satisfy every inquirer that his "change of front" is in no wise doctrinal. Strongly Protestant he is as ever. Nevertheless, as to musical services, Church adornment, etc., he recommends—as is natural in a man of his poetic gifts—that "Evangelical" Churchfolk should "go with the times." Let us gladly, not grudgingly, he says, employ "the cultivated tastes of the present day in the worship and service of our God."

One ingredient in his counsel, we think, is a specially suitable "thought for to-day," and we therefore quote it:—

Surely our wisdom in these days is to take our stand on the impregnable rock of pure Scriptural doctrine, and in any matters of ritual or practice, which do not countenance error, to leave the decision to our brethren, *without holding them more or less Evangelical* because their usage may not in all points coincide with our own. If we suspect or speak hesitatingly of others on account of such external matters, the mischief may be done before we are aware. Suspicion repels. Confidence wins. I fear we have lost many young men, both lay and clerical, and more young women still from our Evangelical ranks, because some of us have set ourselves against certain tastes of the age, although these tastes are free from doctrinal error, instead of using them to the utmost in our Master's service.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In his able address at the Islington Meeting, Mr. Goe said:—"I submit these remarks in the interests of Evangelical Churchmanship, which we all desire to see vigorous, united, and growing. In view of the errors and difficulties of the present time, I wish to see its basis as comprehensive as we can make it, consistently with the special functions which God in His providence has assigned to us. Let us strive to attract the undecided by showing them that we can enter into their difficulties, rather than to repel them by an unsympathetic exclusiveness. If we protest against harmless diversities in ceremonial with as much vehemence as we protest against false doctrine, we shall weaken our own cause, drive away many whose sympathies are on the side of Evangelical truth, and incur the merited reproach of being unable to distinguish between things that differ."

Concerning some of Mr. Bickersteth's suggestions, of course, different opinions will be held. The correspondence columns of the *Record* bear witness to this diversity, especially as regards ritual;<sup>1</sup> matters of Church order and discipline stand on a different footing. About the observance of rubrics, in cases where the Bishop has given directions, there can hardly be two opinions among loyal, law-abiding Churchmen. Obedience has happily been, and is, a note of the Evangelical School. Again, when congregations desire their minister to make a change, provided the thing itself be according to the general spirit of the Word of God, and be likely to foster devotion in the temper of the Prayer Book, surely it may be chosen as good. One guiding principle, however, must be borne in mind. In the majority of our rural parishes, circumstances differ widely from those of ordinary town churches. In regard, therefore, to Holy Days, to take one point, the question for an incumbent seems to be, Can a congregation be had? In parishes of which the population is at all considerable, no doubt, whether rural or urban, a service in the evening can hardly fail to be well attended, if only the value of prayerfulness and of common prayer, according to the traditions of the Evangelical School, be duly proclaimed in the pulpit and taught by a diligent pastor. Of the usefulness of "prayer-meetings," in the parish schoolroom, or in some Bible-class room contiguous to the church, or in private houses, we have a very high sense; but all such gatherings, as a rule, we believe, where there is a sound "Church" tone, will increase rather than diminish, week-day attendances in the sanctuary. Of services conducted in a meagre, parsimonious way, Mr. Bickersteth's criticisms are just. "The pure and incorruptible Gospel," he says, "will not sound the less sweetly because the house of God in every part of it, within or without, bears witness to the loving earnest care with which we regard all things connected with His service and worship."<sup>2</sup>

As to the tendency of Mr. Bickersteth's suggestions, regarded as a whole, and taken together with the corollaries which his pamphlet is sure to bring out, a second edition, no doubt,

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bickersteth does not ignore the question of *cost*. He says:—"While admitting the urgency of the command, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature,' some have been so absorbed with providing for the expenses of an extravagant ritual . . . that their efforts in the missionary cause would make apostles blush."

<sup>2</sup> In his recent Diocesan Address, we observe, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol remarks, that "in many of our churches" the "plainest and most obvious requirements" of the Prayer Book are ignored, and "its rules slothfully disregarded." If any of the "churches," to whom his lordship's remarks apply, have *Evangelical* Incumbents, we can only express our great regret that so it should be.



will soon give us an opportunity to express an opinion. Here and there occurs a remark which will probably be perverted. For instance, on page 33<sup>1</sup> our honoured friend says, "the bread and wine we present are not consecrated:" the Prayer Book word, however, is not *present* but *place*. It is important to bear in mind, as we have more than once observed of late, the Rubric says of the alms, "*humbly present and place*," but of the elements, simply "*place*." About the word "*then*" [when there is a Communion the Priest shall then place], compared with the same word in the Baptism Rubric [the font "*is then to be filled*"], something might be said, with justice, in refusing to make a change; but, for ourselves, we do not forget the Liddell judgment.

Other points in this interesting pamphlet invite attention. But we desire to recommend the "*Thoughts for To-day*," and we hope it will be widely read. The subject is one of immediate importance.

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## Reviews.

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*The Official Report of the Church Congress, 1882.* Bemrose & Sons.

THE Church Congress at Derby has been admitted on all hands to have been a great success. In many ways, no doubt, it thoroughly deserves this meed of praise. The arrangements gave universal satisfaction; there was not a single breakdown or failure or hitch in the management. From the first the Bishop of the Diocese took the liveliest interest in it, watched over all the work of the committees, and at last presided in such a way as to win golden opinions from all who were present. There was an elevated tone of thought maintained throughout the majority of the meetings. Never, we believe, has the attendance been so well sustained all through the week, and the attention so continuous. The financial results also were satisfactory. Though the price of tickets was lower than on many occasions, and no expense was spared to secure the comfort

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bickersteth here quotes from the Bishop of London's Primary Charge, 1871. His lordship said:—"May not a clergyman . . . when rebuked for the introduction of some unauthorized ceremony, feel some natural indignation when he observes his neighbour continually violating the Rubric which provides that 'when there is a Communion, the Priest shall *then* (i.e. after presenting the Alms, and before saying the prayer for the Church Militant) place upon the Table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient'? This Rubric is perfectly plain and undoubtedly binding. If it had at one time fallen into desuetude, its vigour has been revived in a decision of the Final Court of Appeal. It is practically without difficulty under almost any conceivable circumstances. It has about it no taint of superstition."

of the guests, a balance of £170 was handed over to the Southwell Bishopric Fund; and to sum up all, the Report, often sadly behindhand, was in the possession of subscribers on December 1st. All this may be fairly called success. Such a gathering demonstrates the energy of the great Church of England, and we should suppose that at Derby an impression of this vitality and power must have been produced.

The subjects of paramount interest were discussed, as was fitting, in the Great Hall. These were: "Unity of Belief in Relation to Diversities of Thought," "Evangelistic Work at Home and Abroad," "The Church and Modern Thought," "Political Relations of the Church," "The Church and other Communions," "The Liturgy," "The Church in Relation to Domestic and Social Life," and "The Devotional Life." It was noteworthy that on these subjects Evangelical men, or men, if not so called, yet imbued with Evangelical thought, occupied prominent places. No one who was present can forget the ablest and most interesting of all the discussions on the relations of the Church to modern thought. The papers and addresses of Mr. Wilson of Clifton, Professor Stokes, the Bishop of Bedford, and Mr. Welldon, deserve to live, and will live. Cambridge had no occasion on that day to be ashamed of her two senior wranglers and her senior classic, who did their work so well. Mr. Welldon's brief speech was full of fine feeling, and moved the audience as the heart of one man.

These were the topics discussed at the Congress which touched those who had minds and hearts to appreciate them. Other questions of far inferior interest and moment were relegated to the Temperance Hall. In many of these discussions High Churchmen predominated, but on the most exciting occasion there were not more than two hundred present. On the subject of Church Courts, to which we refer, the selection of readers and speakers happened to be singularly one-sided. Canon Gregory, Canon Trevor, Mr. James Parker, Mr. Dodd, Dr. Wirgman, Dr. Belcher, and the Rev. T. O. Marshall,<sup>1</sup> seven doughty champions, followed one another in quick succession; and yet when Canon Lefroy rose to say a word on the other side, the audience refused to listen, but turned the place into a Babel of confusion, and actually shouted him down. It does not say much for the judicial calmness which is to be expected if Canon Gregory and his friends have their way; fortunately, it need not trouble us, for so long as the Church is established by law, any change of Courts must have the sanction of the House of Commons, who are not likely to sell themselves and their fellow-laymen to sacerdotal government.

On the Thursday morning the subject handled was "The Church and other Communions—is Re-union or Inter-communion possible with Rome or Dissent?" In the afternoon this was followed by the discussion on "The Liturgy—whether any, and if so, what, changes are desirable?" These are kindred subjects, and their relation to one another are plainly indicated. The papers and addresses at the first of these meetings were somewhat disappointing; the second of the meetings will live in the memory of all who were present. It was admitted in the morning that union and communion with Rome is out of the question, that the breach has widened considerably since the Reformation, and that by *her* action, *not by ours*. It was as plainly admitted that it would be indeed a blessing to our land if the breach between us and our Nonconformist brethren could be healed. In the afternoon there was presented to us, on the one

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<sup>1</sup> This gentleman is designated organizing secretary of the E.C.U. His speech (pp. 182-3) should be read as a specimen of what he wants to bring upon us. He would like to have "another Laud" and "another Becket"!

hand, a proposal for the alternative use, with Episcopal sanction, of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.; and, on the other hand, it was mildly suggested by Mr. Butcher that there were Churchmen who would desire Liturgical changes in the opposite direction, in order to promote conciliation with certain of the Dissenting bodies. The two discussions were so far parallel. But no one reminded the meeting of the lesson of History on the subject. It cannot be for a moment doubted that the mind of England has, since the Reformation, moved decidedly away from Rome in the direction of Evangelical freedom. Never was the proportion of Romanists to the population so small as at the present time, while Dissent has stolen from the Church not less than one-third of the mass of the people. Is it likely, under these circumstances, that the English people will make a retrograde movement, and go back ever so little behind the lines of the Reformation? Is it not certain, on the contrary, that any move the Church may make must be in the direction of Protestant truth and liberty?

This discussion was the occasion of that which we may call the Wood-Hoare episode. After Mr. Beresford Hope, in a cynical tone, had enumerated the advances of the Ritual he loves, Mr. Wood suggested, as we have just mentioned, the introduction of Edward's First Prayer-Book<sup>1</sup> for alternate use. It is to be observed that his proposal was that, having in view the little regard already paid to the Act of Uniformity, the *Bishops* should allow this. He admits that Legislative sanction is not likely to be obtained for his scheme, and hopes that our Episcopal rulers will thus sanction lawlessness. The Bishop called on Mr. Hoare, out of his arranged position, to follow Mr. Wood; and no one who heard his speech, and marked the effect it produced, will ever forget it; an effect which was afterwards heightened by the contrast of the—what shall we say?—unhappy style of Canon Gregory. Mr. Wood's suggestion was, as their own organ admits, the manifesto of the party he leads, and had been submitted to his choice counsellors. But we hardly think the very Ritualists themselves would wish to adopt all that they would gain by the innovation. The Holy Table is called, almost in the same page, *the Altar* and *God's Board*, which plainly indicates the state of transition under which the book was produced; and they would have to pray that God will deliver us "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all her detestable enormities." One thing is quite certain, the Evangelical body in the Church of England will never tolerate such a step backwards, from light into darkness. Canon Hoare will leave behind him many happy memories. His gentleness, goodness, power of sympathy, and skill as a teacher, have endeared him to many; but he will be remembered, we venture to say, more especially as he stood forth in the Drill Hall at Derby, a good old soldier of the Cross, a veteran warrior for the truth of God, whose eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.

There is much in the Report of real interest—many a thought that will live and work in the minds of men; but on the manifold details of the multitudinous subjects discussed, or attempted to be discussed, it is impossible to enter; our space forbids it.

The papers on the "Devotional Life" would require, to handle them properly, separate discussion. Dr. Norman Kerr's noble article on "Inebriates" deserves careful reading. The speeches on "The Political Relations of the Church" are full of interest. The debates on "Evangelistic Work at Home and Abroad" ought not to be put aside. It is delightful to see that men of all schools of thought are desirous to bring the Gospel, as far as they understand it, to bear on the masses of the people, though

<sup>1</sup> P. 391.

we cannot see any special virtue in cassocks<sup>1</sup> for itinerant preachers, or that texts selected from the Lessons of the day are necessary to prove their Churchmanship; and we confess we were sorry to have the subject lowered to a recommendation as to the note<sup>2</sup> on which it is proper to intone.

We should like to add a word or two on the relation of Evangelical Churchmen to these gatherings. In the first place, we would point out a danger which they bring. A Church Congress is apt to soften off the edges of distinctive truth, and to persuade men to cry Peace where no peace is possible; for how can we have peace without truth?

It is not true, *e.g.*, as Mr. Wycliffe Gedge<sup>3</sup> seems to have persuaded himself, and wishes to persuade others, that the Baptismal controversy is forgotten, and all men think alike on that subject. The High Church dogma of Baptismal Regeneration is doing abundant evil amongst us to-day. It is not many years since one of Mr. Gedge's colleagues, a prominent Diocesan school inspector, attempted to cram it, in its most offensive form, down the throats of the pupil teachers of his district; and wherever the theory is maintained of a seed implanted and lying dormant, confusion must take place, which hinders many a soul from grasping the plain doctrines of the Gospel. It is not true, as Mr. Randall Davidson's<sup>4</sup> speech might lead some to believe, that you could go *blindfold* into any London church, at the time of service, and not know to which section of the Church it belongs. His experience must be small, or his powers of discrimination very imperfect. Our fate last summer, during a brief holiday tour, does not support him. At more than one favourite watering-place we heard "*pernicious nonsense*" which, we venture to say, no Evangelical would propound to his people: the crudest view of Baptismal Regeneration, the foundation of all the teaching of the pulpit, and the Lord's Supper pressed on all present who desired to obtain pardon of sin; while there was not one word to guide an inquiring soul into the way of peace, no exaltation of Christ, no mention of the work of the Holy Spirit.

It is most injurious that such fallacies should be propounded, and grievous that they should receive Episcopal sanction;<sup>5</sup> and unless a champion of the truth is at hand, and the Chairman is willing and able to give him the chance, the error is disseminated to do its deadly work.

But it is, in the next place, to be remembered—and on this we would insist—that a Church Congress is not the voice of the Church, nor of a Diocese, and has no binding authority. Each assembly of the Congress originates, we believe, not in a public meeting, openly called, but by the operation of a sub-committee chosen no one knows by whom. The only safeguards are—first, that the Bishop in whose Diocese the Congress meets, is responsible for it, and, in some sense, for all its utterances, and that he ought therefore to have, as he has, a paramount influence in its direction; and secondly, that the voice of public opinion is the weightiest force in England, and has many ways of making itself felt.

Yet, though Church Congresses have no authority, they are of great importance, because the audiences they assemble are large and representative. It is to be hoped, then, that Evangelical men will throw themselves vigorously into them, and though they may feel that it is not pleasant to speak to an assembly not wholly sympathetic, be ready to stand forth for the truth of God. At the Derby Congress it was reported that much influence was lost by the refusal of not a few Evangelical leaders to undertake the work assigned to them. This surely ought not to be. Everything is really in our favour. The truth of God we know is with us; and the law of our Church, as again and again indicated, is on our

<sup>1</sup> P. 91.<sup>2</sup> P. 85.<sup>3</sup> P. 52.<sup>4</sup> P. 47.<sup>5</sup> P. 48.

side. The Prayer Book, in its true and honest interpretation, is ours. We do not ask for any change in it. Our cause must prevail. By putting forth fearlessly the truths, to the inculcation of which we owe our name, we shall leaven, still more largely than we have already, all parties in the Church with Evangelical opinions. Our cause, we repeat, must and will prevail; but the victory may be postponed if we of this generation fail to rally for the battle and to do our part in it.

PRESBYTER.

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## Short Notices.

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*Modern Atheism; or, The Heavenly Father.* By ERNEST NAVILLE, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France (Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences), late Professor in the University of Geneva. Translated from the French by HENRY DOWNTON, M.A., Rector of Hopton-by-Thetford, formerly English Chaplain at Geneva. Second Edition. London: James Nisbet and Co., 21, Berners Street, 1882.

A member of the French Institute has a right to be listened to, and when the lectures which make up this volume were delivered at Geneva, they excited, as was natural, great interest. This was nearly twenty years ago, at which time the atheistic principles now so prevalent, or at least making so much noise in England, were doing the same in Switzerland and Germany. It takes twenty years for a wave of thought to travel from the continent to this country, and Professor Naville's lectures could not have appeared in a second edition at a more appropriate time than the present. It is a book admirably adapted to meet those various shades of atheistic opinions which encounter us everywhere, in book-stalls and drawing-rooms, in newspapers and reviews, and are more or less disturbing the faith of numbers. Nothing can be more sound than M. Naville's reasoning or more triumphant than his conclusions.

Few French writers have the good fortune to be translated into readable English—Mr. Downton's translation leaves nothing to be desired. No one who did not know the fact would imagine it to be a translation. Even the morsels of French poetry are represented in the text by lines of English poetry, in most cases, to say the least, not inferior to the originals, which are given in foot-notes. Those who are acquainted with Mr. Downton's well-known hymns will not be surprised at this.

Ernest Naville has written many other books on Christian truth and doctrine, which we have not read, but in the present volume there is nothing but the one subject which the title indicates. It is not a defence of Christianity but of Theism. He himself does not hesitate to assert publicly that his "hopes for time and eternity are based on the gospel of Jesus Christ as it is preached to the old women and the little children." But the book before us has to do only with the existence and goodness of God. He does not deal in these lectures with "the grand doctrinal foundations of our faith," nor with the existence of evil, the reality of which

he strongly asserts, but leaves for consideration to a subsequent work. So far as modern atheism is concerned, this is just the book to put into the hands of men who read and think.

*Stepping-Stones to Higher Things.* By Captain SETON CHURCHILL. Pp. 160. Elliot Stock. 1883.

Every true admirer of Tennyson has thought over the lines from which Captain Churchill has taken the title of this little volume. The title might be interpreted by different persons in different ways; but the gallant Captain has used the poet's thought in the highest possible sense; his work is designed, under the Divine blessing, to help some who now "mind earthly things" to "seek those things which are above." Further, the book will assist those who are now learning in the School of Christ to strive, through grace, to attain to yet higher degrees of spiritual usefulness and joy: "upward," "onward," "more and more," are keynotes of its exhortations. "The contents of the book," says a prefatory note, "were originally delivered in the form of extempore addresses;" and the language is free from what Ruskin calls "conventional art." The book is all the better for it. None can fail to perceive the deep earnestness and spirituality of tone; but the shrewdness, common-sense, and practical way of putting things may be of special service as regards many readers. Captain Churchill makes good use of illustrations and anecdotes: he is neither tedious nor dull. He quotes here and there a striking passage from such writers as Ryle, Bonar, Bickersteth, and Spurgeon; while many of his doctrinal definitions, we note with pleasure, are hewn from that Evangelical quarry (too little thought of by some Mission preachers), the Prayer Book. A bit now and then from deep writers like Mozley, will be attractive to cultured readers of robust thought. There are eighteen chapters—"Divine Standard of Right and Wrong," "Not of Works," "Substitution," and such like. "Conversion," says Captain Churchill, "briefly stated, is a turning from sin unto God." Some of the texts which he quotes are more literally translated (as he will see in the Revised Version) *turn*. ("Except ye *turn*," A. V. "be converted," Matt. xviii. 3.) It is well to distinguish between conversion and regeneration. The latter—the work of the Spirit alone—is never made the subject of a Divine precept; the former, although of course the result of the Spirit's influence, is spoken of as the work of man and *commanded* by God. In heartily recommending the book before us, we may quote from it a few specimen sentences:—

I have lately had the privilege of reading a letter from an earnest Christian officer who took part in the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. It was written before the engagement took place, and finishes with a postscript, descriptive of his feelings, in these beautiful words:—"Peace, perfect peace! *the future all unknown*." I could not help contrasting the feelings of that officer with those of another, who was one day in command of the advance-guard for the brigade which marched up to the relief of the late Sir George Colley in South Africa. As we were riding alongside each other, I asked him if he was prepared to meet his God, in the event of anything happening to him. His reply was, "Please do not speak to me now about these things; it would unnerve me. Death is the last thing I try to think of." I feel sure that, had the occasion occurred, he would have nobly done his duty; but, at the same time, who can doubt which of the two officers, both nice fellows, had chosen the higher things of life?

Under the title *Holy Footprints*, the Rev. FREDERICK WHITFIELD, Vicar of St. Mary's, Hastings, has published (Nisbet & Co.) seven addresses; a small and cheap gift-book. The style of Mr. Whitfield's fervent appeals is well known; and the author of one of the sweetest hymns of the day needs here no introduction.

A very pleasing and instructive little volume, *The Life of Hannah More* (Religious Tract Society), will gain, we hope, the circulation it so well deserves. When Hannah More was born, religion in England seemed at its lowest ebb. From 1750 to 1780 was a period of pluralities and preferment-hunting. Clergy and Dissenting ministers alike were dull, idle, and worldly. The masses of the people were ignorant and coarse. In the higher circles, said Montesquieu, everyone laughs if one talks of religion. Later, Hannah More wrote: "We saw but one Bible in the parish of Cheddar, and that was used to prop a flower-pot."

We gladly recommend *Through the Khyber Pass* (Stock), an account of temperance work among the soldiers in the Afghan campaign, by the Secretary to the Soldiers' Total Abstinence Society. It is out and out the best book of its kind; bright and instructive. A letter to the author, Mr. GREGSON, from Lord Napier of Magdala, shows what good work the Society has been doing.

*Sermons Preached in the Parish Church of Stanhope. Second Series.* (To which are added "Letters from Abroad.") By the Rev. CHARLES CLAYTON, M.A., Rector and Rural Dean of Stanhope. Seeley.

We most heartily recommend these impressive and instructive sermons. At one period, at intervals during four years, we had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Clayton; he was then (Tutor of Caius and) incumbent of Trinity. As a rule, perhaps, on a Sunday evening the present writer attended Mr. Jameson's church; dear, good, single-hearted Jameson of St. Catharine's. But whenever we listened to Mr. Clayton we made this note: his sermons were intensely Scriptural; the language was simple, the tone was deeply spiritual; but the chief characteristic was its exhibition and exposition of Scripture. Earnestly and affectionately he preached the Word. How many undergraduates profited by his ministry "THAT DAY" will declare! Oftentimes, during the last twenty years, we have read a sermon by Canon Clayton (his sermons will repay reading twice and thrice), and every one of them seems (if we may so say) saturated with Scripture. For this reason, the volume before us seems an excellent gift for the younger clergy. We may be wrong, but we fancy the pulpit teaching of many (even among Evangelicals) is *thin*, lacks robustness, is too essayish. To make a sermon a string of texts is one thing; to exhibit, explain, enforce a text, in due proportion, comparing Scripture with Scripture, is another thing. Canon Clayton's discourses may be called doctrinal, yet they are neither "dry" nor unpractical; and the solemnity is happily free from severity. In a touching preface to the present volume, the honoured Canon says, that "after a ministry of more than forty-five years, he

cannot expect to be much longer permitted to preach ; the nearer he approaches the eternal world, he finds nothing will support his soul but the simple truths of the Gospel."

*The Lord's Day in Conferences and Congress.* Papers read on various occasions at Home and Abroad. By JOHN GRITTON, D.D. Pp. 115. Lord's Day Observance Society.

An admirable little book ; likely to be very useful. Conflict in these days is thickening round the Sabbath. Ably written, thoroughly Scriptural essays like Dr. Gritton's should be read and recommended.

*Elisha the Prophet.* The Lessons of his History and Times. By A. EDER-SHEIM, M.A., Vicar of Loders. Pp. 326. Religious Tract Society.

The greater portion of this book we have read with satisfaction ; and nowhere has there seemed a need to make an adverse criticism. The whole book, no doubt, is edifying. Dr. Edersheim uses his stores of learning with literary skill ; and he has written a present-day work of real value.

*God's Answers.* A Record of Miss Annie Macpherson's Work at the Home of Industry, Spitalfields, London, and in Canada. By CLARA M. S. LOWE. Nisbet & Co.

This interesting, well-written little volume has an introduction by the author of the "Life of Duncan Mathieson." It is a noble thing to put down in healthy happy homes in Canada hundreds and hundreds of boys and girls whose circumstances in this country seemed "hopeless."

*The Clergy List* for 1883 deserves, for fulness and accuracy, a hearty word of commendation. (John Hall, 13a, Salisbury Square.) The labour of preparation must have been very great. The dates of ordination as deacon and priest, and the name of the ordaining Bishop, have been added to the alphabetical list in nearly every instance. The *Clergy List* now contains a complete list of the clergy, with the degree and University, the date of ordination, and the appointment held. The alphabetical list of benefices consists of 270 pages, giving the post-town, county, diocese, incumbent, curates, patron, value, and population. In addition, there is a complete list of the Irish, Scotch, and Colonial clergy. The diocesan establishments have been carefully revised, and the rural deaneries, arranged under their ecclesiastical divisions, with the names of the archdeacons and rural deans, have been brought up to date. The list of Public Schools and Colleges, with the names of the clerical masters, has been carefully corrected by returns made, in nearly every instance, by the Principals themselves.

Of the *Official Year-Book of the Church of England* (S. P. C. K.) we had intended to insert a somewhat lengthy notice in the present CHURCHMAN. As matters are, however, we must content ourselves with expressing our hearty approval. The volume is wonderfully cheap, a storehouse of interesting information ; and it reflects the greatest credit on all con-



cerned in it. To the venerable Church Society we are indebted for an excellent book; and the Hon. Secretary and Editor of this Year-Book, the Rev. F. BURNSIDE, has done his work with singular skill and good judgment.

*The Pulpit Commentary. St. Mark.* Exposition by Very Rev. E. BICKERSTETH, D.D. Homiletics by Rev. Prof. J. B. THOMSON, M.A. Homiletics by various Authors. 2 vols. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

Of the volumes of "The Pulpit Commentary," Old Testament series, we have from time to time written in praise. The first portion of the New Testament series, edited by the Dean of Lichfield, promises well; and so far as we have examined it we can pronounce it sound and good. A worthy notice must be given hereafter.

*Egypt, Palestine, and Phœnicia. A Visit to Sacred Lands.* By FELIX BOVET. Translated by W. H. LYTTELTON, M.A. Pp. 416. Hodder & Stoughton.

This is a translation of the eighth edition of M. Bovet's well-known book. Canon Lyttelton has done his work remarkably well; and this account of travelling in sacred lands will prove as acceptable to English readers, no doubt, as it has done to French, German, Swedish, Dutch, and Italian readers. It is recommended by Professor Godet, a friend of the author (and also of the translator). We had marked several passages for quotation; but we must content ourselves with recommending the book as very readable and instructive.

We have received *The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper*. A Paper read at the Second Annual Conference of the Craven Evangelical Union, held at Leeds, on Thursday, November 23rd, 1882, by the Rev. T. P. BOULTREE, D.D. Leeds: Printed at the office of the *Yorkshire Post*, Albion Street. In this learned and valuable pamphlet, of singular clearness and point, we read:—

So rapid have been the changeful transitions of High Church teaching in late years, that it may be difficult to seize on that particular phase which is at any moment regarded as most purely "Catholic." Without dwelling on any other, I hasten to that which I believe to be the form of Eucharistic doctrine most widely circulated among the junior clergy—that of which the Rev. M. F. Sadler, Rector of Honiton, is the best known exponent. His "Church Doctrine Bible Truth," and his "One Offering: a Treatise on the Sacrificial Nature of the Eucharist," are two little books very widely circulated, and exercising great influence. Two Bishops, at least, require the former of these from candidates for Holy Orders. In other words, the young deacon, unprepared and unfit to contest the doctrine, is required to imbue his mind with a complete system of modern sacerdotalism.

This system, as far as it respects the Eucharist . . . . . avoids the grosser and more materialistic views of the extreme school; yet it lands its disciple ultimately in a full sacrificial worship. It only glances at early writers, and claims to rest on the direct authority of Holy Scripture. It, therefore, attracts some who can be satisfied with no weaker basis for their faith.

If, on examination, continues Dr. Boulton, "it shall be found to rest upon an inexact treatment of the very limited and carefully selected portion of God's Word; if a more scrutinizing examination of that limited portion, and a more extended survey of other statements, shall prove the fallacy of the basis on which the doctrine rests, the whole superstructure of the sacrificial worship and the offering of the earthly priest must crumble into ruin.

"At first the author seems to abandon the whole sacrificial position. For he makes these admissions :—'The sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist does not seem prominent in the Scriptures which teach us the nature of this sacrament. It appears in them rather as an ordinance in which God offers something to us, than one in which we offer anything to him.' Further, he says, according to the usual English use of the word *sacrifice*, 'something voluntarily given up,' there is a difficulty in applying it to the Eucharist, which presents none of the ordinary features of sacrifice, as exhibited in Levitical usages. Moreover, he distinctly states, that on any supposition, the body of our Lord cannot in the Eucharist suffer over again pain and death, so as to become again a propitiatory sacrifice. Lastly, he says, 'the holy Eucharist has scarcely one feature in common with the things which in Scripture are called, and which English Christians commonly call, sacrifices.'

"Doubtless it is so, and thus the great body of our English divines have taught. What then? The apparently abandoned position is reoccupied in full force by a counter-march. The Eucharist is asserted to possess 'the most intense sacrificial reality' beyond all others, on this ground: The 'real spiritual value' of the old sacrifices lay simply and absolutely in their reference to the atoning blood of Christ. The Eucharist has a still closer reference to that sacred thing, and hence is yet more of a sacrifice than they.

"I think it must be manifest that either a logical fallacy is being perpetrated, an adroit substitution of one phrase for another, without any real equivalence of value—or else that a mere generalization of no exactitude and no special force is being offered to us.

"If we are to call by the name of sacrifice anything in which a reference to the atoning blood of Christ pervades the transaction, certainly many very dissimilar acts will be swept within the definition, as well as Holy Communion.

"But it is no mere generalization that is pressed upon us here, nothing of that kind of thought which made St. Paul apply the idea of sacrifice to prayer, alms, thanksgiving, and the like. By this one sudden leap we are brought to a full sacrificial transaction—priest, altar, offering—a sacrifice more intensely real than any of old. Certainly, if this is Church Doctrine, and if Church Doctrine is Bible Truth, many of us have read both Prayer Book and Bible to little purpose."

Dr. Boulton proceeds to examine Mr. Sadler's Bible demonstration. He examines his arguments on "Do this . . ." and proves that "the verbal basis for the sacrificial notion which the words of institution were supposed to lay is absolutely gone."

The learned Doctor then discusses other points in Mr. Sadler's arguments. For instance :—

Rev. viii. 3-4 leads to this conclusion :—" An altar, then, is assumed to be the centre of the ritual of heaven." May we assume a realistic interpretation of all that? Was that seventh seal really a seal? And was it really broken? Had the seven angels seven real trumpets, and did they sound them? Did the great star, called Wormwood, really fall, and blast the waters? Pardon me—but argument of this sort, how is it to be grasped? And then, after all, let us note (v. 3) it was an altar of incense, not of sacrifice, which the rapt Apostle saw. And it was not a sacrifice, but the prayers of the saints, which ascended from it. Need I say more?

Dr. Boulton then examines passages quoted by Mr. Sadler from the Epistle to the Hebrews, mainly viii. 3, and thus concludes :—

Heb. x. 12 : " After He had offered one sacrifice for sins." The same remark holds : it is an act *done*, not *doing*.

Heb. x. 14 : " By one offering He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."

Could the idea of the completeness of the offering be more strongly put? However little intended by those who do it, could there be a more marked evasion of the leading idea, than to say, " Observe the offering is going on now, has been going on these many centuries, but inasmuch as it is not a different, or a repeated one, but a continuation of the same act without cessation, therefore it is one offering, not many offerings."

Nay, that idea would have required some such wording as this : " By the perpetual offering day by day He continuously perfects them that are sanctified." How different the clear ring of that perfect tense, " He hath perfected for ever."

Lastly, Heb. x. 18 : " Now, where remission of these is, there is no more offering for sin"—*οὐκ ἔτι προσφορά*. Yet the whole point of the theory before us is to omit this " no " and to say *ἔτι*, there is still offering for sin.

What, then, is the sum of this apostolic teaching? It all runs one way without variation or hesitation. The words, the tenses, the prevailing idea, all set forth one, and one only, conception of the priestly office of our Lord. Whatever there was of offering, whether the sacrifice on the Cross, or the presentation of its merits before the throne, is complete and is past. It is past, because it is complete, and susceptible of no repetition and no continuation. Else were it not complete. This is the fundamental conception of the Lord's priesthood. To shake this shakes the foundation of the Christian's confidence.

The priesthood of Aaron terminated not for the day when he had performed the prescribed ritual. None the less was he a priest because for the moment he had not " somewhat to offer." Christ is none the less a priest because His offering is over, not only for the time, but for ever and ever. Of perpetual efficacy we have all that the most uneasy conscience can desire. Of perpetual, manual, or other mode of offering, we have found no trace.

If we ask further what we may learn as to the continual heavenly work or action of the Great High Priest, the indications are in harmony with our conclusions. The Creeds give us this one object of faith in this regard : " He sitteth at the right hand of God." Nevertheless He is a priest for ever, but it is " after the order of Melchisedek." That is, He is King as well as Priest. His priesthood is that of One sitting on the throne, not of One standing at the altar. " He shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon His throne : and He shall be a Priest upon His throne " (Zech. vi. 13).

Can this doctrine of the continued offering then be true? Is it true which Mr. Sadler says, " It is the anti-Catholic view that Christ having once offered Himself on the Cross has long ceased to offer anything, so that, in fact, He is

now a Priest only in name?" Is it, as he further says, "the Catholic view that, being 'a Priest for ever,' He must do for ever a characteristically priestly act; and consequently, according to the same Epistle, 'He must now have somewhat to offer'?" Whence comes that word "now," wantonly inserted into that text? It is born of the mistaken conception of the perpetuity of the action, instead of the perpetuity of the office; and so after an unlawful birth it is thrust into the text. It seems to be thought that the Apostle negligently omitted it, since it is quietly slipped in.

This hurried review of the salient points in the Scriptural argument of Mr. Sadler is all that time has permitted. How far does that theory go beyond the general Christian belief in the Lord Jesus evermore pleading the merits of His great sacrifice for His penitent and believing people? It is clear that it goes far beyond it by adding to the Christian faith dogmas not borne out by revelation as to the present attitude, work, and, so to speak, occupation of our King. And it goes beyond our own Church doctrine by basing upon this the assumption that our Eucharist is "the earthly representation of that heavenly presentation now going on at the right hand of God." And it goes beyond our legal ritual, by further defending the mass vestment and the mass position of the priest.

Even if the continuous heavenly presentation had been established, it might take much to prove that the earthly priest in mimic show could follow the action of the Great King. But, certainly, if the heavenly fact, considered as an abiding and continuous action, has failed of proof, the supposed earthly counterpart must quite have faded away.

Finally, we have been told that this theory is "the Catholic view." The great name of Chrysostom has been variously invoked by writers on all sides of the Eucharistic controversy. Let us hear some words of his taken from his homily on Heb. vii. 11-14: "When thou hearest Him spoken of as High Priest, think not that He is always doing the priestly act (*δεῖ ἱερᾶσθαι*). He officiated as priest once (*ἄπαξ*), and thereafter (*λοιπὸν*) sat down. And lest thou shouldst imagine that He is now in heaven, standing and ministering (*ἡστυεύων*), the Apostle shows that such service is a part of the dispensation: *οἰκονομίας τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔστι*. As He became a servant, so also He was made both High Priest and Minister. But in like manner, also, as He became a servant, He did not continue a servant; so also when made a minister (*ἡστυεὺς*), He did not continue a minister: for it is not the part of a minister to sit down, but to stand. This, then, gives us to understand the greatness of the sacrifice, which being one and offered once (*ἄπαξ*), yet sufficed to do what all the other sacrifices could not do." St. Chrysostom is a great Catholic doctor, as all confess. A large and active party boast themselves Catholics, and stigmatize poor Evangelicals as non-Catholic. If Mr. Sadler represents the views (as he is supposed to do) of a large section of them, I leave it to your judgment which of us finds that ancient Catholic doctor most nearly the exponent of our sentiments on this great subject of controversy.

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\*.\* To several friends who have been good enough to send us copies of papers containing review notices of THE CHURCHMAN we are much obliged. Several country newspapers regularly reach us, and their notices of the Magazine are read with pleasure. Our clerical readers will pardon us if we once more solicit their kind exertion in regard to lay subscribers. The promoters of THE CHURCHMAN earnestly desire to increase the number of supporters among the laity.

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